DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 360 832 FL 021 409

AUTHOR Endo, Russell, Ed.; And Others
TITLE Contemporary Perspectives on Asian and Pacific American Education.
REPORT NO ISBN-1-879600-00-5
PUB DATE 90
NOTE 211p.; This book is based primarily on selected papers presented at recent annual conferences of the National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education.
AVAILABLE FROM Pacific Asia Press, 10937 Klingerman Street, South El Monte, CA 91733.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - General (020) -- Books (010)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; Acculturation; *Asian Americans; College Graduates; Curriculum Design; Educational Attainment; Elementary Secondary Education; *English (Second Language); Government Role; Higher Education; *Immigrants; International Studies; Justice; Language Handicaps; Language Maintenance; *Language Role; Mental Health; Multicultural Education; *Pacific Americans; Reading Skills; Refugees; Research Needs; Second Language Learning; *Student Adjustment; Student Educational Objectives; United States History
IDENTIFIERS Orthography

ABSTRACT

A variety of issues in the education of Asian American and Pacific American immigrants and refugees are addressed in the following papers: "The Acquisition of English and Ethnic Language Attrition: Implications for Research" (Michael A. Power); "Language Difference and Language Disorder in Asian Language Populations: Assessment and Intervention" (Christine Yoshinaga-Itano); "Orthography and Second Language Reading" (Keiko Koda); "Attainment Status of Asian Americans in Higher Education" (Samuel S. Peng); "Higher Education in Hawai-i: A Comparison of Graduation Rates Among Asian and Pacific Americans" (David T. Takeuchi, Amefil Agbayani, Lloyd Kuniyoshi); "The Acculturation of Korean American High School Students" (John Golden); "College Aspirations of Asian and Pacific Americans: A Review of Four Studies" (Rosalind Y. Mau); "Socio-Psychological Adjustments of Refugees in Colorado: Implications for Grassroots Education Regarding Mental Health" (Peter W. van Arsdale, Elizabeth Skartvedt); "A Curricular Framework for Integrating Multicultural Education and International Studies" (Bob H. Suzuki); and "The Evaluation and Internment of Japanese Americans During World War II: An Invaluable Lesson on the American Judicial System" (Nobuya Tsuchida). (MSE)

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN EDUCATION

EDITORS

Contemporary Perspectives on

Asian and Pacific American Education

Contemporary Perspectives on Asian and Pacific American Education

Edited by

Russell Endo

Virgie Chattergy

Sally Chou

Nobuya Tsuchida

Pacific Asia Press
South El Monte, California
1990

First published in 1990
Printed in the United States of America

This book is primarily based on selected papers presented at recent annual conferences of the National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education and was prepared and published under the sponsorship of that organization.

ISBN 1-879600-00-5

Pacific Asia Press
A Division of Greenshower Corporation
10937 Klingerman Street
South El Monte, CA 91733

Cover designed by Mark C. Chiu

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Contemporary Perspectives on Asian and Pacific American Education is primarily based on selected papers presented at recent annual conferences of the National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education (NAAPAE) and was prepared and published under the sponsorship of that organization. The purpose of this volume is to communicate a portion of current work on Asian and Pacific American education with the hope of increasing awareness of research on this subject, stimulating related inquiries and discussions, and providing information that might help to shape educational practices, programs, and policies for the benefit of Asian and Pacific Americans as well as others.

The papers in this anthology cover a range of issues in Asian and Pacific American education and are quite diverse with regard to their approach and style. The first three papers by Michael Power, Christine Yoshinaga-Itano, and Keiko Koda deal with language-related issues. Power argues for more research on the non-acquisition or attrition of ethnic languages among the children of immigrant families. He discusses this topic in terms of differential environmental stimulation, the process of socialization, and the establishment of ethnic identity. Yoshinaga-Itano describes ways of differentiating language difference from language disorder among Asian American children for whom English is a second language. She also outlines some useful language intervention strategies. In a more technical paper, Koda investigates the influence of cognitive processes developed during the acquisition of first language literacy to deal with a particular orthographic (i.e. writing) system on reading in a second language that has a different orthographic system. She presents data from a series of four experimental studies.

The next two papers in this volume are concerned with higher education. Samuel Peng provides data for Asian and Pacific American college students on enrollment trends, persistence and progress, fields of study, and sources of financial support. Unlike much of the available information on these areas, Peng's data come from national-level sources and offer a more comprehensive overview. David Takeuchi, Amefil Agbayani, and Lloyd Kuniyoshi use longitudinal data to compare the graduation rates of several Asian and Pacific American groups at the University of Hawaii. Differences in educational experiences between groups are explained by using John Ogbu's concepts of autonomous, caste, and immigrant minorities.

The papers by John Golden, Rosalind Mau, and Peter van Arsdale and Elizabeth Skartvedt cover social psychological topics. Golden examines the

acculturation of a sample of Korean American high school students in Aurora, Colorado. While his analysis of language characteristics, identity, and social behavior produces five acculturation subgroups, most of these students are found to be bicultural, and the bicultural students have very positive images of themselves. Mau reviews data from four studies on the educational and career aspirations of secondary school students in Hawaii. She finds differences between and within Asian and Pacific American groups in post-high school plans and emphasizes the influence that significant others like parents, peers, and teachers have on such plans. Van Arsdale and Skartvedt have conducted a study of the socio-psychological adjustments and coping mechanisms of seven refugee groups in the Denver metropolitan area. In their paper, they look at the implications of their research for the grassroots community education of refugees about the mental health system.

Although quite different in approach, both of the papers in the last part of the anthology are relevant for curriculum development. Bob Suzuki proposes a framework for integrating multicultural education and international studies. He explains the importance of this approach and describes ways the framework can be applied in developing curriculum. Nobuya Tsuchida's paper is a detailed account of several major legal cases involving the World War II internment of Japanese Americans. His material will be of particular interest to instructors who want to examine the internment during their courses. In addition, as Tsuchida notes, this material represents a legal approach to teaching a college-level class on the wartime experience of Japanese Americans.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Contemporary Perspectives on Asian and Pacific American Education is a product of the contributions of many individuals. We would like to express our appreciation to the paper authors for revising their work, often many times, in response to editorial feedback. We thank Marilyn Takahashi and William Green for providing copyediting and clerical assistance. Our thanks also go to the NAAPAE officers and other executive council members who have served over the past few years, especially NAAPAE presidents Sau-Lim Tsang and Hai Trong Tran, for their support of this anthology.

Russell Endo, University of Colorado
Virgie Chattergy, University of Hawaii
Sally Chou, Alhambra School District
Nobuya Tsuchida, University of Minnesota

Part One

LANGUAGE ISSUES

2

THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH AND ETHNIC LANGUAGE ATTRITION: IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

MICHAEL A. POWER

Although linguists and psychologists have extensively explored first and second language acquisition, they have not given equal attention to a related issue, the attrition of ethnic languages among young children in immigrant communities. What theoretical work there is has largely not been validated by empirical studies.

Within the field of sociolinguistics, much research has been done on language maintenance and language attrition, most of it oriented toward the desirability and promotion of the former. My experience with the language attrition situation in Hawaii leads me to believe that there is a need for in-depth research, both theoretical and empirical, to bring this work together with what is known about the psychological processes of language acquisition. Just as language cannot be isolated from its societal context, neither can the societal aspects of language be isolated from the context of the individual learner. This paper, then, is intended to provide a brief look at the non-acquisition or attrition of the ethnic languages of children of immigrant families with a focus on the psychological issues involved and the questions raised which could lead to further research.

Background

One of the prides of Hawaii is the multi-lingual, multi-cultural nature of its society and the strong ties to the Asia-Pacific region that this represents. The majority of the population is of Asian and Pacific descent, and there is still a steady flow of immigrants from these areas. What are the implications for this society, then, when in many families, the children of immigrant parents learn the local language, in this case English, but cannot speak their own ethnic language? If the parents are bilingual this would pose less of a problem, but in many families this is not the case. Although, generally, parents and children can understand each other, neither has oral fluency in the other's native language. The immediate impact of this on the educational system is evident, but the more subtle impact on the attitudes and behavior of individuals may be more profound.

Part of my interest in this phenomenon is due to my acquaintance with several Japanese immigrant families in Hawaii now trying to deal with this situation, but this interest was sparked several years ago when I was engaged to teach English to a Korean gentleman. He had immigrated to Hawaii seven

years previously and ostensibly was learning English in order to find a better job[1]. It soon became evident to me, however, that his main motivation was his need to communicate with his two children, both of whom spoke effectively no Korean. Though they were born in Korea, they spoke only Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) and had to resort to very basic syntax and vocabulary ("foreigner talk") to speak to their father.

Although this example may be extreme, the pattern of monolingual Asian-language parents with monolingual English/HCE children is not an unfamiliar one in Hawaii. In many cases the ethnic language (hereafter Le) was acquired in early childhood but lost soon after starting school, except for a fair skill at passive (listening) comprehension.

Psychological Aspects of Language Acquisition

Recent investigations have tended to emphasize the role of the linguistic and social environment in first language acquisition. The emphasis in such research is on language as primarily a tool for communication, one which assumes different functions in a variety of social settings[2]. Children learn more than just the language in these settings, and the language they do learn is closely tied to where and when, as well as why, they learned it (Donaldson, 1978: 33). Macaulay (1980: 17) found that part of the motivation for children to acquire language may be increased contact with persons outside of their immediate family, and longitudinal studies by Bradley and Caldwell (1984) and Gottfried and Gottfried (1984) on the effects of the home environment on cognitive development found that the variety of stimulation was the highest correlate with total language development in early childhood.

Clearly, input in terms of caretaker speech or other forms of stimulation is an important factor in first language acquisition. In the literature in the field of second language acquisition it is well established that young children are able, given the proper environmental stimulation/support, to learn second languages, or two first languages simultaneously (Hatch, 1978;

---

[1]The question of why, after seven years in the U.S., he still spoke almost no English is a fascinating and, no doubt, related issue, but we shall not deal with this here. See Shapira (1978) for more on second language acquisition.

[2]Despite this recent emphasis, this concept is not new as it was the keystone of the work of Vygotsky (1962) and his followers.

Ritchie, 1978). Additional evidence of this is found by examining the history of immigrant populations in the United States (c.f. Fishman, 1966).

Non-acquistion of Le

How can we relate what we know (or at least suspect) about the acquisition of language to the question of the non-acquisition or attrition of Le? Take as an example the case of a child, recently immigrated or born of non-English-speaking immigrant parents, who speaks the family Le but must learn English once he/she starts going to school and socializing extensively with children who speak only English. What can we expect of his/her language development in both Le and English?

In most cases, it seems reasonable to assume that the child will follow the most socially adaptive course. For young children, the input they receive from sources outside of the home may be the most linguistically stimulating and conducive to language development. Peck (1978) analyzed child-child (at age 7) and child-adult interactions and found that not only the input, but also the nature of the children's responses showed much more variety and active language stimulation in interactions with peers. Adults listen for meaning and respond to it in predictable ways. Children, who do not have a rich set of expectations as to what others will say, are more challenging conversational partners in that they also attend not only to the function, but also to the form of language, and will frequently react to the latter through teasing or word play. Peck sees child-child interaction as a situation in which a child must struggle to learn, to understand the other individual. In child-adult interactions, adults will take over this load and work to understand the child thus effectively reducing the child's language learning opportunities.

At home, much is routinized (particularly activities which concern young children), including the patterns of language use. Caretakers follow predictable conversational patterns, and response patterns are also set; often no verbal response is required at all. Outside of the home, interactions are much less predictable or controllable, and children need to vary their responses considerably to suit the novel demands on their communicative competence. It would not be surprising if these factors led to a deemphasizing of Le in the child's mind as he/she works to acquire necessary skills in English, the more challenging language.

At the same time, the child's parents/caretakers are no doubt developing their own communicative skills, although usually to a much lesser degree (Hatch, 1978), by learning enough English for day-to-day practicalities.

Although they typically do not use English at home, the child soon finds out that they are coming to understand English fairly well. Parents also follow paths of least effort and will rarely take the time, or even realize the need, to structure language-use situations to maintain the child's Le skills. As Haugen (1978: 75) notes: "... it requires sympathetic determination and intelligent methods on the part of ... parents to overcome the natural resistances of children to making efforts that find no support in their peer group."

Another factor, one which may be of even more relevance than linguistic utility, is the process of socialization. Whorf (1956), Bruner (1956), and more recently Cole and Scribner (1974) among others have extensively investigated the role of language play as an important part of a culture. Macaulay (1980: 33) writes: "...it is principally through language that we find out about the world we live in." If the immediate environment in which a child lives is not the one that supports the culturally-marked features of his/her Le, it is likely that the child will be more strongly influenced by an alternative which better matches his/her day-to-day experience. Ervin-Tripp (1974: 115) finds that children reject multiple labels for objects and experiences, preferring "one meaning-one form," and they remember best that which they can interpret best based on their experience.

Referring to the children of immigrants, Schachter (1979: 160) writes: "To the extent that learning is a matter of acquiring the established wisdom of the culture--its existing conventions, facts, and skills--the caregiver assumes the role of socialization agent." We can see that in the case of the children of immigrants in English-language societies, the caregivers and the agents of socialization are not the same. Individuals external to the family have taken over the latter role[3]. In this situation, the culture (and language) of the immigrant generation is not immediately relevant to the second generation, especially as children, but also as adults in some cases. Child (1970: 102) quotes a second generation Italian American informant as saying: "I feel that as an American I should forget everything about Italy, even though my parents came from there, and so I shouldn't speak [Italian]." Child found that those in his study who did retain/learn Italian did so largely for reasons of social

[3]Interesting parallels can be drawn between this situation and the problems of families with adolescents to whom the value system of the family becomes less important than that expressed by other role models (Elking, 1984).

and career advantage[4], motivations which would have little effect on young children.

Maintenance and Ethnic Identity

As mentioned earlier, sociolinguists have done considerable research on language maintenance, language attrition, and bilingualism in American minority immigrant groups (Cobarrubias and Fishman, 1983; Fishman 1966; Fishman 1978, Haugen, 1978). The acquisition of English by these groups has been seen as not only adaptive, but as a necessity. As Heath and Mandabach (1983: 103) point out: "If individuals or groups rejected English (or its standard variety) they handicapped themselves, because they limited their chances for socioeconomic mobility and valuation as good citizens." The language of the "old country" has often come to be associated with traditional cultural and religious contexts (Malinkowski, 1983), and immigrant communities have been obliged to balance "...the cultural and symbolic values of maintenance in the face of the obvious economic and political advantages of shift" (Haugen, 1978: 71).

Fishman (cited in Malinkowski, 1983: 144) mapped the generational language shift among immigrant groups and found a pattern of the first generation being monolingual in Le or bilingual in Le and English, the second generation being bilingual, and the third being monolingual in English. In Hawaii, by contrast, although this pattern can be found among recent immigrant families, there are many for whom the second stage, bilingualism, is skipped, the second generation being monolingual in English/HCE. This is partly due, I suggest, to the features discussed in the preceding section, but it may also be partially due to the fact that the process of integration into Hawaiian society is different from other places in the United States. Asian immigrants in Hawaii are in the minority only linguistically; racially they are the majority.

Lambert (1977: 26), in his discussion of the advantages of bilingualism, observes that: "...ethnolinguistic minorities need a strong educational experience in their own languages and traditions before they can cope in an 'all-American' society or before they will want to cope in such a society." The culture in Hawaii is not as "all-American" as the one to which Lambert refers,

---

[4]Child's conclusions on this point must be viewed in light of his strong behaviorist orientation. He clearly views societal influence and language learning in terms of a reinforcement and response paradigm.

and therefore the process of coping and adaptation is arguably quite different. Le can be used to establish a sense of cultural identity within minority groups (Hartig, 1980), yet in Hawaii, Asian children, and to a lesser extent children of other Pacific cultures, may lack the sense of cultural isolation that leads to "retreat and withdrawal" into their ethnic identity via their use of Le (Herman, cited in Haugen, 1978: 66-67).

Implications for Research

We have dealt with some potential determinants of Le maintenance--differential environmental stimulation, the process of socialization, and the establishment of ethnic identity. However, we have no more than scratched the surface of the relevant issues. Lambert (1981: 9) expresses the complexity of the situation quite well by noting: "As social psychologists, we view language acquisition as inextricably associated with matters like ethnolinguistic identity, with problems of communication between language groups, with membership or quasi-membership in more than one cultural group, with shared versus distinctive group values, etc."

Further investigation into this area calls for input from a variety of existing research, looking especially at work done in population studies on immigrant populations, in sociology on cultural adjustment, in social anthropology on the nature of subcultures, and in sociolinguistics on the nature of language in varying societal contexts. Much information of this sort has been compiled in connection with bilingual education programs funded by the U.S. government, such as those authorized under the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 Title VII[5].

It would also be profitable to conduct interviews as Child (1970) did with members of families dealing with such situations. It would be important to collect data concerning home environments, perhaps using a modification of the HOME inventory (Bradley and Caldwell, 1984) and to look for interactional features that correlate with various degrees of Le maintenance. Longitudinal studies should be done, picking immigrant families up at the docks, so to speak, and tracing the children's language development (Le as well as English). It is probable that the age (level of cognitive development)

[5]The wording of this act makes it clear that bilingual education was being undertaken in order to resolve educationally-related language problems and not to enhance feeling of ehtnic identity. From this perspective, bilingualism might be seen only as a lesser problem than monolingualism.

of the child and the level of development of the English-language culture will prove predictive to some extent of the degree of language maintenance, or, ideally, mastery of both languages. However, age or related variables should not be looked at in isolation but in terms of the differential impact of societal variables on children at different stages of linguistic and cognitive development.

Conclusion

No one could spend time with a family whose members are separated by their inability to speak one another's language and not feel that there is a need to deepen our understanding of the issues discussed in this paper. Many of our conceptions of child rearing--transmissions of cultural values, moral education, and socialization--are predicated on the assumption that parents and children can communicate effectively. Were this is not the case, much is likely to be lost, not only culturally, but in the affective domain as well. We need to understand what happens to such parents and children, how they cope, what adjustments they can and must make. Seen in the wider context of the many problems associated with immigrants' acculturation into a new society, the effectiveness of intra-family communication becomes even more crucial.

References

Bradley, R. and Caldwell, B. "174 Children: A Study of the Relationship Between Home Environment and Cognitive Development During the First Five Years." In A. Gottried (ed.), *Home Environment and Early Cognitive Development: Longitudinal Research.* Orlando: Academic Press, 1984.

Bruner, J., Goodnow, J. and Austin, G. *A Study of Thinking.* New York: Wiley, 1956.

Child, I. *Italian or American?: The Second Generation in Conflict.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1970.

Cole, M. and Scribner, S. *Culture and Thought.* New York: Wiley, 1974.

Cobarrubias, J. and Fishman, J. *Progress in Language Planning.* The Hague: Mouton, 1983.

Donaldson, M. *Children's Minds.* New York: Norton, 1978.

Elkind, D. *All Grown Up and No Place to Go.* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1984.

Ervin-Tripp, S. "Is Second Language Learning Like the First?" *TESOL Quarterly,* 8 (1974), 111-127.

Fishman, J. *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups.* The Hague: Mouton, 1966.

Fishman, J. *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism.* The Hague: Mouton, 1978.

Gottfried, A. W. and Gottfried, A. E. "Home Environment and Cognitive Development in Young Children of Middle Socioeconomic Status Families." In A. Gottfried (ed.), *Home Environment and Early Cognitive Development: Longitudinal Research.* New York: Academic Press, 1984.

Hatch, E. *Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1980.

Hartig, M. "Macrosociolinguistics." In R. Kaplan (ed.), *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1980.

Haugen, E. "Bilingualism, Language Contact, and Immigrant Languages in the United States: A Research Report, 1956-1970." In J. Fishman (ed.), *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism.* The Hague: Mouton, 1978.

Heath, S. and Mandabach, F. "Language Status Decisions and the Law in the United States." In J. Cobarrubias and J. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning.* The Hague: Mouton, 1983.

Lambert, W. "The Effects of Bilingualism on the Individual: Cognitive and Sociocultural Consequences." In P. Hornby (ed.), *Bilingualism: Psychological, Social, and Educational Implications.* New York: Academic Press, 1977.

Lambert, W. "Bilingualism and Language Acquisition." In H. Wintz (ed.), *Native Language and Foreign Language Acquisition.* New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1981.

Macauley, R. *Generally Speaking: How Children Learn Language.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1980.

Malinkowski, A. "Judeo-Spanish Language Maintenance Efforts in the United States." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 44 (1983), 137-151.

Peck, S. "Child-Child Discourse in Second Language Acquisition." In E. Hatch (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1978.

Ritchie, W. *Second Language Acquisition Research: Issues and Implications.* New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Schachter, F. *Everyday Mother Talk to Toddlers.* New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Shapira, R. "The Non-learning of English: Case Study of an Adult." In E. Hatch (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1978.

Vygotsky, L. *Thought and Language.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1962.

Whorf, B. *Language, Thought, and Reality.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1956.

LANGUAGE DIFFERENCE AND LANGUAGE DISORDER IN ASIAN LANGUAGE POPULATIONS: ASSESSMENT AND INTERVENTION

CHRISTINE YOSHINAGA-ITANO

Differentiating language difference from language disorder is a critical issue when deciding programming options for Asian American children who are learning English as a second language. The answer to this question will determine whether a child receives services in an English as a second language (ESL) program or a bilingual program with reinforcement in their primary language, or whether the child is programmed in special education.

Language difference refers to the influence of a non-English native language on the characteristics and patterns of the second language, English. Language difference refers to characteristics and patterns in the learning of English as a second language which represent forms and structures common to the native language. The latter may be syntactic/grammatic structures which are translations of the native language but are not acceptable forms of either written or spoken English. Such error patterns are language differences rather than what is referred to as a language disorder.

A language disorder refers to difficulties in the learning of a language due to either perceptual problems, such as hearing acuity or visual acuity or physical/motor disorders, or to central processing problems such as neurological disorders or mental retardation. Other problems which can affect the development of language and can be described as a language disorder are emotional/behavior problems such as autism, behavior disorders, or childhood schizophrenia.

Differentiating language difference from language disorder can be a monumental task when dealing with children learning a second language. This paper will attempt to discuss the complex issues which must be investigated in order to determine whether a child has a language disorder or whether the language difficulties are simply a reflection of second language learning. The areas that must be considered include: 1) physical, developmental and health history; 2) cognitive ability; 3) social/emotional functioning; 4) auditory functioning and auditory skill development; 5) language skills including pragmatic skills or social appropriateness of language usage, syntactic skills or grammatic rule knowledge, and semantic skills or the use of word meanings; and 6) speech production (i.e. articulation of individual and connected speech sounds, voice quality and fluency). The differentiation between language difference and language disorder usually begins with a full diagnostic assessment.

Case History Interview

All comprehensive assessments begin with a case history interview with the parents of the child. The purpose of this interview is to uncover any medical/developmental information which could cause a handicapping condition such as a language disorder. If etiological factors can be identified, this may be helpful in designing an appropriate intervention program.

Certain information in a child's case history can be highly related to the presence of a language disorder such as prematurity, anoxia at birth, and high fevers. A developmental and medical history will provide information concerning physical delays. Significant delays can suggest the presence of a language disorder rather than a language difference.

A history of ear infections could have a significant effect on a child's speech and language development in both a first and second language. Certain ethnic groups in America appear to have a higher incidence of middle ear infections than others. These include Native Americans and Alaskan Eskimos. There is growing concern about the incidence of middle ear disease among Southeast Asian children. Experienced clinicians both in hospitals and public school settings have expressed concerns about the role of otitis media, particularly among Southeast Asian populations. Unfortunately, research projects on these populations have not yet been completed.

A child's case history should include information about motor and speech/language developmental milestones. While parents may not be able to remember the exact ages at which their child mastered specific developmental skills, they are usually able to identify whether the child's development seemed to be similar to that of their siblings and other children of the same age. If a parent has concerns about their child's speech and/or language development in the native language, the probability of the child having a "real" language disorder increases dramatically. Most parents are able to make this determination when they have had more than one child and are able to compare the development of language and speech of their other children with that of a child having a suspected problem.

Although many children with language disorders do not have any positive indicators in their case histories, such indicators do raise the possibility of the presence of a language disorder.

Assessment Procedures and Protocols

Cognitive Assessment

Assessments of cognition are included in diagnostic evaluations for language disorders because there is a very strong relationship between cognitive abilities and the development of language skills. Cognition is tradionally measured through verbal tests of intelligence and performance tests of intelligence that use tasks which do not require verbal instructions. The combined functioning on verbal and performance tests has been found to be a good predictor of academic achievement and language abilities among white middle class Americans for whom English is the native language. Unfortunately the introduction of a second language introduces a myriad of problems in the assessment of cognition. Verbal intelligence tests are standardized on children who have English as their native language and there are no norms for children for whom an Asian language is the native tongue. For the latter, adapted norms based on the number of years they have spoken English (and been exposed to American culture) are a critical need. Performance intelligence tests can be given to children who are not fluent in English. However, these have been shown to be poor predictors of reading and language skills and are much better predictors of math ability. Therefore, performance intelligence tests are not helpful in determining whether particular children from Asian language populations have a language disorder. Performance intelligence tests may, however, be helpful in determining developmental delay or mental retardation.

Cognitive assessment procedures, such as those utilizing intelligence tests which have both verbal and performance items, have been shown to penalize Asian American children from bilingual homes (Yoshioka, 1929; Smith, 1957; Portenier, 1945; Smith and Kasdon, 1961). Cognitive assessment procedures that are verbal intelligence tests have also been shown to penalize hearing-impaired children and language-disordered children. Tests which are non-verbal have shown that both Japanese and Chinese American children in bilingual environments achieve median scores approximately one standard deviation above national norms.

Many studies of Asian American children have examined individuals considered to be successful bilingual children who functioned without special assistance in regular education classrooms. However, the impacts of two different languages were still in evidence even ten years after children had been immersed in an English-speaking society and school environment.

Although Japanese American children have been highly successful academically, studies from 1929 to 1961 seem to indicate that the average Japanese American child was functioning slightly below the average non-Asian American child on verbal intelligence tests.

The rate of language growth is believed to be a powerful indicator of language development. An alternative to traditional measures of cognition such as verbal intelligence measures and performance intelligence measures is the assessment of play behavior in children between birth and seven years of age. Such assessments do not appear to penalize children who come from cultural environments that are different from American culture as much as verbal intelligence tests. Westby (1981) and Fewell (1984) have developed scales for use with language-delayed children. Their scales have been used successfully with Native American, Mexican American, and Southeast Asian children. Fewell's Play Assessment Scale, which was developed for children from birth through three years of age, very closely parallels prelinguistic development in children from English language backgrounds. In conjunction with non-verbal performance measures, the scales developed by Fewell and Westby provide a more comprehensive picture of those cognitive abilities which are closely related to language development.

Auditory Skills

Normal hearing is a critical factor in the learning of both first and second languages. While sensory-neural hearing losses or relatively permanent losses are not common (one in every two thousand live births), the incidence of conductive hearing losses or medically remediable losses usually due to ear infections is very common among certain populations.

The most common cause of hearing loss in young children is recurrent serious otitis media (fluid or effusion in the middle ear cavity). This middle ear infection can be treated medically, but even with medical intervention, a significant hearing loss with the potential of affecting language learning can persist. Downs (in press) has investigated the incidence of otitis media among a variety of ethnic populations. Asian American populations, such as the Chinese and Japanese who immigrated around the turn of the century, have shown evidence of incidence patterns similar to those of white Americans. However, more recent immigrants from Southeast Asia seem to be showing higher rates of otitis media. While epidemiologicial studies have not yet been conducted on recent Asian immigrant populations in the United States, most clinics are reporting an unusually high rates of otitis media among these

populations. These high rates may be similar to those found for Native American populations. While Southeast Asians have not been studied in any detail in the United States, Downs (in press) has conducted a study in Vietnam. Downs is a highly respected expert in the area of otitis media. Thirty-seven percent of middle class school children she investigated failed a hearing screening at 35 decibels. This degree of hearing loss would constitute a diagnosable hearing impairment in the United States. All of the children in her study had a positive finding of chronic suppurative otitis media. Several factors such as crowded living conditions, climate, lack of access to medical care, lack of knowledge about infection and related symptoms, and Eustachian tube dysfunction have been suggested as contributing to the occurrence of otitis media (Doyle, 1977; Berry et al., 1980).

Alaskan Eskimos have a very high incidence of recurrent episodes of otitis media. Maynard (1969) reports that 38 percent had at least one episode of otitis media by their first birthday and that 20 percent experienced two or more episodes. Downs (in press) reports an average incidence of 35 percent among both Alaskan Eskimos and Native American populations that she surveyed. However, there is great variation in the results of such studies.

Children who experience severe and frequent bouts of otitis media and concomitant hearing losses very early in their lives are at-risk for both cognitive and language deficits due to inconsistent, fluctuating auditory input (Hasenstab, 1987). In other words such children have the highest probability of having or developing a handicapping condition. Recurrent otitis media has been associated with reading disorders (Freeman and Parkins 1979), academic deficits (Ling, 1972), and lower verbal Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children scores (Kaplan et al., 1973), whereas delays in the acquisition of language have been noted by Bax (1981) and Friel-Patti et al. (1982). Middle ear pathology and corresponding hearing loss can affect auditory skills development such as discrimination and memory, speech production, and the development of phonology, semantics (including the acquisition of word meaning), syntax, and morphology.

The presence of a fluctuating, intermittent hearing loss in early childhood could have a devastating effect upon the acquisition of a first language and it probably has a similar relationship to the acquisition of a second language. Therefore, any Asian American child with chronic otitis media is at-risk for language disorders.

Speech Development-Phonological Development

The acquisition of the phonetic system of English should be evaluated for Asian American children learning English as a second language to determine if phonological errors are due to the interference of the native language or to disorders in the speech system. Cheng (1988) has provided tests and charts for each of the following Asian/Pacific language populations: Chinese, Vietnamese, Laotians, Hmong, Cambodians, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Hawaiians, Guamanians and Micronesians. Cheng discusses the phonetic interferences of each Asian language in the learning of English. As might be expected, the differences in American English pronunciation vary according to which Asian language an individual speaks as a native language. These differences are too numerous to describe here but specific information can be obtained by consulting Cheng's text, *Assessing Asian Language Performance.* Trager (1982) has charted differences in pronunciation and aural discrimination difficulties that a variety of Asian language populations encounter when learning English. These populations include the Thai, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Laotians, and Indonesians. In addition, there is a commonly held belief that the earlier an individual begins to learn a second language, the better will be his or her pronunciation of that language (Asher and Garcia, 1969; Fathman, 1975; Cochrane, 1977; Williams, 1979; Tahta et al., 1981; and Oyama, 1982). A critical period for the acquisition of any oral language has generally been accepted to be from birth to twelve years of age (Lenneberg, 1967; Tahta et al. (1981). Children from birth through eight years of age easily acquire the sounds and rhythmic patterns of a second language. However, some time around eight years of age, individuals have a tendency to speak the second language with the rhythmic, stress, and intonational patterns and speech sounds of the first language.

Voice Quality Harshness, excessive breathiness, unusual loudness characteristics, clicks, glottal stops, and any form of vocal abuse should be investigated. The inability to imitate oral-motor movements, gross motor movements, and speech sounds; distress when attempting to imitate speech or searching behavior; and spasticity and lack of muscle tone could be indications of speech motor problems or speech disorders. It is possible that some characteristics such as clicks might be part of a first language system. Therefore, these speech disorders must be individually evaluated with caution.

Dysfluencies Stuttering characteristics should be investigated. False starts, repetitions of sounds or words, grimaces associated with repetitions, distress on the part of the child when vocalizing, and long silent pauses could be indications of a speech disorder. While some children may evidence nervousness in speaking a second language, true fluency difficulties are more pronounced and may severely interfere with communication.

True voice and fluency disorders would typically occur both in the first and second languages.

Language Assessment

At the present time, there is no assessment protocol which is capable of differentiating language difference from language disorder. It is recommended that language samples be taken in the home environment and be about thirty minutes in duration. Language samples should be taken as soon as rapport is established with a child. A parent-child dialogue in the native language is usually the optimal condition. While it is true that in many Asian American homes, parent-child communication is not the same as in white American homes, a more realistic indication of a child's language is probably obtained when it is with the most familiar communicators, usually the child's immediate family members. If possible, videotapes should be taken of the child communicating in the home environment (as well as in the school environment with teachers and peers). While parents may be uncomfortable at the beginning of a taping, they usually relax within the first five to ten minutes. Parents are usually able to indicate whether they feel that their child's communication is characteristic of everyday behavior. Children should always be assessed in their native language. They can also be assessed in English, but these assessments should be based on the rate of development rather than static scores.

Videotapes can form the basis for remediation as well as for baseline data. For children who are fluent in their native language, mastery of conversational English can be expected to take from one to three years. Therefore, it is recommended that the rate of development of English mastery be monitored closely. Standardized assessments should be used more for an assessment of the rate of second language growth than for a measure of language delay or disorder.

When diagnosing language disorders in an Asian language population, it is extremely important to find out about a child's acquisition of their native language and any difficulties which were experienced. Any problems in

discriminating and producing speech sounds, remembering sequences of sounds and words, sequencing sounds, syntax, semantics, or pragmatic language characteristics are probably indicators of true language disorders.

Problems with sensory modalities, such as vision and hearing or motoric problems, should be detactable regardless of the native language of the child.

Semantics The primary focus here has been in the area of vocabulary deficit. However, further studies would probably point to other delays caused by otitis media. At the present time, there are not enough studies to report on this aspect of language development among Asian language speakers who are learning English.

Pragmatics The nature of conversational social interactions may vary in different language populations. Cheng (1988) discusses pragmatic differences between English and Chinese. Pragmatic language characteristics include turn-taking, attention-getting devices, greetings, social distance, kinship terms, proximity, politeness, gaze behavior, and pause phenomenon. There has been little research on pragmatics and the acquisition of English by individuals of from non-English speaking populations. In addition, there is no information on the effect of cultural differences on the syntactic or semantic characteristics of language development.

Syntax Certain syntactic structures are characteristic of children learning a second language. For example, people for whom Chinese is the native language who are learning English have been found either to place the negative outside the sentence, such as "No daddy see baby" or to place the negative inside the sentence but not marked correctly as in "Daddy no see the baby" (Dulay and Burt, 1972, 1974; Cancino et al., 1975). Richards (1973, 1974) has found the following characteristics in individuals learning English regardless of first language influence:

1) Object deletion, such as "John chased the girl and he scared (her)."

2) No inversion in questions, such as "What I did this morning?" "The kitten is black?"

3) Deletion of "by," such as "The boy was kissed the girl."

4) Unmarked verb in sequences, such as "The boy saw the girl and the girl kiss the boy."

5) "Be" plus an unmarked verb ("ing" missing or "ed" missing), such as "The boy is kiss the girl." "The sky is cover with cloud."

6) Incorrect pairing of auxiliary with verb markers confusion of tense markers), such as "Tom as pushing the wagon."

7) "Be"-"have" confusion, such as "The boy have sick." "The boys is a sweater."

8) Subject-verb agreement (the third person marker is missing), such as "The boy say 'hi'".

9) Omission of determiners, such as "Boy is sick."

10) Confusion of determiners (non-recognition of definite-indefinite distinctions), such as "The some apples..A best friend... He was the bad boy."

Schachter (1974) has found the following characteristics in Japanese, Persian and Chinese language populations who were learning English:

1) Relative pronoun deletion, such as "The dog chased the girl had on a red dress."

2) Relative pronoun and possessive pronoun confusion, such as "The boy helped the girl who her mother was sick."

It appears that such language-specific syntactic errors are related to second language learning and first language influence rather than true language disorders.

In summary, speech disorders and hearing disorders are generally more easily diagnosed than language disorders. There is information available relating to the syntactic development of people from Asian language populations who are learning English as a second language. However, there is minimal information available about the development of semantics and pragmatics. Therefore, subtle problems in these areas would be extremely

difficult to diagnose. Only severe problems in conceptualization and the symbolic use of language would be most readily diagnosed.

Although there are extreme difficulties in differentiating language disorder from language difference, many of the language intervention strategies which have been shown to be successful with language disordered children represent techniques which stimulate language development in normally developing children. The present philosophy is that children with language disorders require even more of what has been found to be successful with all children. In addition, such techniques have been found to be successful with children from non-English language populations who are learning English. The next section will discuss a few of the language intervention strategies that can assist both those children with true language disorders who are learning English as well as those who do not have language disorders but are trying to learn English as a second language.

Some Strategies for Improving Language

Whole language approaches for teaching language concepts have been used with children in regular classrooms, gifted and handicapped children, as well as bilingual children. These approaches are fast becoming the curriculum of choice for regular education classrooms in elementary schools throughout the United States. The more integrated the curriculum, the more sense the information will have for a child (Dixon and Nessel, 1983). Second language seems to be most successfully taught when presented predominantly through experiential learning or real-life experiences. Children should be able to remember the information provided with more ease and generalize this information to other similar experiences.

Children learn literate language by hearing books read to them. Parents, siblings, and children in a buddy system should be encouraged to read books to children learning second languages both in the native language as well as in English.

Another technique to teach a second language uses the children's own oral histories of their life experiences. These histories should be written down and illustrated and then used as readers. Motivation is high when children are reading about themselves.

Folktales from a child's native country should be used as much as possible. Familiar stories will help a child learn the appropriate language structures because the child can guess the semantic material.

Songs and rhymes which children hear over and over again can

facilitate second language learning by making rote learning fun. Especially useful are cassette tapes of children's songs and children's stories which can be listened to repeatedly.

The Use of Stories to Elicit Language

One of the most motivating topics for children learning second languages is the use of stories. Those stories which are the most familiar to children such as traditional folktales from their native countries provide the most appropriate medium for learning English. Children are more likely to comprehend English when the information is familiar.

McCord (1987) has developed a curriculum for use with young children to teach English through stories. This curriculum provides children with opportunities to hear a story, see elements within the story, develop themes within the story, use a dramatic play to enact the story and create novel renditions of the story, and learn specific concepts incorporated within the story. Westby (1982, 1984, 1985) has investigated the cognitive and linguistic aspects of children's storytelling and found that there are significant relationships between a child's ability to tell stories and their later reading comprehension scores.

Reading and Writing Strategies

Conventional materials for teaching language skills to children for whom English is the native language may not be culturally-relevant for children from Asian language populations. It is recommended that the personal histories and cultural knowledge of Asian American children be used as the basis for language instruction. Techniques which have been shown to elicit strong motivation for learning English are those which begin with a child's own knowledge base. Children could be asked to tell oral stories in their native language. These stories can be recorded and translated into English. The stories can be written both in the native language and in the English translation. Children could then be asked to illustrate their stories and to begin to read their stories in English. Such stories provide a child with opportunities to make educated guesses and inferences about the English language based on information that is familiar. Going further, children could be encouraged to edit their stories, add to their stories, and to create new endings or adaptations. These stories can be compiled and published within the classroom to form a group of child-generated books.

Children's stories should be read to them often by their teachers, parents, friends of the family, and older siblings. Cultural stories should be read to them often.

Another tool for learning English is the use of Predictable Books (Bridge, 1979). These books are commercially available and have the following characteristics: 1) they have repetitive language patterns, 2) they have one or two sentences per page and the language is accompanied by pictures which depict the information in the written language, and 3) they have rhythmic patterns. Examples include *The Hungry Caterpillar* and *Brown Bear, Brown Bear, What Do You See.*

Summary

Sensory deficits such as hearing loss and visual impairments or mental retardation and neurological involvement should be diagnosable in populations of Asian American children learning English as a second language. However, more subtle language disorders which affect pragmatic language skills, syntax development, and semantic language knowledge as well as phonological disorders are often difficult and possibly impossible to diagnose. Fortunately, appropriate techniques for children learning English as a second language and for the enhancement and development of language in language-delayed and language-disordered children have many similarities. Language stimulation based upon real life experiences, oral histories, and cultural folk tales and stories have been shown to be effective for developing language skills in both normally developing and language-impaired children.

References

Asher, J. J. *Learning Another Language Through Action.* Los Gatos, Calif.: Sky Oaks Production, 1977.

Asher, J. and Garcia, R. "The Optimal Age to Learn a Foreign Language." *Language Journal,* 53 (1969), 334-41.

Bax, M. "The Intimate Relationship of Health Development and Behavior in the Young Child." In C. Brown (ed.), *Infants at Risk: Pediatric Roundtable 5.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Johnson and Johnson, 1981.

Berry, G., Doyle, W., Bluestone, C., Cantekin, E., and Wiet, R. "Eustachian

Tube Dysfunction in an American Indian Population." *Annals of Otology, Rhinology and Laryngology,* 89 Supple. 68 (1980), 23-33.

Bridge, C. "Predictable Materials for Beginning Readers." *Language Arts,* 56(1979), 503-507.

Cancino, H., Rosansky, E. and Schumann, J. "The Acquisition of the English Auxiliary by Native Spanish Speakers." *TESOL Quarterly,* 9 (1975), 421-430.

Cheng, L. L. *Assessing Asian Language Performance.* Rockville, Md.: Aspen Publishers, Inc., 1988.

Cochrane, R. and J. Sachs. "Phonological Learning by Children and Adults in a Laboratory Setting." *Language and Speech,* 10 (1979), 35-42.

Dixon, C. and Nessel, D. *Language Experience Approach to Reading (and Writing) for Second Language Learners.* New York: Alemany Press, 1983.

Downs, M. "Language Disorders From Hearing Losses in Multicultural Populations. In V. Deal (ed.), *Communication Disorders in Multicultural Populations."* Rockville, Md.: Aspen Publications, 1988.

Doyle, W. "A Functional-Anatomic Description of Eustachian Tube Vector Relations in Four Ethnic Populations: An Osteologic Study." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1977.

Dulay, H. and Burt, M. "Goofing: An Indication of Child Second Language Learning Strategies." *Language Learning,* 22 (1972), 235-252.

Dulay, H. and Burt, M. "Errors and Strategies in Child Second Language Acquisition." *TESOL Quarterly,* 8 (1974a), 129-136.

Dulay, H. and Burt, M. "You Can't Learn Without Goofing: An Analysis of Children's Second Language 'Errors'." In J. Richards (ed.), *Error Analysis: Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition.* London: Longman, 1974b.

Fathman, A. "The Relationship Between Age and Second Language Productive Ability." *Language Learning,* 25 (1975), 245-253.

Fewell, R. *Play Assessment Scale.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984.

Freeman, B. A. and Parkins, C. "The Prevalence of Middle Ear Disease Among Learning Impaired Children." *Clinical Pediatrics,* 18 (1979), 295-312.

Friel-Patti, S., Finitzo, T., Conti, G. and Brown, K. C. "Language Delay in Infants Associated With Middle Ear Disease and Mild, Fluctuating Hearing Impairment." *Pediatric Infectious Disease,* 1 (1982), 104-109.

Hasenstab, S. *Language Learning and Otitis Media.* Boston: Little Brown, 1987.

Hall, G. E. and Loucks, S. F. "A Developmental Model for Determining Whether the Treatment is Actually Implemented." *American Educational Research Journal,* 14 (1977), 263-276.

Hall, G., Loucks, S., Rutherford, W. and Newlove, B. "Levels of Use of the Innovation: A Framework for Analyzing Innovation Adoption." *Journal of Teacher Education,* 26 (1975), 52-56.

Hartley, W. G. and Shumway, G. L. *An Oral History Primer.* Salt Lake City: The Author's Box, 1973.

Hirsch, R. and Lewinger, M. "Oral History: The Family is in the Curriculum." *Teacher,* 93 (1975), 60-62.

Kettering, J. C. *Developing Communication Competence: Interaction Activities in English as a Second Language.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Center for International Studies, 1975.

King, C. "An Investigation of Similarities and Differences in the Syntactic Abilities of Deaf and Hearing Children Learning English as a First or Second Language." Unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1981.

Krashen, S. D. *Second Language Acquisition.* Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981.

Krashen S. D. *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning.* Hayward, Calif.: The Alemany Press, 1981.

Krashen, S. D. and Terrell T. D. *The Natural Approach*. San Francisco: The Alemany Press, 1982.

Lenneberg, E. *Biological Foundations of Language*. New York: John Wiley, 1967.

Maynard, J. C. "Otitis Media in Alaskan Eskimo Children." *Alaska Medicine*, 11 (1969), 93-98.

McCord, S. "Story Book Journey." Paper presented at the National Convention of the American Speech, Language, Hearing Association, 1987.

Nessel, D. D. and Jones M. B. *The Language-Experience Approach to Reading: A Handbook for Teachers*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1981.

Neuschwander, J. *Oral Teaching as a Teaching Approach*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1976.

Oyama, S. "The Concept of the Sensitive Period in Developmental Studies." *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 25 (1979), 83-102.

Oyama, S. "The Sensitive Period for the Acquisition of a Nonnative Phonological System." In S. Krashen, R. Scarcella, and M. Long (eds), *Child-Adult Differences in Second Language Acquisition*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1982a.

Oyama, S. "The Sensitive Period and Comprehension." In S. Krashen, R. Scarcella, and M. Long (eds.), *Child-Adult Differences in Second Language Acquisition*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1982b.

Portenier, L. C. "Abilities and Interests of Japanese-American High School Seniors." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 35 (1945), 53-61.

Richards, J. "A Non-Contrastive Approach to Error Analysis." In J. Richards (ed.), *Error Analysis: Perspective on Second Language Acquisition*. London: Longman, 1974.

Sandiford, P., and Kerr, R. "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 17 (1926), 361-387.

Saville-Troike, M. *Foundations for Teaching English as a Second Language: Theory and Method.* Englewood, Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1976.

Schachter, J. "An Error in Error Analysis." *Language Learning*, 24 (1974), 205-214.

Smith, M. E. "Progress in the Use of English After 22 Years in Children of Chinese Ancestry in Honolulu." *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 90 (1957), 255-258.

Smith, M. E. and Kasdon, L. M. "Progress in the Use of English After 20 Years by Children of Filipino and Japanese Ancestry in Hawaii." *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 99 (1961), 129-178.

Tahta, S., Wood, M. and Lowenthal, K. "Foreign Accents: Factors Relating to Transfer of Accent From the First to the Second Language." *Language and Speech*, 24 (1981), 265-72.

Trager, E. D. *PD's in Depth: Pronounciation/Aural Discrimination Drills for Learners of English.* Culver City, Calif.: ELS Publications, 1982.

Westby, C. *Assessment of Cognitive and Language Abilities Through Play.* Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

Westby, C. "Cognitive and Linguistic Aspects of Children's Narrative Development." *Communication Disorders*, 7 (1982), 1-16.

Westby, C. "Development of Narrative Language Abilities." In G. P. Wallach and K. G. Butler (eds), *Language Learning Disabilities in School-Age Children.* Baltimore, Md.: Williams and Wilkins, 1984.

Westby, C. "Learning to Talk--Talking to Learn: Oral-Literate Language Differences." In C. S. Simon (ed.), *Communication Skills and Classroom Success: Therapy Methodologies for Language-Learning Disabled Students.* San Diego, Calif.: College Hill Press, 1985.

Yoshioka, J. G. "A Study of Bilingualism." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 36 (1929), 473-479.

ORTHOGRAPHY AND SECOND LANGUAGE READING

KEIKO KODA

This paper examines the effects of first language (L1) orthographic (i.e. writing) systems on the procedures through which information is processed in second language (L2) reading. In recent years, there has been a growing interest among experimental psychologists, reading theorists, linguists, and educators in the relationship between orthography and cognition. A fundamental issue has to do with whether alternative cognitive processes are involved in reading languages with different orthographies. A number of experiments have been carried out with readers of various languages, for example Serbo-Croatian (Turvey et al., 1984), Hebrew (Navon and Shimron, 1984), Chinese (Tzeng and Wang, 1983), and Japanese (Sasanuma, 1984; Paradise et al., 1985; Besner and Hildebrandt, 1987). These studies generally support the probability that different information processing tactics are involved in reading languages with different orthographies. This suggests, in turn, that specific skills and strategies are developed during the initial acquisition of L1 literacy to deal with a particular orthographic system. A crucial question, therefore, is whether these L1 reading skills and strategies are transferred when individuals read an L2 employing a different orthography. The major objective of this paper is to describe empirical evidence regarding cognitive strategy transfer in L2 reading.

Different Orthographic Systems

Three major orthographic systems--logography, syllabary, and alphabet--are presently used in various languages. In the first system, logography, one symbol usually represents the meaning of an entire word or grammatical marker. To read fluently in a language using a logographic system, readers must learn as many symbols as there are words and grammatical markers in the spoken language. In the second system, syllabary, each symbol represents a syllable. Since languages generally have fewer syllables than words, this orthographic system can embody a spoken language with fewer symbols than a logographic system. The third orthographic system is the alphabet. In this system, the unit of representation is the phoneme, the smallest sound segment. By minimizing the one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol, this system can embody a spoken language with fewer symbols than either of the other two orthographic systems.

Given these different types of orthographic representation, we can expect that the most salient difference will be observed in the word

recognition process. Word recognition here refers to the process of retrieving the sound and the meaning from the graphic representation (i.e. printed form). Presumably, two orthography-related factors are involved in determining cognitive processes underlying the word recognition processes: 1) the basic unit of orthographic representation--whether the unit of representation is sound-based or meaning-based, and 2) the degree of regularity in sound-symbol correspondence--how systematically the graphic representation can be converted into the phonological representation (i.e. speech sound). In the sections that follow, I will discuss the specific effects of these two factors on the word recognition processes in different orthographies. I will then report the results from four cross-linguistic experiments that investigated the effects of L1 orthographic systems on L2 reading processes.

Effects of the Basic Unit of Orthographic Representation

The three major orthographic systems--logography, syllabary, and alphabet--can be classified into two contrasting types on the basis of their basic units of representation: meaning-based systems (logography) and sound-based systems (syllabary and alphabet). Since these two types differ in the way phonological information is reflected in the graphic representation, the cognitive processes involved in reading may differ in the following two ways: 1) the phonological code (i.e. pronunciation system) operates differently in each, or 2) different strategies are used to obtain the phonological code.

Earlier studies of reading maintained that words were stored in the human memory in their phonological forms and that the primary function of the phonological code was to facilitate word searches in the mental dictionary (Eriksen et al., 1970; Klapp, 1971; Rubenstein et al., 1971; Meyer and Ruddy, 1973). More recent studies, however, demonstrate that the phonological code is not always essential for such word searches (Baron, 1973; Baron and Strawson, 1976; Theios and Muise, 1976; Green and Shallice, 1976; Taft, 1982; Seidenberg, 1985; Seidenberg et al., 1984; Besner and Hildebrandt, 1987). A number of experimental psychologists argue that the phonological code is used to register linguistic information in short-term memory (Kleiman, 1975; Levy, 1975, 1977; Slowiaczek and Clifton, 1980; McCutchen and Perfetti, 1982; Perfetti and McCutchen, 1982). Short-term memory studies conducted with English language readers have consistently shown that information is usually

retained better and retrieved faster when it is encoded phonologically than visually (Conrad, 1964; Eriksen et al., 1970; Baddeley, 1966; Cimbalo and Laughery, 1967).

Interestingly, recent short-term memory studies with Chinese language readers have also demonstrated that memory performance is better when information is encoded phonologically than visually (Yik, 1978; Mou and Anderson, 1981; Zhang and Simon, 1985; Yu et al., 1985). Since Chinese uses a logographic system, this finding indicates that readers using a logographic, or meaning-based, system also use the phonological code to register information in short-term memory. Presumably then, phonological encoding is the most effective method for registering information in short-term memory regardless of the type of orthographic system. Since, in order to process longer and more complex linguistic materials, segmental information must be held in short-term memory no matter what orthographic system is used (Just and Carpenter, 1980, 1987; Kintch and van Dijk, 1978; Perfetti and Lesgold, 1977; Daneman and Carpenter, 1980), it seems fair to conclude that the function of the phonological code does not differ in the reading processes of meaning-based and sound-based orthographic systems. What, then, about the second possible way that meaning-based and sound-based systems differ on the cognitive processes involved in reading, using different strategies for obtaining the phonological code?

In sound-based systems, the graphic representation always provides phonological information. Phonological information is thus visually accessible. Logically, then, the most efficient phonological coding strategies involve analyzing the graphic representation. A number of reading theorists argue that alternative strategies are used for phonological coding among sound-based readers, such as pattern matching (Glushko, 1979; Henderson, 1985), symbol-to-sound translation (Coltheart, 1978; Patterson and Morton, 1985), and a combination of both (Rosson, 1985). However, irrespective of the strategies employed, phonological coding in sound-based orthographies always involves the direct analysis of phonological elements embedded in the graphic representation. It has been reported, in fact, that unpronounceability seriously impedes the reading processes of English language (sound-based) readers (Cunningham and Cunningham, 1978), which is not necessarily the case with meaning-based orthographic systems (Koda, 1987).

In meaning-based orthographic systems, the phonological code is not represented graphically, and therefore, it is visually inaccessible. In meaning-based systems, a sound used in speech is arbitrarily assigned to each symbol (Kaiho and Nomura, 1983; Shirakawa, 1978). In such systems, the

phonological code is retrieved through memory search (Gleitman, 1985; Gleitman and Rozin, 1977; Mann, 1985). Memory search, however, is not the only strategy available to readers of languages using meaning-based systems. If the phonological code were obtained through memory search alone, we would need to assume that the phonological code for all symbols is stored in memory. Obviously, such an assumption is psychologically untenable. In reality, meaning-based readers encounter many symbols they have never before seen as well as symbols whose pronunciation they cannot recall. It is conceivable, then, that an alternative strategy is available to meaning-based readers when they must deal a character not referenced in their memory. Given the arbitrary nature of sound assignments, meaning-based readers presumably invent a sound for such a character and use it as the phonological code. At least two distinct strategies are thus used by meaning-based readers to obtain phonological codes. The characteristic common to both is that neither involves a direct analysis of the graphic representation, which is in striking contrast to the strategies used by sound-based readers. Recent research demonstrates that memory of logographic words is correlated with both non-linguistic and linguistic memory, while memory of syllabic and alphabetic words correlates only with linguistic memory (Mann, 1985).

A comparative analysis of strategies for obtaining the phonological code therefore demonstrates that a major distinction between sound and meaning-based orthographic systems lies in the extent to which readers make use of phonological information in the graphic representation. In sum, sound-based readers rely heavily on what is available in the graphic representation, while meaning-based readers may create a phonological code regardless of whether or not phonological information is present in the graphic representation. This leads to the following hypothesis. Since sound-based readers obtain the phonological code through a direct analysis of the graphic representation, their reading processes would be seriously impaired if phonological information were not available in the graphic representation; conversely, phonological inaccessibility does not hinder meaning-based readers to the same extent because they are much less dependent on phonological information in devising a phonological code. This hypothesis was tested through two cross-linguistic experiments.

Experiment 1

Experiment 1 examined the effects of blocking phonological information in the graphic representation on the reading performance of L2

readers of English from different L1 backgrounds. The subjects were 83 educated adult L2 learners of English whose L1 was sound-based (Arabic, Spanish, and English for control) and meaning-based (Japanese). Two passages of approximately 350 words each were constructed, one describing the characteristics of five imaginary fish[1] and the other describing the characteristics of five fictitious cocktails.

In the experimental condition, Sanskrit symbols were used as names for the fish and cocktails while in the control condition, pronouceable English nonsense words were substituted for the Sanskrit symbols. Since the subjects had no knowledge of Sanskrit or its writing system, its symbols presumably represented a phonologically inaccessible element in the experimental condition.

Each subject read two passages, one with Sanskrit symbols and the other with English nonsense words. The subjects were instructed to read the passages silently at a comfortable speed for comprehension. They were told that their reading time would be measured and also that they would be asked to take a comprehension test afterward.

The means and standard deviations of the two outcome measures, reading time and comprehension test scores, are presented in Tables 1 and 2 respectively. The data were analyzed using two two-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) designs. The results show that the decrement in reading time between the experimental and control conditions was significantly greater for the sound-based (Arabic, English, and Spanish) readers than for the meaning-based (Japanese) readers and that no significant difference was found in the way the four groups performed on the comprehension tests between the two conditions. See Figure 1.

These results indicate that phonological inaccessibility (Sanskrit symbols) had differential effects on the reading processes of sound-based and meaning-based readers. As predicted, the reading processes of the sound-based readers were seriously impaired by phonological inaccessibility while this inaccessiblity had significantly less impact on the reading processes of the meaning-based (Japanese) readers. In fact, about half of the Japanese readers (11 out of 21) spent less time reading the Sanskrit passages than the control passages compared to 25 percent of the Arabic, none of the English, and 15 percent of the Spanish readers. These findings suggest that the

---

[1]The fish passage was devised by Cunningham and Cunnigham (1978). The original passaged was shortened slightly for this study.

reading effectiveness of the sound-based readers was more seriously impaired by phonological inaccessibility than that of the meaning-based readers. Hence, the findings of this experiment suggest that sound-based readers relied on phonological information in the graphic representation significantly more heavily than meaning-based readers, implying that these two groups used different strategies in the reading process.

Although the results of this experiment favor the hypothesis posed earlier, one could argue that the Japanese readers were simply better at dealing with visual complexity because of their experience with Kanji and that the data do not necessarily indicate differential strategies involved in phonological coding. Experiment 2 was therefore conducted to examine phonological coding strategies more directly among the four language groups.

Experiment 2

It has been claimed that the phonological code is not only suited for representing linguistic materials in short-term memory but also for retaining ordered information (Hanson, 1982; Baddeley, 1978; Crowder, 1978; Healy, 1975). Consequently, it has been argued that phonological encoding is the most efficient strategy for registering information in short-term memory. Previous studies have reported that short-term memory performance is seriously impaired by phonological interference (Conrad and Hull, 1964; Rubenstein et al., 1971; Wickelgren, 1965) but not by visual interference (Baddeley, 1966; Cimbalo and Laughery, 1967). Recent short-term memory studies with Chinese readers (Mou and Anderson, 1981; Yik, 1978; Zhang and Simon, 1985) suggest that phonological encoding is the most preferred strategy regardless of orthographic background.

Given that interference with phonological encoding results in poor short-term memory performance, this experiment compared the effects of two types of phonological interference on short-term memory performance using the subjects who participated in Experiment 1. Two phonological interference sets were constructed, one with phonologically similar letter-strings and a second with unpronounceable letter-strings. In the phonologically similar set, letter-strings were composed so that they were all pronounced /keis/ (e.g. CAIS, KEIS, KACE and CACE). In the unpronounceable set, letters were combined so that each string violated English language orthographic rules (e.g., XJWZ, QNWF, and QZJN). A third set was constructed with phonologically dissimilar but graphically similar letter-strings. In this set, four pairs of graphically similar letters (e.g. C and

G, I and L, O and D, E and F) were combined to make four-letter strings which looked alike but maintained a distinctiveness in their underlying phonological codes (e.g., CIOE, CLOF, and CIDE). Since visual confusability has limited effects on short-term memory performance (Baddeley, 1966; Cimbalo and Laughery, 1967), this set presumably served as a control. Each of the three sets described above consisted of eight four-letter strings.

The effects of phonological interference were also examined using the Japanese language. Since no studies, to date, have compared the effects of different types of phonological interference on short-term memory performance among Japanese in their L1, it was necessary to obtain information about their L1 encoding strategies to be able to analyze L1 orthographic effects on L2 information processing.

Three Japanese languge sets, corresponding to the three English language sets, were constructed with pseudo-Chinese characters. In the phonologically similar set, pseudo-Chinese characters were constructed by combining non-phonetic/non-semantic radicals and two types of syllabary symbols which carry the same phonological value /ji/. The unpronounceable set consisted of characters constructed by combining two non-phonetic/non-semantic radicals. In the phonologically dissimilar/graphically similar set, non-phonetic radicals which looked alike were combined with syllabary symbols which were graphically similar but phonologically dissimilar.

Since the subjects in this experiment had no knowledge of Sanskrit, a Sanskrit language set was constructed to control for variations in short-term memory capacity among the four langauge groups in the experiment. If no significant difference among the four groups on this set were found, it could be claimed that short-term memory capacity among the groups was not significantly different, and therefore, any differences found using the other sets would be attributable to different phonological coding strategies.

In the experiment, the subjects were instructed that they would be shown a series of five words one at a time and that their task was to remember the sequence in which the five words were presented. In each trial, immediately after the presentation of a series of five words, a probe word (one of the five words), was shown to the subjects and they were asked which word followed the probe word in the series. There were eight trials per set, and a total of 56 trials were given to each subject. Upon completion of the task, a debriefing interview was conducted with most of the subjects to learn about the strategies they had used to perform the task in each set.

The means and the standard deviations of the recall test scores are

presented in Table 3. In order to test the effects of phonological interference on short-term memory recall performance, a two-way repeated measures ANOVA was performed. As predicted, this analysis revealed that recall performance was significantly better in the phonologically dissimilar/graphically similar (control) set than in either of the other two interference sets.

This result indicates that the subjects, regardless of their orthographic backgrounds, performed better when no phonological interference was present and that graphic similarity has limited effects on short-term memory performance. These findings are consistent with previous research and confirms that phonological encoding is used more dominantly than graphic encoding (Levy, 1971; Conrad, 1964; Murry, 1965; Baddeley, 1978).

In order to examine different phonological coding strategies among meaning-based and sound-based readers, the effects of different types of phonological interference (i.e. phonological similarity and unpronounceability) on short-term memory performance were compared using a two-way repeated measures ANOVA. It was found that the meaning-based (Japanese) readers performed better on the unpronounceable set than on the phonologically similar set while the sound-based (Arabic, English, and Spanish) readers did better on the phonologically similar set than on the unpronounceable set. See Table 3. These results suggest that different strategies were used for phonological coding among meaning-based and sound-based readers.

In order to obtain information about phonological coding strategies among the Japanese readers in their L1, their short-term memory recall performance on the three Japanese sets was analyzed using a one-way ANOVA. As predicted, the data demonstrated that the Japanese readers performed best on the Japanese phonologically dissimilar/graphically similar (control) set and that their performance was better on the Japanese unpronounceable set than on the Japanese phonologically similar set. A post-hoc analysis (Student-Neuman-Keules) further revealed that the difference in recall test scores between the phonologically dissimilar/graphically similar set and the unpronounceable set was not significant but the difference between these two sets and the phonologically similar set was significant.

These results suggest that phonological coding among the Japanese readers was seriously impaired by phonological similarity, but not by either graphic similarity or unpronounceability. In the debriefing interviews, the Japanese readers reported using phonological coding strategies for unpronounceable pseudo-characters, for example using a reading of real

characters which contained the same radicals, using a name of the radicals, and naming a character using its physical attributes such as "four dots," "box," and "square." Thus, these data verify that meaning-based readers did form a phonological code without conducting a direct analysis of phonological information in the graphic representation. Consequently, these findings confirm that phonological coding strategies used by Japanese subjects were consistent when processing L1 and L2, implying that L1 processing strategies were transferred to L2 processing.

Lastly, the data from the Sanskrit set were analyzed using a one-way ANOVA. It was found that the English readers performed best followed by the Japanese, Spanish, and Arabic readers in this respective order. The difference among the four groups, however, was found not to be significant. In the debriefing interviews, subjects reported that they processed Sanskrit stimuli as a picture. They first identified the physical characteristics of each stimulus and then associated these with something familiar. They then encoded stimuli using the names of familiar objects. The fact that the performance of the four groups on the Sanskrit set did not differ significantly suggests that there was no difference among the four groups in short-term memory capacity. It seems reasonable, therefore, to claim that the differences found using the other sets were attributable to different phonological coding strategies.

To summarize, the data from the two experiments described above consistently demonstrate that blocking phonological information in the graphic representation had different effects on information processing for sound-based and meaning-based readers. Phonological inaccessibility had limited effects on the reading processes of meaning-based readers while it seriously impaired the reading processes of sound-based readers. The results of the two experiments thus support the primary hypothesis that different strategies are used by sound-based and meaning-based readers to obtain the phonological code. Hence, the findings of these experiments provide empirical evidence of the effects of L1 orthographic systems on the cognitive processes used in L2 reading.

Effects of Regularity in Sound-Symbol Correspondence

The degree of regularity in sound-symbol correspondence is a seocnd orthography-related factor involved in determing cognitive processes underlying the word recognition process. The degree of regularity determines how well the phonological code is recovered from the graphic representation

and the systematicity of the sound retrieval process. In phonologically highly regular orthographies (e.g. Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, and Arabic), sound-symbol correspondence is rule-governed and the sound retrieval process is highly systematic. As sound-symbol correspondence becomes less regular, there is a corresponding reduction in systematicity in the sound retrieval process. The English language, for example, is sound-based in nature. However, the irregularity of its sound-symbol correspondence makes it phonologically less recoverable and the sound retrieval process less systematic.

As discussed earlier, in logographic, or meaning-based, orthographies, such as Japanese Kanji and Chinese characters, the phonological code is arbitrarily assigned to the graphic representation. Because of this arbitrary nature of sound assignment, the sound-symbol correspondence in logographic orthographies is phonologically least regular. Since a single symbol in a logographic orthography corresponds to the sound of a whole word on a one-for-one basis, the recovery of the phonological code becomes an all-or-nothing process. Consequently, there is little systematicity in the sound retrieval process.

Given the varying degrees of systematicity in sound-retrieval processes, we can expect different structural relationships between sound retrieval and meaning retrieval in the word recognition processes of phonologically highly regular and least regular orthographies. In the word recognition process of phonologically highly regular orthographies, the two retrieval processes, sound and meaning, occur sequentially in that respective order. The word recognition process here can thus be characterized as linear-mode processing. Studies on word recognition in highly regular orthographies consistently show that the sound-retrieval process always occurs prior to meaning retrieval (Turvey et al., 1984; Navon and Shimron, 1984; Coltheart, 1981, 1984; Henderson, 1982, 1984, 1985; Saito, 1981; Taft, 1985).

By contrast, the word recognition process of phonologically least regular (i.e. logographic) orthographies can be characterized as parallel-mode processing. In logographic orthographies, sound retrieval and meaning retrieval are parallel, and, in theory, sound retrieval can occur at any time independent of meaning retrieval. Realistically, however, it would seem that sound retrieval occurs simultaneously or after meaning retrieval. Studies on the reading process of logographic readers have consistently demonstrated that they have and use direct access to meaning without sound retrieval (Rozin et al., 1971; Liberman et al., 1977; Saito, 1981; Nomura, 1981; Gleitman, 1985; Mann, 1985).

Sound-based orthographic systems with low regularity in sound-symbol

correspondence, such as English and French, lie between the two orthographic extremes. The basic unit of representation in English, for example, is best characterized as morpho-phonemic (Chomsky and Hall, 1968; Wijk, 1966) and has properties common to both phonologically highly regular and least regular orthographies. Because of this, it has been argued that a dual-approaching system is used in English for retrieving meaning (Huey, 1968; Coltheart, 1978; Baron and Strawson, 1976). In the dual approaching system, readers use two different approaches to retrieve meaning, an indirect sound-mediated approach and a direct visual approach.

Since English allows for these two alternative approaches, it provides a basis for an investigation of word recognition proceeses among L2 English readers with different L1 orthographic backgrounds. If a preference in either approach, indirect sound-mediated or direct visual, is shown by L2 learners of English that consistent with that of their L1 background, we can further verify the L1 orthographic impact on information processing in L2 reading.

Two cross-linguistic experiments were conducted with 63 skilled L2 English readers with different L1 backgrounds (Arabic, Japanese, and Spanish). These were the same subjects who participated in the two experiments reported earlier.

Experiment 3

Experiment 3 investigated the effects of blocking visual and phonological information on lexical decision-making[2]. Two lexical decision-making tests were constructed for two conditions: visual and sound. In the visual condition, subjects were forced to use the direct visual approach to make lexical decisions. Forty pairs each consisting of a real English word and a corresponding pseudo-homophone (e.g. "rain" and "rane") were presented to examine lexical decision-making when the phonological code could not be used as a clue. The subjects were asked to choose the real English word in each pair as quickly and carefully as possible.

The sound condition was designed to force subjects to use the indirect sound-mediated approach to make lexical decisions. This condition contained 40 pairs each consisting of a pseudo-homophone (e.g. "rane" for "rain") and a pronounceable nonsense letter-string (e.g. "tane") which were to examine meaning retrieval processes when visual information could not serve as a clue. In this condition, the subjects were asked to choose the word in each pair

[2]Experiment 3 replicated one of the tasks used by Olson et al. (1984).

which sounded like a real English word.

The means and the standard deviations of two outcome measures, response time and accuracy (i.e. the number of correct answers), are presented in Tables 4 and 5 respectively. The data were analyzed using two two-way repeated measures ANOVAs.

The result of the first ANOVA demonstrated that the decrement in response time between the two conditions was significantly greater for the meaning-based (Japanese) readers than for the phonologically highly regular (Arabic and Spanish) readers.

Although the result from the second ANOVA for accuracy indicated a significant difference in task performance among the three groups between the two conditions, it appeared to be an artifact of the ceiling effect observed in the visual condition. This result, therefore, does not seem to provide reliable information. The fact that no negative correlation was found between speed and accuracy in either condition suggests that the speed-accuracy trade-off did not take place in the experiment. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the difference in the decrement in response time among the three groups represents differential effects of the treatment conditions on their task performance.

The data thus demonstrated that the lexical decision-making of phonologically least regular (Japanese) readers was seriously inhibited by the unavailability of visual information, whereas blocking visual information had significantly less impact on the lexical decision-making of phonologically highly regular (Spanish and Arabic) readers. Hence, different information processing procedures were involved in lexical decision-making among subjects with different L1 backgrounds.

Experiment 4

Experiment 4 examined the effects of visual confusability on the reading comprehension process between phonologically least regular (meaning-based) and highly regular readers. In this experiment, heterographic homophones (e.g. "eight" and "ate"), were used as confusable visual elements. Heterographic homophones share the underlying phonological code, but they differ in their graphic representation as well as meaning. It was hypothesized that when heterographic homophones were presented in a text, the reading processes of meaning-based readers would be seriously impaired while heterographic homophones would not hinder the reading processes of phonologically highly regular readers.

Two passages with approximately 250 words each were constructed on two topics, hiking and birthday. In the experimental condition, 20 words were replaced by their heterographic homophones to block visual information. The subjects were instructed to read the passages at a comfortable speed even though reading time would be measured. They were also informed that they would be asked to take a short recall test consisting of eight questions afterward. In addition to the recall test, a homophone detection task was given to each subject. In this task, the subjects were asked to find as many misspelled words (i.e., homophones) as possible. There was no time limit for this task.

The means and standard deviations of three outcome measures--reading time, recall test scores, and homophone detection test scores--are presented in Tables 6, 7, and 8 respectively. The data were analyzed using two two-way repeated measures ANOVAs and a one-way ANOVA.

The result of the first two-way ANOVA demonstrated that the decrement in reading time between the two conditions was significantly greater for the meaning-based readers than for the phonologically highly regular readers. This result indicates that visual confusability (hereogrphic homophones) inhibited the reading process of meaning-based readers more seriously than that of phonologically highly regular readers. This finding thus suggests that meaning-based readers retrieved meaning directly from the graphic representation.

The second two-way ANOVA was performed with recall test scores. Although statistically not significant, the decrement in recall test scores between the two conditions was greater for the phonologically highly regular orthographic readers than for the meaning-based readers. This result, together with the result from the first ANOVA, indicates that meaning-based readers detected inconsistencies between graphic representations and meanings more successfully than phonologically highly regular readers and that they spent extra time on homophonic passages to correct inconsistencies which resulted in a longer reading time but better comprehension in the experimental condition.

Table 8 shows the results of the homophone detection test. The one-way ANOVA indicates a significant difference in the number of homophones detected by the three groups. Japanese readers detected the most homophones followed by the Spanish and then the Arabic readers. A post-hoc analysis (Student-Neuman-Keules) demonstrated that the difference between the Japanese and the other two groups was significant but that the difference between the latter two groups was not. These results again indicate

that meaning-based readers were significantly more sensitive to anomalies presented in the graphic representation than phonologically highly regular readers.

Hence, the results of these last two experiments consistently demonstrated that blocking graphic information resulted in poor performance among meaning-based readers, suggesting that they retrieved meaning directly from the graphic representation. In contrast, readers of phonologically highly regular orthographies seemed to retreive sound prior to retrieving meaning, and therefore, the blocking of graphic information exerted a limited impact on their reading performance. Thus, the findings from the two experiments suggest that different cognitive processing modes (linear versus parallel) were involved in reading English as an L2, and that the performance pattern reflected the processing mode used in the respective L1, indicating that cognitive process transfer did take place in L2 reading.

Conclusions

This paper has investigated the effects of L1 orthographic systems on cognitive processes in L2 reading. Based on previous research findings, two orthography-related factors were identified, the basic unit of representation and the degree of regularity in sound-symbol correspondence. The effects of these two factors on information processing in L2 reading were tested through four cross-linguistic experiments using readers from different L1 orthographic backgrounds (Arabic, Japanese, and Spanish). The results of these experiments consistently showed that these three groups used different information processing procedures in reading English as an L2 both as individual lexical items and as a text. Importantly, the different response patterns of the three groups were consistent with the procedual behavior which would be predicted from their L1 orthographic backgrounds. These experiments therefore provide empirical evidence of native-language orthographic influence on information processing in L2 reading.

Further research should be undertaken to obtain insights regarding the precise nature of the transfer of cognitive processes in L2 learning. More information about cognitive transfer in higher order processing (e.g. syntax and discourse) would yield valuable clues in the quest for a better understanding of the cognitive dimensions of transfer phenomena.

Finally, although the present paper does not have a direct bearing on practice, the findings reported here provide a basis for subsequent instructional studies. Since the data demonstrate that L1 cognitive processes

are retained in L2 reading, it would be worthwhile to determine whether L2 cognitive strategies can be taught directly. Since the merits of cognitive strategy instruction have been demonstrated in L1 reading/learning research (Palincsar and Brown, 1984; Tierney and Cunningham, 1984; Weinstein and Mayer, 1986), such studies could contribute to the improvement of English as a second language (ESL) reading instruction and bilingual education in general.

References

Baddeley, A. D. "Short Term Memory for Word Sequences as a Function of Acoustic, Semantic, and Formal Similarity." *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 18 (1966), 362-365.

Baddeley, A. D. "The Trouble with Levels: A Reexamination of Craik and Lockhart's Framework for Memory Research." *Psychological Review*, 85 (1976), 139-152.

Baron, J. "Phonemic Stage Not Necessary for Reading." *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 25 (1973), 241-246.

Baron, J. and Strawson, C. "Use of Orthographic and Word-Specific Knowledge in Reading Words Aloud." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 2 (1976), 386-393.

Besner, D. and Hildebrandt, N. "Orthographic and Phonological Codes in the Oral Reading of Japanese Kana." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition*, 13 (1987), 335-343.

Chomsky, N. and Halle, M. *The Sound Pattern of English.* New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Cimbalo, R. S. and Laughery, K. B. "Short Term Memory: Effects of Auditory and Visual Similarity." *Psychonomic Science*, 8 (1967), 57-58.

Coltheart, M. "Lexical Access in Simple Reading Tasks." In G. Underwood (ed.), *Strategies of Information Processing.* London: Academic Press, 1978.

Coltheart, M. "Disorders of Reading and Their Implications for Models of

Normal Reading." *Visible Language*, 15 (1981), 245-286.

Coltheart, M. "Writing Systems and Reading Disorders." In L. Henderson (ed.), *Orthographies and Reading: Perspectives From Cognitive Psychology, Neuropsychology, and Linguistics.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1984.

Conrad, R. "Acoustic Confusion in Immediate Memory." *British Journal of Psychology*, 55 (1964), 75-84.

Conrad, R. and Hull, A. J. "Information, Acoustic Confusion and Memory Span." *British Journal of Psychology*, 55 (1964), 429-432.

Crowder, R. C. "Language and Memory." In J. F. Kavanagh and W. Strange (eds.), *Speech and Language in the Laboratory, School and Clinic.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press., 1978

Cunningham, P. M. and Cunningham, J. W. "Investigating the 'Print to Meaning' Hypothesis." In P. D. Pearson, and J. Hansen (eds.), *Reading: Disciplined Inquiry in Process and Practice* [27th Yearbook of the National Reading Conference]. Clemson: The National Reading Conference, 1978.

Daneman, M. and Carpenter, P. A. "Individual Differences in Working Memory and Reading." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 19 (1980), 450-466.

Eriksen, C. W., Pollack, M. D., and Montague, W. E. "Implicit Speech: Mechanisms in Perceptual Coding?" *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 84 (1970), 502-507.

Gleitman, L. R. "Orthographic Resources Affect Reading Acquisition--If They Are Used." *Remedial and Special Education*, 6 (1985), 24-36.

Gleitman, L. R. and Rozin, P. "The Structure and Acquisition of Reading I: Relation Between Orthographies and the Structure of Language." In A. S. Reber and D. L. Scarborough (eds.), *Toward a Psychology of Reading: The Procedings of the CUNY Conference.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1977.

Glushko, R. J. "The Organization and Activation of Orthographic Knowledge

in Reading Aloud." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Perfomance*, 5 (1979), 674-691.

Green, D. W. and Shallice, T. "Direct Visual Access in Reading for Meaning." *Memory and Cognition*, 4 (1976), 753-758.

Hanson, V. L. "Short-Term Recall by Deaf Signers of American Sign Language: Implications of Encoding Strategy for Order Recall." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 8 (1982), 572-583.

Healy, A. F. "Coding of Temporal-Spatial Patterns in Short-Terrm Memory." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 14 (1975), 481-495.

Henderson, L. *Orthography and Word Recognition in Reading.* London: Academic Press, 1982.

Henderson, L. "Writing System and Reading Processes." In L. Henderson (ed.), *Orthographies and Reading: Perspectives From Cognitive Psychology, Neuropsychology, and Linguistics.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1984.

Henderson, L. "Issues in the Modeling of Pronunciation Assembly in Normal Reading." In K. E. Patterson, J. C. Marshall, and M. Coltheart (eds.), *Surface Dyslexia*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1985.

Huey, E. B. *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Reading.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968. (Original work published in 1908).

Just, M. A. and Carpenter, P. A. "A Theory of Reading: From Eye Fixation to Comprehension." *Psychological Review*, 87 (1980), 329-354.

Just, M. A. and Carpenter, P. A. *The Psychology of Reading and Language Comprehension.* Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon., 1987.

Kaiho, H. and Nomura, Y. *Kanji Johoshori no shinrigaku* [The Psychology of Kanji Processing]. Tokyo: Kyoiku Shuppan, 1983.

Kintch, W. and van Dijk, T. A. "Toward a Model of Text Comprehension." *Psychological Review*, 85 (1978), 363-394.

Klapp, S. T. "Implicit Speech Inferred From Response Latencies in Same-Different Decisions," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 91 (1971), 262-267.

Kleiman, G. M. "Speech Recoding in Reading." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 14 (1975), 323-340.

Koda, K. "Cognitive Strategy Transfer in Second Language Reading." In J. Devine, P. L. Carrell, and D. E. Eskey (eds.), *Research in Reading English as a Second Language*. Washington, D. C.: TESOL, 1987.

Levy, B. A. "Role of Articulation in Auditory and Visual Short-Term Memory." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 10 (1971), 123-132.

Levy, B. A. "Vocalization and Suppression Effects in Sentence Memory." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 14 (1975), 304-314.

Levy, B. A. "Reading: Speech and Meaning Processes." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 16 (1977), 623-628.

Liberman, I. Y., Shankweiler, D., Liberman, A. M., Fowler, C., and Fischer, F. W. "Phonetic Segmentation and Recoding in the Beginning Reader." In A. S. Reber and D. L. Scarborough (eds.), *Toward a Psychology of Reading*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1977.

Mann, V. A. "A Cross-Linguistic Perspective on the Relation Between Temporary Memory Skills and Early Reading Ability." *Remedial and Special Education*, 6 (1985), 37-42.

McCutchen, D., and Perfetti, C. A. "The Visual Tongue-Twister Effect: Phonological Activation in Silent Reading." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 21 (1982), 672-687.

Meyer, D. E. and Ruddy, M. G. "Lexical-Memory Retrieval Based on Graphemic and Phonemic Representation of Printed Words." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Psychonomic Society, 1973.

Mou, L. C. and Anderson, N. S. "Graphemic and Phonemic Codings of Chinese Characters in Short-Term Retention." *Bulletin of the Psychomic*

Society, 17 (1981), 255-258.

Murry, D. J. "Vocalization-at-Presentation and Immediate Recall With Varying Presentation Rates." *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 17 (1965), 47-56.

Navon, D. and Shimron, J. "Reading Hebrew: How Necessary is the Graphemic Representation of Vowels?" In L. Henderson (ed.), *Orthographies and Reading: Perspectives From Cognitive Psychology, Neuropsychology, and Linguistics*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1984.

Nomura, Y. "The Information Processing of Kanji and Kana Script: The Effects of Data-Driven and Conceptually-Driven Processing on Reading." *The Japanese Journal of Psychology*, 51 (1981), 327-334.

Olson, R. K., Kliegel, R., Davison, B. J., and Foltz, G. "Individual and Developmental Differences in Reading Disability." In T. G. Waller (ed.), *Reading Research: Advances in Theory and Practice, Volume 4.* New York: Academic Press, 1984.

Palincsar, A. S. and Brown, A. L. "Reciprocal Teaching of Comprehension-Fostering and Monitoring Activities." *Cognition and Instruction*, 1 (1984), 117-75.

Paradis, M., Hagiwara, H., and Hildbrandt, N. *Neurolinguistic Aspects of the Japanese Writing System*. New York: Academic Press, 1985.

Patterson, K. E. and Morton, J. "From Orthography to Phonology: An Attempt at an Old Interpretation." In K. E. Patterson, J. C. Marshall, and M. Coltheart (eds.), *Surface Dyslexia*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1985.

Perfetti, C. A. and Lesgold, A. M. "Discourse Comprehension and Source of Individual Differences." In M. A. Just and P. A. Carpenter (eds.), *Cognitive Processes in Comprehension*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1977.

Perfetti, C. A. and McCutchen, D. "Speech Process in Reading." In N. Lass (ed.), *Advances in Speech and Language, Volume 7.* New York: Academic Press, 1982.

Rosson, M. B. "The Interaction of Pronunciation Rules and Lexical Representation in Reading Aloud." *Memory and Cognition*, 13 (1985), 90-99.

Rozin, P., Poninsky, S., and Sotsky, R. "American Children With Reading Problems can Easily Learn to Read English Represented by Chinese characters." *Science*, 17 (1971), 1264-1267.

Rubenstein, H., Lewis, S. S., and Rubenstein, M. A. "Evidence for Phonemic Recording in Visual Word Recognition." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 10 (1971), 647-657.

Saito, H. "The Use of Graphemic and Phonemic Encoding in Reading Kanji and Kana." *The Japanese Journal of Psychology*, 52 (1981), 266-273.

Sasanuma, S. "Can Surface Dyslexia Occur in Japanese?" In L. Henderson (ed.), *Orthographies and Reading: Perspectives From Cognitive Psychology, Neuropsychology and Linguistics*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1984.

Seidenberg, M. S. "The Time Course of Phonological Code Activation in Two Writing Systems." *Cognition*, 19 (1985), 1-30.

Shirakawa, S. *Kanji Hyakuwa* [Hundred Stories of Kanji]. Tokyo: Chukoshinsho, 1978.

Slowiaczek, M. L. and Clifton, C., Jr. "Subvocalization and Reading for Meaning." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 19 (1980), 573-582.

Taft, M. "An Alternative to Grapheme-Phoneme Conversion Rules?" *Memory and Cognition*, 10 (1982), 465-474.

Theios, J., and Muise, J. G. "The Word Identification Process in Reading." In N. J. Castellan, Jr. and D. Piosoni (eds.), *Cognitive Theory* (Vol. 2). Potomac, Md.: Erlbaum, 1976.

Tierney, R., and Cunningham, J. "Research on Teaching Reading Comprehension." In P. D. Pearson (ed.), *The Handbook of Reading Research*. New York: Longman, 1984.

Turvey, M. T., Feldman, L. B., and Lukatela, G. "The Serbo-Croatian

Orthography Constrains the Reader to a Phonologically Analytic Strategy." In L. Henderson (ed.), *Orthographies and Reading: Perspectives From Cognitive Psychology, Neuropsychology, and Linguistics*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1984.

Tzeng, O. L. and Wang, W. "The First Two R's: The Way Different Languages Reduce Speech to Script Affects How Visual Information is Processed in the Brain." *American Scientist*, 71 (1983), 238-243.

Weinstein, C. and Mayer, R. "The Teaching of Learning Strategies." In M. Wittrock (ed.), *The Handbook of Research on Teaching*. New York: Macmillan, 1986.

Wickelgren, W. A. "Acoustic Similarity and Retroactive Interference in Short-Term Memory." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 70 (1965), 102-108.

Wijk, A *Rule of Pronunciation for the English Language*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Yik, W. F. "The Effect of Visual and Acoustic Similarity on Short-Term Memory for Chinese Words." *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 30 (1978), 487-494.

Yu, B., Zhang, W. Jing, Q., Peng, R., Zhang, G., and Simon, H. A. "STM Capacity for Chinese and English Language Materials." *Memory and Cognition*, 13 (1985), 202-207.

Zhang, G., and Simon, H. A. "STM Capacity for Chinese Words and Idioms: Chunking and Acoustical Loop Hypotheses." *Memory and Cognition*, 13 (1985), 193-201.

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Reading Time(in seconds)

Group	N	Condition			
		Experimental		Control	
		M	SD	M	SD
Arabic	20	212.16	62.68	244.64	72.75
English	21	100.71	36.49	147.29	68.85
Japanese	22	205.08	65.06	210.62	67.26
Spanish	20	143.78	43.08	178.29	46.54

Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations of Comprehension Test Scores

Group	N	Condition			
		Control		Experimental	
		M	SD	M	SD
Arabic	20	6.78	2.65	6.23	2.81
English	21	9.41	1.54	9.17	2.13
Japanese	22	8.93	2.13	8.03	3.23
Spanish	20	8.18	2.54	6.88	2.98

Maximum score = 10.

Table 3: Means and Standard Deviations of STM Recall Test Scores

Conditions		Group			
		Arabic (N=18)	English (N=21)	Japanese (N=22)	Spanish (N=20)
English Stimulus Sets					
Phonologically Similar					
	M	2.44	3.05	2.56	2.94
	SD	1.04	1.24	1.59	1.64
Phonologically Dissimilar/Graphically Similar					
	M	2.56	4.29	3.50	3.20
	SD	1.58	1.23	1.47	1.79
Unpronounceable					
	M	2.22	2.93	3.05	2.33
	SD	1.06	1.02	1.50	1.45
Japanese Stimulus Sets					
Phonologically Similar					
	M	2.78	4.57	4.91	4.21
	SD	1.52	1.63	1.44	2.18
Phonologically Dissimilar/Graphically Similar					
	M	1.22	1.76	6.09	2.20
	SD	1.26	1.48	1.44	1.77
Unpronounceable					
	M	4.50	5.24	5.82	4.30
	SD	1.79	1.67	1.59	1.89
Sanskrit Stimulus Set					
	M	4.28	5.81	5.14	4.85
	SD	2.22	1.78	1.58	2.37

Maximum Score = 8.0.

Table 4: Means and Standard Deviations of Response Time (in seconds)

Group	N	Condition			
		Visual		Sound	
		M	SD	M	SD
Arabic	20	72.56	31.21	139.18	43.26
English	21	35.97	4.82	80.05	44.39
Japanese	22	53.29	13.14	157.71	53.97
Spanish	20	56.41	25.39	155.35	64.13

Table 5: Means and Standard Deviations of Lexical Decision-Making Test Scores

Group	N	Condition			
		Visual		Sound	
		M	SD	M	SD
Arabic	20	38.65	1.79	33.90	2.91
English	21	39.90	.30	39.52	.93
Japanese	22	39.82	.39	36.91	2.91
Spanish	20	39.50	.95	32.50	3.78

Maximum score = 40.

Table 6: Means and Standard Deviations of Reading Time (in seconds)

Group	N	Condition			
		Control		Homophone	
		M	SD	M	SD
Arabic	20	190.76	70.52	193.64	59.68
English	21	85.19	36.10	103.10	51.77
Japanese	22	174.35	50.23	220.46	77.40
Spanish	20	139.48	36.35	159.73	41.94

Table 7: Means and Standard Deviations of Recall Test Scores

Group	N	Condition			
		Control		Homophone	
		M	SD	M	SD
Arabic	20	9.00	3.34	6.85	2.95
English	21	11.72	2.45	11.80	3.43
Japanese	22	12.32	2.78	11.87	3.06
Spanish	20	10.46	2.76	8.10	3.16

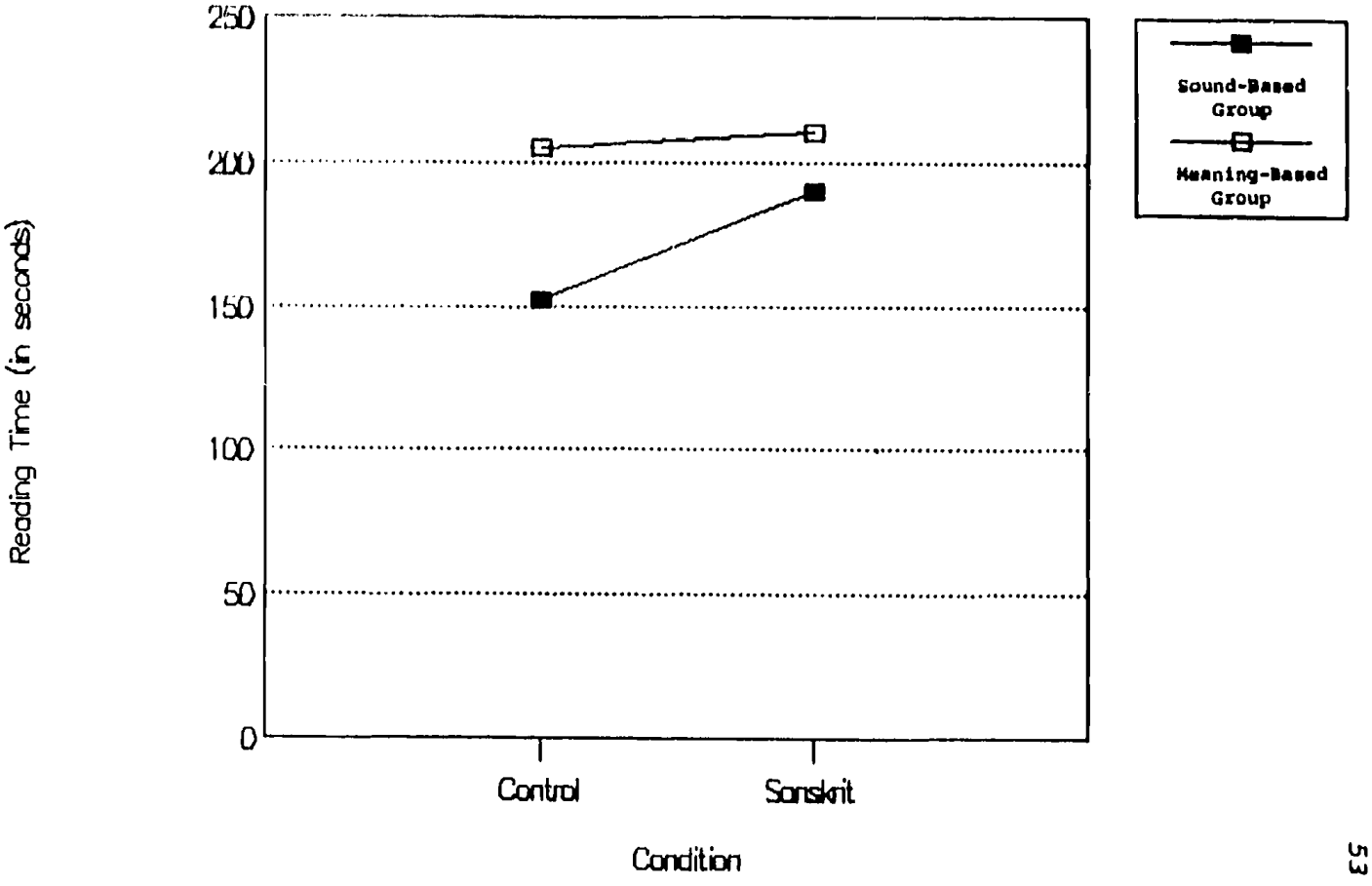
Maximum score = 16.

Table 8: Means and Standard Deviations of Homophone Detection Task

Group	N	Number of Homophones	
		M	SD
Arabic	20	13.2	5.01
English	21	19.09	1.0
Japanese	22	16.32	3.11
Spanish	20	13.95	3.32

Maximum value = 20.

Figure 1. Increment in Reading Time Between the Two Conditions



Part Two

HIGHER EDUCATION ISSUES

ATTAINMENT STATUS OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

SAMUEL S. PENG

In recent years, Asian American students have drawn great attention from educators and the general public. Many newspapers and magazines have published special reports on the academic success of these students and their recent surge into the nation's best colleges and universities. These reports have generally carried the message that Asian American students were doing exceptionally well in the education system and that their success was primarily due to their high educational expectations, strong emphasis on learning, self discipline, sheer hard work, and the support they received from their families (cf. Butterfield, 1986).

Newspaper and magazine reports on Asian American students are frequently based on studies that make limited observations at a few highly selective institutions. The findings from such studies might not be generalizable to Asian American students nationally, and sometimes the results could be misleading. A more comprehensive view of Asian American students based on national data is needed to provide a sound context for examining their educational attainments.

The primary purpose of this paper is to present national-level data that describe the status of Asian American students in higher education. Specifically, this paper will discuss: 1) enrollment trends; 2) persistence and progress; 3) fields of study; and 4) sources of financial support.

Enrollment Trends

Total Enrollment[1]

The enrollment of Asians Americans in colleges and universities has more than doubled since 1976. The total number of students enrolled each

[1]The data presented in this section come from two sources. Data for 1976 through 1984 come from information reported by institutions of higher education on the Higher Education Information System (HEGIS) survey entitled: "Fall Enrollment and Compliance Report of Institutions of Higher Education." Data for 1986 for the same institutions come from information reported through the new Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) survey on fall enrollment.

fall has increased from 198,000 in 1976, to 286,000 in 1980, to 448,000 in 1986. The majority of these students have been enrolled in public institutions. For example, in the fall of 1986, 372,000 students (83 percent of the total) were enrolled in public institutions. The remaining 76,000 students were enrolled in private institutions. This distribution between public and private institutions has remained relatively stable over the years since 1976. See Table 1.

The rate of increase in the enrollments of Asian American men and women has been about the same. The number of men has increased 121 percent from 108,000 in 1976 to 239,000 in 1986, and the number of women has increased 135 percent from 89,000 to 209,000 during the same period.

The rate of increase in Asian American enrollments in four- year and two-year institutions has also been about the same. As shown in Table 2, enrollment in four-year institutions has increased by 120 percent from 119,000 in 1976 to 262,000 in 1986, and enrollment in two-year institutions has increased 135 percent from 79,000 to 186,000 during the same period.

As the above figures show, more Asian American students have been attending four-year than two-year institutions. However, the percentages of students at each type of institution have changed only slightly from a 60 percent-40 percent split in 1976 to a 58 percent-42 percent split in 1986.

The numbers of Asian American students in first-professional fields such as law, medicine, and dentistry have increased significantly. Enrollments in these fields have gone up about 175 percent from 4,000 in 1976 to 11,000 in 1986.

Compared to students from other racial/ethnic groups, Asian Americans have had the highest rate of increase in total enrollment in higher education from 1976 to 1986 (about 126 percent) followed by Hispanics (about 63 percent). See Table 3. Non-Hispanic white Americans have had an increase of nine percent, non-Hispanic blacks five percent, and Native Americans 11 percent. Because of these different rates, the proportion of students in higher education who were Asian American has increased from 1.8 percent in 1976 to 3.6 percent in 1986. This gain, coupled with a substantial increase in the number of nonresident alien students from Asian countries, has created an understandable impression of a surge of Asian Americans in colleges and universities.

Participation Rate

The increase of Asian American students in colleges and universities

in recent years may simply reflect the growth of the Asian American population and not necessarily a change in their rate of participation in higher education. The Asian American population has increased from 1.4 million in 1970 to 3.5 million in 1980 and is expected to be around 6.5 million in 1990.

Changes in participation rates can be examined by comparing over time the percentages of Asian Americans in given cohorts of high school graduates who enter higher education. Unfortunately, such information tends to be scarce. However, one useful source is the High School and Beyond study (HS&B)[2]. The HS&B study involved two cohorts of high school students, 1980 seniors and 1980 sophomores. Each cohort included more than 400 Asian Americans. The HS&B students were surveyed in 1980 and recontacted in 1982, 1984, and 1986 to obtain information about their educational, occupational, and personal development.

Table 4 shows the percentages of HS&B seniors who entered higher education within two years after high school. Asian Americans were more likely to pursue higher education than students of other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Overall, 86 percent of the Asian Americans enrolled in some type of higher education institution within two years of their high school graduation compared to 64 percent of the white, 60 percent of the black, 52 percent of the Hispanic, and 53 percent of the Native American students. Most of the Asian Americans (51 percent) enrolled in a four-year institution. Thirty-seven percent enrolled in a two-year institution, four percent enrolled in vocational/technical schools, and the remainder did not go on to postsecondary education. Data on the HS&B sophomores reveal similar enrollment patterns.

Asian Americans therefore have a high rate of participation in higher education. This high rate, however, is not a recent phenomenon. Similar results are obtained with data collected by the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. Thus, the increasing numbers of Asian Americans in higher education probably reflects the rapid growth of Asian American population rather than changes in college attendance patterns.

---

[2] HS&B is a longitudinal study sponsored by the Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education. A detailed description of the study is provided in the HS&B data user's manuals available from the Center. The Asian Americans in the two HS&B cohorts are representative of Asian American students nationally.

Where Do Asian Americans Enroll?[3]

Asian Americans tend to enroll at higher education institutions located in a few geographic areas. As Table 5 shows, of the total 448,222 Asian American students in 1986, 192,837 (or 43 percent) were enrolled at higher education institutions located in California, 36,478 (8.1 percent) were in New York, 32,532 (7.3 percent) were in Hawaii, 24,148 (5.4 percent) were in Illinois, and 20,688 (4.6 percent) were in Texas. The rest of the students (about one-third) were enrolled at institutions in the remaining 45 states and the District of Columbia.

The figures in Table 5 can be used to derive the proportions of students within each state who are Asian American. In 1986, Asian Americans represented less than one percent of the total higher education enrollment in Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming. As might be expected, the state with the highest percentage of students who were Asian American was Hawaii (63 percent) followed by California (11 percent), and Washington (five percent). In most other states, Asian Americans made up about three percent of the students in higher education.

Asian American students tend to be concentrated at certain institutions. Table 6 provides a list of the institutions where Asian American students represented more than five percent of the total enrollment in the fall of 1986. As expected, most of these institutions were located in California and Hawaii. However, many selective institutions in the Northeast also had high percentages of Asian Americans.

Persistence and Progress

How well do Asian American students do in college? Data on the HS&B seniors who entered college within one year after graduation show that Asian American students do well when compared to other racial/ethnic groups. As seen in Table 7, about 86 percent of the Asian Americans who entered a four-year college stayed in the same college the following year compared to 81 percent of the Native American, 75 percent of the white, 71

[3]The data presented in this section come from information reported on the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) survey on fall enrollment. See footnote 1.

percent of the black, and 66 percent of the Hispanic students. Among students who entered a two-year college, Asian Americans also had the highest persistence rate. In addition, Asian Americans had the lowest rates of withdrawl from both four-year and two-year institutions.

The HS&B seniors were recontacted after six years in 1986. By that time 59 percent of the Asian Americans had received some type of formal degree or award compared to 46 percent of the white, 41 percent of the black, and 40 percent of the Hispanic students. See Table 8. This difference is primarily due to the higher entry and persistence rates of Asian American students.

Fields of Study[4]

Many studies have shown that Asian American students are more likely than those from other racial/ethnic groups to study engineering, the physical and health sciences, mathematics, and computer science. This tendency is substantiated by data on the formal degrees conferred between July 1, 1984, and June 30, 1985. See Tables 9 to 12.

At the undergraduate level, over one-third of the Asian American students compared to one-fifth of the white students who received baccalaureate degrees majored in engineering and physical and health sciences. This concentration of Asian Americans in engineering and the sciences is even more noticeable at the doctoral level. As seen in Table 11, about one out of every four doctorates earned by Asian Americans was in engineering

In contrast, at the first-professional degree level, a smaller percentage of Asian Americans than students from other racial/ethnic groups received degrees in the field of law. And, it should be noted that Asian Americans did receive degrees in almost every major field. For instance, business and management was a popular field among Asian Americans.

---

[4]The data presented in this section are from information reported on the Survey of Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred Between July 1, 1984 and June 30, 1985 (a part of the Higher Education General Information System) by the Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education.

Sources of Financial Support[5]

How do Asian American students finance their education? Data provided by students enrolled in the fall of 1986 show that the majority of Asian American undergraduate students relied on family sources. As seen in Table 13, about 58 percent of the Asian Americans relied solely on family and self support and another 36 percent relied on a combination of family sources and financial aid. Only six percent relied solely on financial aid. It is interesting to note that a higher percentage of Asian American students relied solely on parental support than students of other racial/ethnic backgrounds.

A further examination of the pattern of financial aid sources reveals that Asian Americans were less likely than students of other racial/ethnic backgrounds to receive any type of aid. Among undergraduate students enrolled in the fall of 1986, about 42 percent of the Asian Americans received some kind of financial aid compared to 64 percent of the black, 50 percent of the Hispanic, and 45 percent of the white students. Also, data presented elsewhere show that Asian Americans were less likely than other students to receive assistance from government student loan programs. About 15 percent of the Asian Americans received loans from such programs compared to 20 percent of the white, 29 percent of the black, and 20 percent of the Hispanic students (Korb et al., 1988).

The reasons behind these patterns of parental support and the receipt of financial aid are not clear. Many factors such as the amount of family financial resources and the cost of education as well as the willingness of parents to finance their children's education need to be considered. Future studies are needed to provide some insights on this subject. Future studies might also examine the extent to which Asian American students with financial needs are unaware of available financial aid programs.

Summary and Discussion

National-level data show that Asian Americans are more likely than members of other racial/ethnic groups to attend colleges and universities, to receive some type of degree, and to study in science and engineering fields. The emphasis on education by Asian Americans is not a recent phenomenon,

---

[5]The data presented in this section are from the 1987 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study of the National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education.

and the recent influx of Asian Americans into colleges and universities is a reflection of the growth of the Asian American population. This influx along with the concentrations of Asian American students in certain geographic regions and institutions and their drive for excellence in education have undoubtedly created a general perception that Asian Americans have done extremely well in higher education.

However, Asian American students experience many problems which have not been adequately examined because of a lack of appropriate data. At present, except for data on enrollments and degrees conferred, national-level information on Asian Americans is extremely limited; more needs to be known regarding access/participation, educational problems, and the outcomes of education. It is not now possible, for example, to examine whether participation rates in higher education and the receipt of financial aid vary among Asian American students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. It is also difficult to know whether recent immigrant students and those from low income families receive adequate financial assistance.

Recent increases in the numbers of Asian Americans attending selective institutions has created pressures on both institutions and students. It is important to monitor this situation and examine ways of ensuring that Asian Americans have equal access to higher education.

Finally, it is appropriate to note that Asian Americans greatly value the educational opportunities available in this country. Education is viewed as a potent vehicle for upward social mobility. While this idea is certainly not unique to Asian Americans, it has been put to work successfully by them in recent years. For this as well as other reasons, Asian American students will continue to be of great interest to educators and policy makers.

References

Butterfield, Fox. "Why Asians Are Going to the Head of the Class." *New York Times*, August 3, 1966.

Korb, R., Schantz, N., Stowe, P., and Zimbler, L. 1988. *Undergraduate Financing of Postsecondary Education.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1988.

Table 1.--Total enrollment in institutions of higher education, by control of institution, and race/ethnicity and sex of student: biennially, Fall 1976 to Fall 1986

Control of institution and race/ethnicity of student	Number, in thousands						Percent distribution					
	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986
All institutions												
Total	10,986	11,231	12,087	12,388	12,333	12,501	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White, non-Hispanic	9,076	9,194	9,833	9,997	9,815	9,916	82.6	81.9	81.4	80.7	80.2	79.2
Black, non-Hispanic	1,033	1,054	1,107	1,101	1,076	1,081	9.0	9.4	9.2	8.9	8.8	8.6
Hispanic	384	417	472	519	535	624	3.5	3.7	3.9	4.2	4.4	5.0
Asian or Pacific Islander	198	235	286	351	390	448	1.8	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.2	3.6
American Indian/Alaskan Native	76	78	84	88	84	90	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Nonresident alien	219	253	305	331	335	344	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.7
Public												
Total	8,653	8,770	9,456	9,695	9,620	9,722	78.7	78.1	78.2	78.3	77.9	77.8
White, non-Hispanic	7,095	7,136	7,656	7,785	7,542	7,650	64.6	63.5	63.3	62.8	61.0	61.2
Black, non-Hispanic	831	840	876	873	844	851	7.6	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.8	6.8
Hispanic	337	361	406	446	424	510	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.6	3.7	4.2
Asian or Pacific Islander	169	195	240	286	323	372	1.5	1.7	2.0	2.3	2.6	3.0
American Indian/Alaskan Native	68	68	74	77	72	78	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
Nonresident alien	153	167	204	219	216	276	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.8	2.0
Private												
Total	2,315	2,461	2,630	2,681	2,777	2,779	21.3	21.9	21.8	21.7	22.1	22.2
White, non-Hispanic	1,982	2,058	2,177	2,212	2,273	2,266	20.0	18.3	18.0	17.9	18.0	18.1
Black, non-Hispanic	201	213	231	228	232	236	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.2	1.9
Hispanic	47	55	66	74	78	84	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7
Asian or Pacific Islander	22	40	47	55	67	76	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6
American Indian/Alaskan Native	8	8	10	10	11	11	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nonresident alien	33	85	101	112	119	119	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9
Men												
Total	5,794	5,621	5,868	5,999	5,859	5,885	52.7	50.1	48.5	48.4	47.9	47.1
White, non-Hispanic	4,814	4,613	4,773	4,830	4,690	4,646	43.8	41.1	39.5	39.0	38.2	37.2
Black, non-Hispanic	470	453	464	458	437	436	4.3	4.0	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.5
Hispanic	210	212	232	252	254	282	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.3
Asian or Pacific Islander	108	126	151	189	210	239	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.9
American Indian/Alaskan Native	38	37	38	40	38	40	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Nonresident alien	154	180	211	239	211	233	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.9
Women												
Total	5,191	5,609	6,219	6,389	6,374	6,615	47.3	49.9	51.5	51.6	52.1	52.9
White, non-Hispanic	4,262	4,581	5,060	5,167	5,125	5,270	38.8	40.8	41.9	41.7	41.9	42.1
Black, non-Hispanic	563	601	643	644	639	645	5.1	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.2	5.2
Hispanic	174	205	240	267	281	331	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.7
Asian or Pacific Islander	89	109	135	162	180	209	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.7
American Indian/Alaskan Native	38	41	46	48	46	51	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Nonresident alien	65	73	94	101	104	111	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9

Note.--Because of underreporting and nonreporting of racial/ethnic data, data was estimated when possible. Also, due to rounding, details may not add to totals.

72

Table 2.--Total enrollment in institutions of higher education, by type of institution and race/ethnicity of student: biennially, Fall 1976 to Fall 1986

Type of institution and race/ethnicity of student	Number, in thousands						Percentage distribution of total enrollment					
	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986
All institutions	10,986	11,231	12,087	12,383	12,233	12,501	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White, non-Hispanic	9,070	9,194	9,035	8,997	9,013	9,014	82.6	81.8	81.6	80.7	80.2	79.3
Total minority	1,881	1,783	1,848	2,038	2,083	2,243	15.6	18.9	16.1	16.6	17.8	17.8
Black, non-Hispanic	1,0[illegible]	1,034	1,107	1,181	1,078	1,031	8.6	9.8	9.2	9.9	8.8	8.8
Hispanic	384	417	472	519	513	614	3.5	3.7	3.9	4.2	4.4	5.0
Asian or Pacific Islander	190	235	286	331	390	440	1.8	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.2	3.6
American Indian/Alaskan Native	76	78	84	88	84	90	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Nonresident alien	219	253	305	351	319	344	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.7
4-year institutions	7,107	7,283	7,565	7,848	7,706	7,828	64.7	64.8	62.6	61.7	63.0	62.6
White, non-Hispanic	5,989	6,027	6,273	6,306	6,301	6,349	54.6	53.7	51.9	50.9	51.5	50.7
Total minority	831	875	1,050	1,073	1,124	1,183	8.3	8.7	8.7	8.7	9.2	9.8
Black, non-Hispanic	884	812	834	812	817	813	3.3	3.8	3.2	8.9	3.8	4.9
Hispanic	174	198	217	228	246	278	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.8	2.8	2.2
Asian or Pacific Islander	118	138	182	193	223	242	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.8	2.1
American Indian/Alaskan Native	35	35	37	38	38	48	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3
Nonresident alien	177	281	241	270	282	281	1.8	1.8	2.8	2.2	2.3	2.3
2-year institutions	3,878	4,028	4,521	4,768	4,527	4,673	35.3	33.9	37.4	38.3	37.8	37.4
White, non-Hispanic	3,077	3,167	3,558	3,692	3,514	3,375	28.8	28.2	29.4	28.8	28.7	28.8
Total minority	768	818	899	987	961	1,047	8.9	7.2	7.4	8.8	7.9	8.4
Black, non-Hispanic	428	443	472	488	459	466	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.7	3.7
Hispanic	218	227	255	291	289	343	1.9	2.8	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.8
Asian or Pacific Islander	78	87	124	138	167	186	8.7	8.8	1.8	1.1	1.4	1.5
American Indian/Alaskan Native	41	45	47	49	46	51	8.4	8.4	8.4	8.4	8.4	8.4
Nonresident alien	42	52	64	41	33	33	9.4	8.5	8.5	8.3	8.4	8.4

Note:--Because of underreporting and nonreporting of racial/ethnic data, data were estimated when possible. Also, due to rounding, detail may not add to totals.

Source:--U.S. Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, "Fall Enrollment, 1986" survey and unpublished tabulations.

Table 3.--Total enrollment in institutions of higher education, by level of study and race/ethnicity of student: biennially, Fall 1976 to Fall 1986

Level of study and race/ethnicity of student	Number, in thousands						Percent distribution by level of study					
	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986
Undergraduate enrollment												
Total	9,520	9,737	10,360	10,875	10,610	10,797	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White, non-Hispanic	7,027	7,046	8,556	8,749	8,484	8,552	82.2	81.4	81.0	80.5	80.0	79.2
Total minority	1,550	1,642	1,797	1,987	1,911	2,041	16.3	16.8	17.0	17.5	18.0	18.9
Black, non-Hispanic	950	975	1,028	1,028	995	995	10.0	10.0	9.7	9.4	9.4	9.2
Hispanic	357	388	438	485	495	569	5.7	6.0	6.1	6.5	6.7	5.3
Asian or Pacific Islander	173	206	253	315	343	394	1.8	2.1	2.4	2.9	3.2	3.6
American Indian/Alaskan Native	70	72	79	82	78	84	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.8
Nonresident alien	142	169	208	220	216	204	1.5	1.7	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9
Graduate enrollment												
Total	1,221	1,219	1,250	1,235	1,344	1,434	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White, non-Hispanic	1,030	1,019	1,030	1,002	1,087	1,132	84.3	83.6	82.4	81.1	80.9	78.9
Total minority	119	120	125	123	141	166	9.8	9.8	10.0	10.0	10.5	11.6
Black, non-Hispanic	72	68	66	61	67	72	5.9	5.6	5.3	4.9	5.0	5.0
Hispanic	22	24	27	27	32	46	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.2	2.4	3.2
Asian or Pacific Islander	11	24	28	30	57	43	1.7	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.8	3.0
American Indian/Alaskan Native	4	4	4	5	5	5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Nonresident alien	73	80	94	108	115	136	6.0	6.6	7.5	8.8	8.6	9.5
First-professional enrollment												
Total	244	255	277	278	278	270	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White, non-Hispanic	220	229	248	246	243	230	90.1	89.8	89.5	88.5	87.4	85.2
Total minority	21	22	26	29	32	36	8.6	8.6	9.5	10.4	11.4	13.2
Black, non-Hispanic	11	11	13	13	13	14	4.6	4.3	4.6	4.7	4.8	5.2
Hispanic	5	5	7	7	8	9	1.9	2.0	2.4	2.5	2.9	3.4
Asian or Pacific Islander	4	5	6	8	9	11	1.7	2.0	2.2	2.9	3.4	4.2
American Indian/Alaskan Native	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
Nonresident alien	3	3	3	3	3	4	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.5

Note --Because of underreporting and nonreporting of racial/ethnic data, data was estimated when possible
Also, due to rounding, detail may not add to totals.

Source --U S Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, "Fall Enrollment, 1986" survey and unpublished tabulations.

Table 4: Total Percentage of 1980 High School Seniors Who Entered Postsecondary Education Within Two Years After High School, by Type of Institution and Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity	Type of Institution			
	4-Year	2-Year	Other	Total
Asian American	51%	37%	4%	86%
White	37	25	7	64
Black	33	20	11	60
Hispanic	20	28	9	52
Native American	20	22	14	53

Sample sizes: Asian Americans, 391; Whites, 5,417; Blacks, 2,940; Hispanics, 2,918; Native Americans, 209.

Source of data: *Two Years After High School: A Capsule Description of 1980 Seniors*. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1984.

Table 5.--Fall enrollment in institutions of higher education, by State and and race/ethnicity of students, Fall 1986

State	Total	White, non-Hispanic	Black, non-Hispanic	Hispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander	American Indian/Alaskan Native	Nonresident Alien
Total	12,500,798	9,914,183	1,080,899	623,591	448,222	90,133	343,770
Alabama	216,064	165,072	43,360	2,004	1,182	376	4,070
Alaska	27,482	22,654	976	442	577	1,990	843
Arizona	226,593	181,555	6,166	20,943	4,276	7,623	6,030
Arkansas	79,182	65,807	10,520	323	540	326	1,666
California	1,733,610	1,146,766	117,032	194,865	192,837	20,580	61,330
Colorado	181,866	149,780	4,568	16,848	4,234	1,536	4,900
Connecticut	159,040	140,770	7,596	3,752	2,782	406	3,734
Delaware	33,893	28,726	3,703	562	417	56	629
Dist. of Columbia	77,651	41,533	22,886	1,878	2,262	322	8,770
Florida	477,210	362,346	44,301	47,434	7,219	1,222	14,688
Georgia	195,123	150,953	34,303	1,806	2,427	306	5,328
Hawaii	51,697	15,370	938	673	32,532	162	2,022
Idaho	45,260	42,534	260	713	375	374	804
Illinois	686,895	519,851	91,800	35,720	24,148	2,147	13,229
Indiana	250,178	223,687	13,570	3,210	2,868	648	6,195
Iowa	155,369	142,680	3,164	1,198	1,756	390	6,181
Kansas	143,306	126,611	6,477	2,428	1,811	1,679	4,300
Kentucky	144,548	132,581	8,803	341	872	323	1,628
Louisiana	171,338	119,316	39,326	3,210	2,468	473	6,545
Maine	46,232	44,285	540	188	688	333	198
Maryland	238,880	184,471	35,479	3,889	8,779	674	5,588
Massachusetts	417,513	361,916	16,787	9,806	10,884	1,130	16,990
Michigan	520,423	444,505	46,891	6,677	7,147	3,231	11,972
Minnesota	226,556	212,297	2,969	1,279	3,682	1,474	4,855
Mississippi	101,095	69,232	28,785	631	427	265	1,775
Missouri	246,185	216,229	18,499	2,361	3,447	669	4,980
Montana	34,691	31,671	143	187	149	1,879	662
Nebraska	100,401	93,090	2,744	1,098	833	680	1,956
Nevada	46,796	40,428	1,861	1,917	1,251	696	643
New Hampshire	53,876	51,521	667	445	382	148	693
New Jersey	295,313	230,426	27,026	17,292	9,735	860	9,974
New Mexico	80,270	50,343	1,888	20,604	970	4,934	1,531
New York	1,011,400	759,029	110,866	67,547	36,478	4,844	32,636
No. Carolina	322,966	253,062	57,370	1,957	3,313	2,458	4,806
No. Dakota	37,311	34,356	241	125	171	1,468	950
Ohio	521,290	459,929	37,699	4,209	5,713	1,281	12,459
Oklahoma	170,840	141,066	10,544	2,189	2,711	7,668	6,660
Oregon	144,798	128,742	1,836	2,102	5,565	1,345	5,208
Pennsylvania	545,923	483,822	35,103	5,515	8,658	850	11,975
Rhode Island	69,569	63,825	2,014	1,055	1,164	203	1,308
So. Carolina	134,116	103,801	25,924	965	978	207	2,241
So. Dakota	30,935	28,322	190	96	92	1,574	661
Tennessee	197,070	162,006	27,508	1,512	1,383	341	4,320
Texas	776,021	543,905	66,662	118,333	20,688	2,599	23,834
Utah	106,217	96,143	728	1,731	1,773	1,149	4,693
Vermont	32,652	31,153	298	167	241	54	539
Virginia	308,318	250,004	41,545	3,278	7,793	645	5,053
Washington	242,443	211,111	5,899	4,289	12,773	3,542	4,829
West Virginia	76,783	71,890	2,845	283	535	96	1,114
Wisconsin	283,653	260,294	9,334	3,149	3,913	1,640	5,323
Wyoming	24,357	22,717	243	545	123	277	452

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, "Fall Enrollment, 1986 Survey."

Table 6.--List of institutions where 5 or more percent of students were Asian American in Fall 1986

	INSTITUTIONAL NAME	ASIAN	TOTAL	PERCENT
Trust Territories	Micronesian Occupational College	463	463	100.0
Trust Territories	Community College Of Micronesia	331	332	99.7
No. Marianas	Northern Marianas College	433	514	84.2
Hawaii	Cannon'S International Business Col Of Honolulu	520	637	81.6
American Samoa	American Samoa Community College	607	759	80.0
Hawaii	Honolulu Community College	3,411	4,270	79.9
Guam	Guam Community College	1,432	1,821	78.6
Hawaii	Employment Training Office Uh Community Colleges	2,166	2,814	76.3
Hawaii	Kapiolani Community College	3,941	5,206	75.7
Hawaii	University Of Hawaii At Manoa	13,653	18,918	72.2
Hawaii	Leeward Community College	4,099	5,693	72.0
Hawaii	Kauai Community College	852	1,237	68.9
Guam	University Of Guam	1,730	2,656	65.1
Hawaii	University Of Hawaii At Hilo	2,048	3,289	62.3
Hawaii	Maui Community College	1,157	1,963	58.9
Hawaii	West Oahu College	276	480	57.5
Hawaii	Windward Community College	757	1,537	49.3
California	City College Of San Francisco	8,514	23,177	36.7
Maine	Westbrook College	306	997	30.7
Hawaii	Chaminade University Of Honolulu	806	2,650	30.4
California	Missian College	2,859	9,678	29.5
Hawaii	Brigham Young University Hawaii Campus	509	1,982	25.7
California	University Of California-Irvine	3,606	14,532	24.8
New York	Polytechnic University	1,206	5,085	23.7
California	California State University Los Angeles	4,790	20,773	23.1
Hawaii	Hawaii Pacific College	902	4,071	22.2
California	Laney College	2,178	9,946	21.9
California	San Francisco State University	5,534	25,871	21.4
California	Evergreen Valley College	1,516	7,124	21.3
California	Los Angeles City College	3,116	14,857	21.0
California	University Of California-Berkeley	6,229	31,463	19.8
New York	Cooper Union	209	1,056	19.8
California	San Jose State University	4,917	26,507	18.5
Illinois	City College Of Chicago-Truman College	2,827	15,497	18.2
California	Itt Technical Institute Of West Covina	143	790	18.1
California	University Of California-San Francisco	644	3,608	17.8
California	Skyline College	1,372	7,719	17.8
California	University Of California-Los Angeles	6,080	34,418	17.7
California	California State Polytechnic University Pomona	3,061	17,679	17.3
California	College Of Alameda	881	5,167	17.1
California	East Los Angeles College	2,049	12,278	16.7
California	De Anza College	4,028	24,349	16.5
California	California State University Long Beach	5,525	33,586	16.5
California	West Coast University	158	964	16.4
California	California State University-Hayward	1,958	12,373	15.8
Washington	Seattle Central Community College	880	5,621	15.7
California	Southwestern College	1,858	11,874	15.6
California	University Of California-Davis	3,066	19,809	15.5
California	University Of California-San Diego	2,452	15,912	15.4
California	Santa Clara University	1,186	7,742	15.3
California	Pasadena City College	3,033	20,067	15.1
California	Rancho Santiago College	3,154	21,514	14.7
California	El Camino College	3,693	25,752	14.3
California	University Of California-Riverside	815	5,726	14.2
California	University Of Southern California	4,227	30,831	13.7
California	Merritt College	771	5,626	13.7
California	California Institute Of Technology	248	1,814	13.7
California	San Jose City College	1,323	9,701	13.6
Illinois	Devry Institute Of Technology	490	3,649	13.4
California	Sacramento City College	1,784	13,297	13.4
California	Devry Institute Of Technology, Los Angeles	331	2,478	13.4
New York	Barnard College	284	2,162	13.1
California	Eastside Beauty College	655	5,007	13.1
California	Los Angeles Community Medical Center Sch Of Nurs	655	5,007	13.1
New York	Cuny City College	1,649	12,782	12.9
California	California State University Fullerton	3,127	24,277	12.9
Washington	Seattle Community College South Campus	559	4,351	12.9
California	Glendale Community College	1,450	11,302	12.8
California	Chiere College	1,000	7,805	12.8
California	Los Angeles Training Technical College	1,574	12,407	12.7
California	Canard College	655	5,178	12.6
California	Kensington University	164	1,301	12.6

(continue)

	INSTITUTIONAL NAME	ASIAN	TOTAL	PERCENT
New York	Technology Career Institutes	249	1,979	12.6
Oregon	Pacific University	160	1,275	12.5
California	Los Angeles Harbor College	1,063	8,546	12.4
California	Fresno Metropolitan Regional Occupational Ctr Prog	207	1,680	12.3
California	Chabot College	2,452	19,902	12.3
Texas	University Of Houston Downtown	893	7,255	12.3
California	San Joaquin Delta College	1,789	14,734	12.1
Minnesota	Saint Paul Technical Vocational Institute	229	1,894	12.1
Massachusetts	Bunker Hill Community College	831	6,885	12.1
New York	Cuny Bernard Baruch College	1,932	16,126	12.0
California	Contra Costa College	839	7,007	12.0
California	San Francisco,U Of	594	4,976	11.9
California	San Diego Miramar College	528	4,433	11.9
Minnesota	Anoka Area Vocational Technical Institute	178	1,505	11.8
California	Pacific,University Of The	660	5,599	11.8
Massachusetts	Wellesley College	266	2,257	11.8
California	Occidental College	195	1,668	11.7
Washington	University Of Washington	3,920	33,674	11.6
California	Golden West College	1,750	15,078	11.6
California	Solano County Cc	961	8,293	11.6
California	East Los Angeles Occupational Center	441	3,837	11.5
California	Loma Linda University	525	4,569	11.5
California	Northrop University	147	1,298	11.3
California	The Fashion Institute Of Design And Merchandising	201	1,783	11.3
California	College Of San Mateo	1,562	13,872	11.3
California	Long Beach City College	2,322	20,720	11.2
California	Cypress College	1,364	12,321	11.1
California	California State University Dominguez Hills	788	7,327	10.8
New Jersey	Stevens Institute Of Technology	349	3,260	10.7
California	California State University Northridge	3,177	29,880	10.6
California	Pacific Western University	367	3,500	10.5
Missouri	Devry Institute Of Technology	171	1,633	10.5
California	Santa Monica College	1,835	17,747	10.3
Illinois	University Of Illinois At Chicago	2,612	25,330	10.3
California	Chapman College	213	2,071	10.3
California	Cerritos College	1,835	18,274	10.0
New Jersey	New Jersey Institute Technology	757	7,589	10.0
Massachusetts	Radcliffe College	278	2,799	9.9
Illinois	Illinois Institute Of Technology	620	6,291	9.9
Illinois	City College Of Chicago-Loop College	865	8,832	9.8
New York	Suny At Stony Brook Main Campus	1,420	14,527	9.8
Washington	North Seattle Community College	603	6,177	9.8
California	University Of California-Santa Cruz	795	8,589	9.3
California	Monterey Peninsula College	596	6,501	9.2
California	Orange Coast College	2,067	22,552	9.2
Maryland	Montgomery College Of Takoma Park	354	3,902	9.1
California	California State University-Sacramento	2,165	23,673	9.1
California	Golden Gate University	875	9,675	9.0
New York	Cornell University-Endowed Colleges	1,011	11,181	9.0
California	San Diego Mesa College	1,626	17,990	9.0
California	Fullerton College	1,496	16,708	9.0
California	Foothill College	1,210	13,565	8.9
California	San Diego City College	1,100	12,407	8.9
California	Los Ang Valley College	1,599	18,178	8.8
California	Hartnell College	564	6,429	8.8
California	Los Angeles Pierce College	1,623	18,513	8.8
New York	New York University	2,766	31,665	8.7
New York	Fashion Institute Of Technology	1,027	11,774	8.7
New York	Pratt Institute	309	3,550	8.7
California	Biola University	238	2,758	8.6
New York	Columbia University Main Division	1,506	17,574	8.6
Pennsylvania	Bryn Mawr College	152	1,794	8.5
Texas	Houston Baptist University	213	2,621	8.1
New York	Cuny Queensborough Community College	990	12,195	8.1
New York	Cuny Queens College	1,303	16,134	8.1
California	West Valley College	1,077	13,415	8.0
California	Vista College	240	3,013	8.0
Texas	University Of Houston-University Park	2,213	28,164	7.9
Maryland	Montgomery College Of Rockville	1,015	12,922	7.9
California	Stanford University	1,097	14,037	7.8
California	California Polytechnic State Univ-San Luis Obispo	1,237	15,875	7.8
Massachusetts	Massachusetts Institute Of Technology	758	9,757	7.8
California	University Of California-Santa Barbara	1,390	18,003	7.7
New York	Cuny New York City Technical College	834	10,810	7.7
New Jersey	Hudson County Community College	241	3,175	7.6

(Continued)

	INSTITUTIONAL NAME	ASIAN	TOTAL	PERCENT
California	San Deigo State University	2,657	35,010	7.6
Texas	Houston Community College	1,959	26,002	7.5
New York	Cuny Hunter College	1,469	19,581	7.5
Texas	Laredo Junior College	305	4,107	7.4
Illinois	City College Of Chicago-Wright College	667	9,020	7.4
Texas	Devry Institute Of Technology	171	2,327	7.3
Illinois	Northeastern Illinois University	773	10,638	7.3
New York	Cuny Boro Of Manhatten Community College	912	12,580	7.2
Texas	University Of Texas Health Science Center	193	2,664	7.2
Colorado	Community College Of Denver	247	3,453	7.2
Virginia	Northern Virginia Community College	2,397	33,682	7.1
California	Coastline Community College	743	10,859	6.8
Washington	Highline Community College	540	7,898	6.8
Washington	Renton Vocational-Technical Institute	445	6,521	6.8
New York	Cuny Brooklyn College	994	14,625	6.8
California	Loyola Marymount University	436	6,441	6.8
Maryland	University Of Maryland Baltimore County Campus	624	9,267	6.7
Illinois	University Of Chicago	670	9,970	6.7
Maryland	University Of Maryland College Park Campus	2,591	38,639	6.7
New York	Suny Agricultural And Technical Farmingdale Col	786	11,747	6.7
Oregon	Portland Community College	1,302	19,494	6.7
New York	Rensselaer Poly Institute	451	6,827	6.6
New York	Cuny La Guardia Community College	514	7,791	6.6
Illinois	Northwestern University	1,069	16,226	6.6
New Jersey	Rutgers University New Brunswick	2,230	33,969	6.6
Washington	Bellevue Community College	543	8,280	6.6
Rhode Island	Brown University	477	7,357	6.5
Texas	University Of Texas At Arlington	1,507	23,247	6.5
Washington	Seattle University	281	4,348	6.5
Wisconsin	Western Wisconsin Technical Institute	289	4,500	6.4
California	Mount San Antonio College	1,290	20,290	6.4
New York	Cuny York College	270	4,278	6.3
Arizona	Devry Institute Of Technology	195	3,105	6.3
California	California State University Fresno	1,113	17,756	6.3
California	Rio Hondo College	762	12,357	6.2
New Jersey	Princeton University	392	6,371	6.2
New York	Pace University-New York	704	11,456	6.1
Washington	Shoreline Community College	405	6,603	6.1
California	Diablo Valley College	1,163	18,992	6.1
Massachusetts	Smith College	173	2,884	6.0
California	West Los Angeles College	510	8,553	6.0
California	Cosumnes River College	468	7,855	6.0
Illinois	Loyola University Of Chicago	820	13,906	5.9
California	University Of Laverne	266	4,528	5.9
Illinois	Oakton Community College	626	10,804	5.8
Oregon	Portland State University	906	15,640	5.8
California	Citrus College	492	8,589	5.7
California	National University	735	12,873	5.7
New Jersey	Middlesex County College	591	10,445	5.7
Virginia	George Mason University	996	17,652	5.6
Texas	University Of Texas At Dallas	412	7,324	5.6
Washington	Tacoma Community College	239	4,294	5.6
Maryland	University Of Maryland University College	689	12,531	5.5
California	Fresno City College	803	14,653	5.5
Maryland	University Of Maryland Baltimore Professional Schs	249	4,563	5.5
New Jersey	Rutgers University Newark Campus	522	9,611	5.4
California	American River College	1,037	19,265	5.4
Massachusetts	Harvard University	1,276	23,730	5.4
Connecticut	Yale University	578	10,799	5.4
Kansas	Wichita Aree Vocational Technical School	400	7,482	5.3
Illinois	College Of Du Page	1,232	23,155	5.3
Maryland	Johns Hopkins University	615	11,606	5.3
Illinois	University Of Illinois Urbana Campus	2,072	39,274	5.3
Texas	Richland College	674	12,908	5.2
New York	New School For Social Research	340	6,571	5.2
Texas	Rice University	208	4,020	5.2
California	Pepperdine University	350	6,830	5.1
Washington	Pierce College	388	7,691	5.0
Missouri	Washington University	525	10,481	5.0
Illinois	Depaul University	656	13,132	5.0
New Jersey	Jersey City State College	351	7,037	5.0

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, "Fall Enrollment, 1986 Survey"

Table 7: Percentages of College Entrants Who Had Persisted, Transferred, Completed Short-Term Programs, or Withdrawn by Type of Institution and Race/Ethnicity, February 1982

Race/Ethnicity	Persister	Transfer	Completer/ Withdrawer
Two Year College			
Hispanic	65%	11%	24%
Black	61	15	24
White	57	16	27
Asian American	70	21	9
Native American	61	21	18
All Students	59	16	26
Four Year College			
Hispanic	66%	17%	17%
Black	71	14	15
White	75	15	9
Asian American	86	12	2
Native American	81	11	9
All Students	75	15	10

Percentages are based on those individuals who entered college before June 1981.

Students who had completed short term programs (i.e. completers) and students who had left school without completing programs (i.e. withdrawers) were not differentiated in this table because the information needed for doing so was not available in the High School and Beyond first followup survey.

The apparently higher persistence rates of Asian Americans is based on a small sample of Asian American students and does not differ significantly from the rates for whites.

Source of data: *Two Years After High School: A Capsule Summary of 1980 Seniors.* Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1984.

Table 8: Education Attainment of 1980 High School Graduates, by Race/Ethnicity: 1986

Race/Ethnicity	Type of Degree or Award			
	Lic./Certif.	Assoc.	Bach.	Any Degr.
Asian American	19%	21%	20%	59%
White	15	19	12	46
Hispanic	13	22	5	40
Black	19	16	6	40

Source of data: *High School and Beyond Third Follow-up*. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1986.

Table 9 --Bachelor's degrees conferred by all institutions of higher education, by race/ethnicity, by major field, and by level of degree: 1984-85

Major field and level of degree	U.S. Total*		Asian/Pacific Islander		White Non-Hispanic		Black Non-Hispanic		Hispanic		American Indian/ Alaskan Native	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Bachelor's degrees, total	938,894	100.0	25,395	100.0	826,106	100.0	57,473	100.0	25,874	100.0	4,246	100.0
Agribusiness and Agricultural Products	5,509	0.6	30	0.3	5,197	0.6	131	0.3	65	0.3	16	0.4
Agricultural Sciences	8,299	0.9	122	0.5	7,814	0.9	182	0.3	130	0.5	33	0.8
Allied Health	13,869	1.5	286	1.1	12,348	1.5	754	1.3	335	1.3	66	1.6
Architecture and Environmental Design	8,645	0.9	300	1.2	7,647	0.8	328	0.6	335	1.3	35	0.8
Area and Ethnic Studies	2,779	0.3	134	0.5	2,242	0.3	219	0.4	168	0.6	16	0.4
Business and Management	218,128	23.0	5,199	20.5	188,248	23.0	14,137	24.0	5,616	22.7	899	21.2
Business and Office	5,928	0.6	47	0.2	5,148	0.6	612	1.1	98	0.4	15	0.4
Communications	39,325	4.2	547	2.2	34,796	4.2	2,961	5.2	869	3.4	152	3.6
Communications Technologies	1,585	0.2	17	0.1	1,360	0.2	174	0.3	31	0.1	3	0.1
Computer and Information Systems	36,475	3.9	2,944	0.8	31,321	3.8	2,143	3.7	836	3.2	139	3.3
Construction Trades	33	0.0	0	0.0	7	0.0	3	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.1
Consumer, Personal, and Misc Services	100	0.0	1	0.0	94	0.0	4	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0
Education	86,773	9.2	770	3.0	77,551	9.4	5,456	9.5	2,533	9.8	483	11.4
Engineering	69,497	7.4	4,482	17.5	60,992	7.4	2,619	4.5	1,775	6.8	269	6.3
Engineering and Related Technologies	17,499	1.9	525	2.1	15,113	1.9	1,103	1.9	458	1.8	100	2.4
Foreign Languages	9,558	1.0	210	0.8	8,214	1.0	311	0.5	799	3.1	23	0.5
Health Sciences	48,661	5.2	1,024	4.0	43,133	5.2	3,682	6.4	1,215	4.7	207	4.9
Home Economics	14,100	1.5	295	1.2	12,608	1.5	900	1.6	231	0.8	64	1.5
Law	1,127	0.1	28	0.1	966	0.1	83	0.1	44	0.2	4	0.1
Letters	31,142	3.6	477	1.8	30,470	3.7	1,590	2.8	665	2.6	132	3.1
Liberal/General Studies	17,377	1.9	342	1.3	14,695	1.8	1,488	2.6	761	2.8	96	2.1
Library and Archival Sciences	190	0.0	1	0.0	175	0.0	16	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Life Sciences	37,254	4.0	1,950	7.7	31,807	3.9	2,643	3.6	1,241	4.8	161	3.8
Marketing and Distribution	3,748	0.4	27	0.1	3,474	0.4	226	0.4	54	0.2	7	0.2
Mathematics	14,324	1.5	889	3.5	12,102	1.5	766	1.3	237	1.0	38	1.4
Mechanics and Trades	156	0.0	6	0.0	126	0.0	14	0.0	9	0.0	1	0.0
Military Sciences	298	0.0	3	0.0	284	0.0	4	0.0	7	0.0	0	0.0
Multi/Interdisciplinary Studies	15,469	1.6	494	1.9	13,518	1.6	899	1.6	396	1.5	102	2.4
Parks and Recreation	6,352	0.5	59	0.2	6,223	0.5	199	0.3	58	0.2	15	0.4
Philosophy and Religion	6,276	0.7	108	0.4	5,733	0.7	250	0.4	154	0.6	28	0.7
Physical Sciences	22,644	2.4	763	3.0	20,549	2.5	827	1.4	458	1.8	98	2.3
Precision Production	269	0.0	7	0.0	233	0.0	14	0.0	13	0.1	2	0.0
Protective Services	12,317	1.3	124	0.5	9,427	1.1	1,926	3.4	678	2.6	64	1.5
Psychology	38,909	4.2	930	3.7	33,951	4.1	2,647	4.6	1,331	5.1	201	4.7
Public Affairs	11,558	1.2	127	0.5	8,991	1.1	1,904	3.3	420	1.6	116	2.7
Renewable Natural Resources	3,548	0.4	63	0.2	3,418	0.4	27	0.0	38	0.2	21	0.5
Science Technologies	323	0.0	0	0.0	319	0.0	2	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0
Social Sciences	88,544	9.4	2,034	8.0	77,117	9.3	6,109	10.6	2,948	11.4	447	10.5
Theology	5,483	0.6	85	0.3	5,269	0.6	195	0.3	119	0.5	23	0.5
Transportation and Material Moving	1,812	0.2	15	0.1	1,741	0.2	49	0.1	69	0.2	7	0.2
Visual and Performing Arts	34,134	3.8	952	3.6	32,712	4.0	1,528	2.7	783	3.1	198	4.7
Vocational Home Economics	1,192	0.1	12	0.0	1,016	0.1	52	0.1	11	0.1	9	0.2

*Total number of degrees excludes non-resident aliens and the race unknown category

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education and General Information Survey (HEGIS), Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred between 7/1/84 and 6/30/85, tabulations from final file with imputations for racial/ethnic nonresponse

Table 10 Master's degrees conferred by all institutions of higher education, by race/ethnicity, by major field, and by level of degree 1984-85

Major field and level of degree	U S Total* Number	U S Total* Percent	Asian/Pacific Islander Number	Asian/Pacific Islander Percent	White Non-Hispanic Number	White Non-Hispanic Percent	Black Non-Hispanic Number	Black Non-Hispanic Percent	Hispanic Number	Hispanic Percent	American Indian/Alaskan Native Number	American Indian/Alaskan Native Percent
Master's degrees, total	233,469	100.0	7,782	100.0	223,628	100.0	13,939	100.0	6,864	100.0	1,256	100.0
Agribusiness and Agricultural Products	376	0.2	17	0.2	320	0.2	25	0.2	14	0.2	0	0.0
Agricultural Sciences	1,370	0.6	40	0.6	1,434	0.6	44	0.3	39	0.6	4	0.3
Allied Health	2,762	1.1	40	0.6	2,472	1.1	164	1.2	48	0.7	6	0.5
Architecture and Environmental Design	2,620	1.8	110	1.5	2,270	1.0	121	0.9	92	1.4	10	0.8
Area and Ethnic Studies	659	0.3	48	0.6	500	0.2	41	0.3	54	0.8	0	0.0
Business and Management	66,729	24.0	2,064	26.5	54,623	24.4	2,507	18.0	1,172	17.1	271	21.6
Business and Office	13	0.0	8	0.0	7	0.0	4	0.0	2	0.0	0	0.0
Communications	2,997	1.2	44	0.6	2,699	1.2	175	1.3	68	1.0	11	0.9
Communications Technologies	147	0.1	3	0.0	113	0.1	8	0.1	3	0.0	0	0.0
Computer and Information Systems	5,233	2.1	615	7.9	4,303	1.9	180	1.3	94	1.4	41	3.3
Construction Trades	22	0.0	0	0.0	21	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Education	72,962	28.9	891	11.5	63,302	28.3	5,812	41.7	2,318	34.7	468	37.3
Engineering	14,831	5.7	1,551	19.9	12,186	5.4	336	2.4	337	4.9	47	3.7
Engineering and Related Technologies	449	0.2	22	0.3	395	0.2	29	0.2	5	0.0	2	0.2
Foreign Languages	1,655	0.6	30	0.4	1,222	0.5	26	0.2	174	2.5	3	0.4
Health Sciences	13,473	5.3	427	5.5	12,092	5.4	633	4.7	248	3.6	55	4.4
Home Economics	2,096	0.8	57	0.7	1,868	0.8	115	0.8	39	0.6	11	0.9
Law	1,550	0.5	67	0.9	1,289	0.5		0.4	39	0.6	3	0.2
Letters	5,243	2.1	160	2.1	4,860	2.2	186	1.3	89	1.4	22	1.8
Liberal/General Studies	1,312	0.4	15	0.2	1,026	0.5	30	0.3	33	0.5	6	0.5
Library and Archival Sciences	3,766	1.5	76	0.9	3,390	1.5	172	1.2	55	0.8	12	1.0
Life Sciences	4,556	1.8	176	2.3	4,018	1.8	151	1.1	169	1.6	18	1.4
Marketing and Distribution	58	0.0	4	0.1	31	0.0	8	0.6	1	0.0	0	0.0
Mathematics	2,146	0.8	188	2.4	1,873	0.8	53	0.4	49	0.7	7	0.6
Military Sciences	60	0.0	2	0.0	42	0.0	4	0.0	2	0.0	0	0.0
Multi/Interdisciplinary Studies	2,168	0.9	56	0.7	1,904	0.9	88	0.6	56	0.8	10	0.8
Parks and Recreation	515	0.2	4	0.1	487	0.2	18	0.1	5	0.1	1	0.1
Philosophy and Religion	1,423	0.6	20	0.3	867	0.6	27	0.2	10	0.1	2	0.2
Physical Sciences	4,565	1.8	265	3.4	4,111	1.8	88	0.6	132	1.9	21	1.7
Precision Production	5	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.0	4	0.0	5	0.0	0	0.0
Protective Services	1,594	0.6	6	0.1	968	0.4	530	3.8	72	1.1	1	0.1
Psychology	8,493	3.4	250	3.2	7,210	3.2	436	3.1	276	4.0	37	2.9
Public Affairs	16,655	6.6	235	3.0	12,610	5.6	1,444	10.4	368	5.3	85	6.8
Renewable Natural Resources	919	0.4	6	0.1	846	0.4	8	0.1	55	0.8	2	0.2
Science Technologies	52	0.0	4	0.1	42	0.0	3	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0
Social Sciences	8,198	3.3	320	4.1	7,022	3.1	422	3.0	[illegible]	3.3	43	3.4
Theology	3,348	1.3	59	0.8	3,210	1.4	81	0.6	42	0.6	5	0.4
Transportation and Material Moving	104	0.0	2	0.0	135	0.1	17	0.1	12	0.2	0	0.0
Visual and Performing Arts	7,898	3.1	120	1.5	7,212	3.2	228	1.6	150	2.2	40	3.2
Vocational Home Economics	142	0.1	1	0.0	98	0.0	7	0.1	8	0.1	0	0.0

*Total number of degrees excludes non resident aliens and the race unknown category

SOURCE U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred between 7/1/84 and 6/30/85," [illegible] file with adjustments for race/ethnicity nonresponse

Table 11 --Doctor's degrees conferred by all institutions of higher education, by race/ethnicity, by major field, and by level of degree 1984-85

Major field and level of degree	U.S. Total*		Asian/Pacific Islander		White Non-Hispanic		Black Non-Hispanic		Hispanic		American Indian/ Alaskan Native	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Doctor's degrees, total	26,992	100.0	1,006	100.0	23,934	100.0	1,154	100.0	677	100.0	119	100.0
Agribusiness and Agricultural Products	146	0.5	18	1.8	111	0.5	10	0.9	6	0.9	1	0.8
Agricultural Sciences	581	2.2	28	2.8	519	2.2	11	1.0	17	2.5	1	0.8
Allied Health	56	0.2	4	0.4	47	0.2	3	0.3	2	0.3	1	0.8
Architecture and Environmental Design	63	0.2	4	0.4	53	0.2	5	0.4	1	0.1	0	0.0
Area and Ethnic Studies	124	0.5	9	0.9	105	0.4	3	0.3	9	1.3	0	0.0
Business and Management	644	2.4	35	3.2	587	2.5	14	1.2	4	0.6	4	3.4
Communications	181	0.7	2	0.2	161	0.7	18	1.6	1	0.1	0	0.0
Communications Technologies	4	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Computer and Information Systems	171	0.6	14	1.3	151	0.6	3	0.3	2	0.3	1	0.8
Education	6,434	23.8	84	7.6	5,615	23.5	521	45.1	163	24.1	51	42.9
Engineering	1,768	6.6	260	23.8	1,372	5.7	40	3.5	88	13.0	7	5.9
Engineering and Related Technologies	8	0.0	1	0.2	7	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1	0	0.0
Foreign Languages	161	1.3	6	1.2	135	1.3	6	1.5	11	6.1	2	1.7
Health Sciences	977	3.6	45	4.4	877	3.7	31	2.6	15	2.2	6	5.0
Home Economics	234	0.9	5	0.5	214	0.9	8	0.7	7	1.1	0	0.0
Law	32	0.1	1	0.1	28	0.1	3	0.3	1	0.1	0	0.0
Letters	1,075	4.0	15	1.7	1,015	4.2	24	2.1	11	1.5	4	3.4
Liberal Service Studies	51	0.2	1	0.1	47	0.2	1	0.1	0	0.0	1	0.8
Library and Archival Sciences	72	0.3	6	0.5	55	0.2	6	0.5	3	0.4	1	0.8
Life Sciences	2,974	11.0	129	11.7	2,725	11.4	51	4.4	17	2.5	4	3.4
Marketing and Distribution	2	0.0	1	0.1	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Mathematics	417	1.5	34	3.3	372	1.6	7	0.6	12	1.8	0	0.0
Multi-/Interdisciplinary Studies	231	0.9	13	1.2	204	0.9	6	0.5	8	1.2	0	0.0
Parks and Recreation	28	0.1	0	0.0	24	0.1	4	0.3	1	0.1	0	0.0
Philosophy and Religion	419	1.6	12	1.1	393	1.6	3	0.3	5	0.7	0	0.0
Physical Sciences	2,683	10.0	178	16.1	2,420	10.1	35	3.0	41	6.1	12	10.1
Protective Services	32	0.1	1	0.1	28	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.3	0	0.0
Psychology	2,771	10.3	51	4.6	2,544	10.6	111	9.6	58	8.6	5	4.2
Public Affairs	339	1.3	9	0.8	283	1.2	35	3.0	9	1.3	3	2.5
Renewable Natural Resources	165	0.6	1	0.1	160	0.7	3	0.3	1	0.0	1	0.8
Science Technologies	12	0.0	1	0.1	11	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Social Sciences	2,231	8.3	67	6.1	1,949	8.2	112	9.7	73	10.8	10	8.4
Theology	1,003	3.7	41	3.7	913	3.8	32	2.3	11	1.6	3	2.5
Visual and Performing Arts	624	2.3	13	1.2	592	2.4	15	1.3	12	1.8	2	1.7
Vocational Home Economics	5	0.0	1	0.1	5	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0

*Total number of degrees excludes nonresident aliens and the race unknown category

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education and General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred between 7/1/84 and 6/30/85" tabulations from final file with imputations for race/ethnic nonresponse

Table 12.--First-professional degrees conferred by all institutions of higher education, by race/ethnicity, by major field, and by level of degree: 1984-85

Major field and level of degree	U.S. Total*		Asian/Pacific Islander		White Non-Hispanic		Black Non-Hispanic		Hispanic		American Indian/ Alaskan Native	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
First-professional degrees, total	70,196	100.0	1,816	100.0	63,219	100.0	3,029	100.0	1,884	100.0	248	100.0
Chiropractic	2,584	3.7	31	1.7	2,483	3.9	22	0.7	42	2.2	6	2.4
Dentistry, general	4,648	6.6	289	15.9	4,028	6.4	177	5.8	123	6.5	31	12.5
Law	35,904	51.1	588	32.4	32,637	51.6	1,561	51.5	1,019	54.1	99	39.9
Medicine, general	14,796	21.1	583	32.1	12,915	20.4	730	24.1	479	25.4	89	35.9
Optometry	1,100	1.6	77	4.2	976	1.5	14	0.5	28	1.5	2	0.8
Osteopathic Medicine	1,486	2.1	31	1.7	1,409	2.2	29	1.0	18	1.0	8	3.2
Pharmacy	595	0.8	96	5.3	456	0.7	32	1.0	12	0.6	1	0.4
Podiatry or Podiatric Medicine	579	0.8	15	0.8	517	0.8	35	1.2	10	0.5	2	0.8
Theological Studies	6,288	9.0	86	4.7	5,684	9.0	395	13.0	119	6.3	4	1.6
Veterinary Medicine	2,168	3.1	28	1.5	2,072	3.3	36	1.2	34	1.8	6	2.4
Other, total	48	0.1	0	0.0	48	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

*Total number of degrees excludes non-resident aliens and the race unknown category.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education and General Information Survey (HEGIS), Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred between 7/1/84 and 6/30/85, tabulations from final file with imputations for racial/ethnic nonresponse.

Table 13.--Unduplicated percent of undergraduates enrolled in the fall of 1986, by source of support

Selected student characteristic	Number of undergraduates 1/	Financial aid: Financial aid only	Family: Parents only 2/	Family: Student only	Family: Parents and student only	Financial aid and family: Financial aid and parents only	Financial aid and family: Financial aid and students only	Financial aid and family: Financial aid, parents and student only
Total undergraduates	11,836,791	5.[illegible]	8.[illegible]	19.8	24.[illegible]	[illegible]	11.[illegible]	[illegible]
Race/ethnicity								
American Indian	99,470	22.2	[illegible]	26.3	17.6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Asian American	547,722	6.2	15.5	17.[illegible]	24.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Black, non-Hispanic	1,007,812	[illegible]	[illegible]	16.[illegible]	11.2	12.2	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hispanic	728,625	8.3	[illegible]	22.3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	25.[illegible]
White, non-Hispanic	8,414,374	4.7	6.3	20.1	26.0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

1/ Includes only those undergraduates who reported their sources of support

2/ Parent contributions were student-reported. In-kind contributions (i.e., support provided by parents in addition to financial assistance such use of as charge cards or free room and board) were included in the calculation of parent contributions

NOTE: Details may not add to totals because of rounding

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, The 1987 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study

HIGHER EDUCATION IN HAWAI'I: A COMPARISON OF GRADUATION RATES AMONG ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICANS[1]

DAVID T. TAKEUCHI, AMEFIL AGBAYANI, AND LLOYD KUNIYOSHI

Social scientists have created a voluminous amount of literature in the past two decades on the ostensible economic success of Asian Americans as "model minorities," or argued against such a perspective (cf. Blauner, 1972; Cheng and Bonacich, 1984; Kim and Hurh, 1983; Kitano and Sue, 1973; Ringer, 1984; Suzuki, 1977; Wong, 1985; Woo, 1985). Within this body of research, education has been a principal issue, particularly as education relates to economic and social mobility. Absent in this body of literature is an understanding of the Asian and Pacific American experience in educational institutions, especially in postsecondary education.

This paper presents a preliminary examination of longitudinal data on the graduation rates of Asian and Pacific Americans at the University of Hawai'i. The data presented in this paper are part of a continuing research project on the analysis of institutional records and student surveys. We also discuss an alternative way to describe these data which have implications for policy and planning issues in postsecondary education.

Methods

Data on the fall 1979 cohort of entering freshmen at the University of Hawai'i were assessed over a period of seven years (fall 1979 to summer 1986) to determine their graduation status. The University of Hawai'i has background, academic performance, and graduation data for all enrolled students in machine-readable form. The major independent variable, ethnic background, is a self-reported measure. The four major Asian ethnic groups at the University of Hawai'i (Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, and Koreans) and Native Hawaiians were included in this analysis. While Caucasians are also a major group at the University, they were not included in this initial investigation. Many Caucasians come from the mainland United States and

---

[1]An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Cornell Symposium on Asian America: Asian Americans and Higher Education, Cornell University, May 1988. This paper was supported in part by ALU LIKE, Incorporated, the University of Hawai'i, and the National Center on Asian American Mental Health (MH 44331).

transfer to other colleges, and their graduation rates at the University of Hawai'i may not accurately reflect their educational attainments.

Graduation status is the major dependent variable. Graduation rates were computed only for the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. It is possible that some students left this campus and graduated from other postsecondary education institutions in Hawai'i or elsewhere. However, it is our experience that such computed rates underrepresent the overall graduation rates of Caucasians more than other groups. If nonCaucasian students are enrolled at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, most will continue their academic careers at this campus until they graduate or until they permanently drop out. This assumption, however, will be tested as more longitudinal data become available.

We will first examine the bivariate relationship between ethnicity and graduation status and then proceed to introduce several control variables to further explore this relationship.

Findings

The 1979 freshman cohort consists of 2,285 students. The demographic characteristics of the cohort are presented in Table 1. The cohort has a higher proportion of females than males, the modal age in 1979 was 18 years, a majority of the students attended a public secondary school (although 23 percent attended a private or parochial school), and Japanese students are overrepresented at the University while Filipinos and Native Hawaiians are underrepresented.

Certain ethnic minority groups enter the University of Hawai'i with an academic disadvantage as evidenced by their high school grades or standardized achievement test scores. Table 2 displays the mean grade point averages and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) math and verbal scores for the five ethnic groups in the analysis. No substantive difference in the grade point averages is evident for the five groups. However, when mean SAT test scores are assessed, differences are readily apparent. Filipino, Korean, and Native Hawaiian students have lower verbal or math scores than Japanese and Chinese students. While all groups do better on the SAT math test than the verbal test, Native Hawaiians and Filipinos have mean math scores below those of the other ethnic groups. In summary, Filipino and Native Hawaiians enter the University at a clear academic disadvantage.

Figure 1 displays the graduation rates for the total 1979 cohort and the five ethnic groups. Fifty-six percent of the total cohort graduated within seven

years. Chinese (70 percent) and Japanese (66 percent) students have the highest graduation rates among the five ethnic groups. Filipino and Korean students have similar rates, 50 percent and 48 percent, respectively. Native Hawaiians have the lowest graduation rate with only 34 percent of the students graduating.

Table 3 shows the length of time to graduation for students who graduated within seven years. The major difference between the ethnic groups appears to be in the percentages of students who needed more than five years to graduate. Among the Chinese and Japanese students, approximately 30 percent needed more than five years to complete their degrees. The comparable percentages are slightly higher for Filipino (41 percent), Native Hawaiian (45 percent), and Korean (40 percent) students.

We were interested in gender differences within ethnic groups (see Table 4). Female students in all of the ethnic groups, except for the Filipinos, have higher graduation rates than males. The differences between males and females are higher for the Chinese and Japanese than in the other groups.

Another issue we explored is how prior achievement explains graduation rates. Earlier we showed that, relative to the other ethnic groups, Filipinos and Native Hawaiians entered the University with lower mean SAT verbal and math scores. We wanted to know whether the differences in scores accounted for the differences in graduation rates. Tables 5 to 7 show the graduation rates for each ethnic group controlling for grade point average, SAT math score, and SAT verbal score We dichotomized these variables because of the small sizes of some of the ethnic groups. Grade point average (GPA) was dichotomized as "under 3.0" and "3.0 and over," SAT math scores were categorized as "under 500" and "500 and over," and SAT verbal scores were dichotomized as "under 450" and "450 and over." Different cutoffs for math and verbal scores were used because students tended to score higher on math than on the verbal test.

For all of the ethnic groups, students with higher grade point averages and achievement test scores do have higher graduation rates. In some instances, the improvement in rates is dramatic. For example, among Filipino students who had less than a 3.0 GPA, only 35 percent graduated. For Filipino students with a 3.0 GPA and above, 58 percent graduated. Similar results occur for Native Hawaiian students; the rates improve from 24 percent to 49 percent.

Despite these impressive differences, Filipino, Native Hawaiian, and Korean students do not attain the graduation rates of the Japanese and Chinese students when GPA and academic achievement are controlled.

Among students with high GPAs and achievement test scores, Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, and Koreans have lower graduation rates than Japanese and Chinese. Filipino students have higher graduation rates than Native Hawaiians and Korean students when achievement is controlled.

Finally, a multiple logistic regression was used to summarize the graduation rates for tne five ethnic groups controlling for high school grade point average, SAT scores, and the type of high school attended (public, private, mainland, and foreign schools). Logistic regression estimates the independent effects of different variables on a dichotomous dependent variable. The dependent variable in this instance is graduation status (graduated or not graduated within seven years). Table 8 presents the results of the analysis. Odds ratios were computed; these represent the odds of graduating for a particular ethnic group compared to the odds of graduating for Chinese students (the group with the highest graduation rate). A "1.0" odds ratio indicates that an ethnic group has the same odds of graduating as Chinese students controlling for high school grade point average, SAT scores, and type of high school attended.

The analysis here indicates that Japanese students have similar odds of graduating from the University of Hawai'i as Chinese students when controlling for the other variables. Filipino, Korean, and Native Hawaiians have statistically lower odds of graduating. Native Hawaiians have the lowest odds of graduating. These results provide further evidence that, even when controlling for certain factors, certain ethnic minorities do not achieve equity within the college environment.

Discussion

This paper presents the results of a preliminary examination of longitudinal data on students at the University of Hawai'i. The findings show that, relative to the other ethnic groups, Filipino and Native Hawaiian students are underrepresented at the University of Hawai'i, they enter with lower average SAT scores and mean high school GPAs, lower percentages graduate after seven years, and, when they do graduate, they take longer to earn their degrees. We also show that even when controlling for academic achievement, Filipino, Native Hawaiian, and Korean students do not reach parity with Chinese and Japanese students with respect to graduation rates.

The findings presented here also call attention to an additional point. Filipino and Native Hawaiian students enter the University of Hawai'i with a disadvantage as evidenced by their low SAT scores. While we recognize the

problems in focusing on these tests as a measure of talent, these scores also indicate that minority access begins prior to entry into the University of Hawai'i. The unequal schooling that certain ethnic minority students receive is established prior to their entry into college and this inequity continues through their college careers.

Elsewhere we have discussed some barriers which discourage ethnic minorities from entering postsecondary education or, if enrolled, deter them from getting a degree. Channeling, inaccurate measures of talent, conflicting learning styles, poor financial incentives, and absence of minority faculty encourage certain ethnic minorities to fail in school, drop out of school, and enter adult society with a low level of education (Agbayani and Takeuchi, 1986a).

Biased books and curricula are also part of the mechanisms that schools use to encourage the poor performance of certain ethnic minorities. However, these mechanisms are part of the larger issue of the culturally-biased, Western, middle class educational system. Such a system teaches and rewards Western middle class educational behaviors which have little to do with success in adult life. Schools often fail to recognize that students come from coherent cultures which may be different from the prevailing Western culture. Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) point out that the learning process is upset in school by the clash in attitudes, expectations, cognitive styles, languages, and behaviors between teachers and students. This clash favors students who can adapt to the school's cultural orientations; these students are trained to occupy high status roles. Students who cannot adapt are considered failures and are trained for menial roles. An excellent example of this process is the conflict between "pidgin English" and standard English in Hawai'i (Agbayani and Takeuchi, 1986b). Educators have historically considered pidgin English speakers as inferior to standard English speakers and this has been used as a basis to "treat" pidgin speakers as "deficient" and in need of special services.

But why do some ethnic minority groups do better in the educational system than others? Explanations based on cultural differences have been called into question (cf. Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Collins, 1971; Mayes, 1971). One promising structural approach is provided by Ogbu (1978), who makes a direct connection between schooling and post-school society. Ogbu argues that education is directly related to typical adult roles in the contemporary post-school society. The different positions traditionally assigned to dominant and minority groups affect the school performance of each. The education of the dominant group prepares its members to compete for the most desirable

roles in society. The education of minority groups, on the other hand, prepares them for very different roles.

Ogbu distinguishes between three types of minority groups: autonomous, caste, and immigrant. Autonomous minorities tend to be numerically smaller than, but not totally subordinated economically or politically to, the dominant group. They often possess a distinct racial, religious, linguistic, or cultural identity. They may be subject to some prejudice and discrimination but their relationship with the dominant group is not one of rigid stratification. Members of autonomous minorities do not necessarily regard the majority group as their reference group nor do they necessarily want to be assimilated.

Caste minorities are the opposite. The dominant group usually regards them as inferior in all respects. In general, caste minorities are not allowed to compete for the most desirable jobs or roles on the basis of their position in the stratification system. Their subordination is both political and economic.

Immigrant minorities fall between autonomous and caste minorities. They are people who have moved into a host society. As strangers, immigrant minorities tend to live in groups and operate effectively outside of the established definitions of social relations. They can accept and even anticipate prejudice and discrimination as the price for improving their lives. Although they may initially occupy the lowest positions in the occupational structure of the host society and possess little power or prestige, the jobs they hold may be better than those available to them in their homelands. They see themselves as in the process of bettering their lives in a new country rather than being at the bottom of the hierarchy.

In Hawai'i, Caucasians are considered the dominant group. Their orientation generally reflects Western values and customs. Caucasians comprise the largest group in the state, and the largest proportion of Caucasians are employed in professional and technical occupations.

The Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese best represent Ogbu's autonomous category. They have established their own subcultures and have attained high levels of status. They have higher than average median annual incomes, and higher than average proportions of these groups are in professional and technical occupations. In the past 50 years, the numbers of Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans in professional occupations have increased dramatically.

Native Hawaiians appear to represent Ogbu's caste minority. They have traditionally been on the bottom rung of the social, economic, and

political ladder. Native Hawaiians are indigenous to the state and have experienced many of the hardships of other Native Americans.

Filipinos were the last group of plantation laborers to arrive in Hawai'i and still represent the largest ethnic group annually migrating to this state. Although they have been denied entry into upper level social and economic postions, social scientists consider their growth rate in Hawai'i as a potential source of power in local politics. For this reason, Filipinos best represent Ogbu's immigrant category. Koreans are also immigrating in large numbers to Hawai'i. While they are developing an economic base through entrepreneurial activities, their entry into the social and political hierarchy is blocked by institutional barriers (e.g., language barriers, stereotyping). They also can be considered as representative of Ogbu's immigrant category.

As noted earlier, Ogbu argues that the education of the dominant group prepares its members to compete for the most desirable roles in society. The education of minorities, however, prepares them for very different roles.

Autonomous minorities (such as Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans in Hawai'i) are trained to occupy high status roles. In some cases, autonomous minorities may have their own educational system outside of the formal educational system of the dominant group (e.g., language schools). The important point is that with autonomous minorities, as with the dominant group, there is a direct connection between success in school and success in adult life. School achievement for children will have a bearing on the roles they occupy in later life, and the better students will tend to get the better jobs.

In constrast, caste minorities (such as Native Hawaiians) are not trained to compete effectively for high status occupations in society. This is because caste minorities are restricted to the least desirable social and occupational roles. The barriers against caste minorities which exist in the post-school society shape their educational expectations. They are not taught the same skills as other students and they lack the motivation to do well in school.

The children of immigrant minorities (such as Filipinos in Hawai'i) are also likely to occupy the lowest social and economic positions in society, but their situation is different than that of the caste minorities. They see themselves as being in a period of transition. Even though formal education may not bring the benefits of high social status, they are motivated by the anticipation that such rewards are possible. Unlike caste minorities, immigrant minorities have hopes of escaping what may have been a long history of frustrated social mobility.

What Ogbu suggests, then, is that the educational experiences of minority groups are determined by the occupational structure of the society. When high level occupational roles are available, as with autonomous minorities, there is a need for academic achievement. When occupational barriers exist, as with caste minorities, academic achievement is secondary. Schools are organized to prepare different minority groups for different adult roles and positions.

Conclusion: Policy and Additional Research

In a previous study, we have discussed some policy and planning recommendations for reducing institutional barriers which deter minority students from graduating from college (Agbayani and Takeuchi, 1986a). These recommendations focus on establishing programs to reach minority students prior to their entry in college, establishing support programs, initiating minority faculty development programs, and developing joint programs with the community colleges.

Cummins (1986) presents a policy framework within which the above recommendations can be implemented. It is based on an acknowledgement of a stratification system in which certain ethnic minority groups are dominated and disabled through interactions with school personnel. Cummins suggests that schools can have a profound impact by empowering minority students and their communities through incorporating minority students' language and culture in school programs, encouraging minority community participation in schools, encouraging students to use language to actively generate knowledge, and encouraging professionals to become advocates for minority students. By empowering minorities, schools reduce the barriers created by the ethnic stratification system in the larger society.

We have some experience that suggests that this framework can have a profound effect on minority students in postsecondary education. In 1986, a task force comprised of 20 Native Hawaiian faculty representing the various University of Hawai'i campuses was established to work on issues regarding Native Hawaiian access, retention, and education at the University of Hawai'i. The task force provided recommendations for the establishment of an expanded Hawaiian studies program with a full curriculum consisting of language and cultural studies. This task force was unique because it represented the first time that the University administration recognized the need to have Native Hawaiian input in the development of solutions for Native Hawaiian students. Similar task forces have been formed for Filipinos

and Pacific Islanders.

In this paper we have presented some initial analyses in continuing research project on ethnic minority students at the University of Hawai'i. More extensive analyses are planned. In addition to conducting further multivariate analyses on graduation rates, we also plan to examine variables which predict academic achievement. Surveys are also scheduled to examine how minority students change their expectations as they progress through their academic careers. Finally, classroom studies are planned to explore the learning processes which can enhance minority student achievement within the classroom.

References

Agbayani, A., and Takeuchi, D. *A Study to Improve Access to Public Higher Education Programs and Support Services for Minority Students.* Hawaii: University of Hawai'i, 1986a.

Agbayani, A., and Takeuchi, D. "Hawaii English Standard Schools: A Policy Analysis." In N. Tsuchida (ed.), *Issues in Asian and Pacific American Education.* Minneapolis: Asian/Pacific American Learning Resource Center, 1986b.

Astin, A., Astin, H., Green, K., Kent, L., McNarmara, P., and Williams, M. *Minorities in Higher Education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982.

Banks, J. A. "Educating Minority Youths: An Inventory of Current Theory." *Education and Urban Society*, 15 (1982), 88-103.

Berg, I. *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery.* New York: Praeger, 1969.

Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Education Reform and the Contradiction of Economic Life.* New York: Basic Books, 1976.

Blauner, R. *Racial Oppression in America.* New York: Harper Row, 1972.

Cheng, L. and Bonacich, E. (eds.) *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Collins, R. "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification." *American Sociological Review*, 36 (1971), 1002-1019.

Cummins, J. "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention." *Harvard Educational Review*, 56 (1986), 18-36.

Featherman, D., and Hauser, R. "Sexual Inequalities and Socioeconomic Achievement in the U.S., 1962-1973." *American Sociological Review*, 41 (1972), 462-483.

Forbes, J. D. "Teaching Native American Values and Cultures." In J.A. Banks (ed.), *Teaching in Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies.* Washington D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973.

Fujii, E. and Mak, J. "The Determinants of Income of Native and Foreign-Born Men in a Multiracial Society." *Applied Economics*, 15 (1983), 759-776.

Gallimore, R., Boggs, J., and Jordan, C. *Culture, Behavior and Education: A Study of Hawaiian Americans.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Kamehameha Schools. *An Interim Evaluation Report on the Hawaii District Career Exploration Pilot Program.* Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate, 1985.

Kan, S. and Liu, W. "The Educational Status of Asian Americans: An Update From the 1980 Census." In N. Tsuchida (ed.), *Issues in Asian and Pacific American Education.* Minneapolis: Asian/Pacific American Learning Resource Center, 1986.

Kim, K. C. and Hurh, W. M. "Korean Americans and the 'Success Image': A Critique." *Amerasia Journal*, 10 (1983), 3-21.

Kitano, H. and Sue, S. "The Model Minorities." *Journal of Social Issues*, 29 (1973), 1-9.

Kohl, H. *The Open Classroom.* New York: Random House, 1969.

Kozol, J. *Death at an Early Age.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969.

Lieberson, S. *A Piece of the Pie: Black and White Immigrants Since 1880.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Mayes, S. S. "The Increasing Stratification of Higher Education: Ideology and Consequence." *The Journal of Educational Thought*, 11 (1977), 16-27.

McClendon, M. "The Occupational Status Attainment Process of Males and Females." *American Sociological Review*, 41 (1976), 52-64.

Ogbu, J. *Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross Cultural Perspective.* New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Parsons, T. "The Social Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society." *Harvard Educational Review* (Reprint Series), 1 (1968), 69-90.

Peterson, W. *Japanese Americans.* New York: Random House, 1971.

Ringer, B. *We the People and Others.* New York and London: Tavistock Press, 1984.

Richardson, R. C. and Bender, L. W. *Students In Urban Settings: Achieving the Baccaluareate Degree* (ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Reprint 6). Washington D.C.: ERIC, 1985.

Scimecca, J. A. *Education and Society.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.

Sklare, M. *America's Jews.* New York: Random House, 1971.

Smitherman, G. *Taking and Testifying: The Language of Black America.* New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1977.

Steinberg, S. *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1981.

Suzuki, B. H. "Educational Socialization of Asian Americans: A Revisionist Analysis of the 'Model Minority' Thesis." *Amerasia Journal*, 4 (1977), 23-51.

Sung, B.L. *The Story of the Chinese in America.* New York: Macmillian, 1967.

Turrittin, A., Anisef, P., and MacKinnon, N. "Gender Differences in Educational Achievement: A Study of Social Inequality." *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 8 (1983), 395-419.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Success of Asian Americans: Fact or Fiction?* Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1980.

Wong, E. "Asian American Middleman Minority Theory: The Framework of an American Myth." *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 13 (1985), 52-88.

Woo, D. "The Socioeconomic Status of Asian American Women in the Labor Force: An Alternative View." *Sociological Perspectives*, 27 (1985), 307-338.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the 1979 University of Hawai'i at Manoa Freshman Cohort

Characteristic		Number	Percentage
Gender			
	Female	1254	54.9
	Male	1030	45.1
Age			
	Below 18	57	2.5
	18	1995	87.3
	19	167	7.3
	20	18	0.8
	21	15	0.7
	22	12	0.5
	Over 22	19	0.8
High School Attended			
	Pvt./Parochial	513	22.5
	Public	1550	67.8
	Other	222	9.7
Ethnicity			
	Caucasian	320	14.5
	Chinese	314	14.3
	Filipino	119	5.4
	Hawaiian	86	3.9
	Japanese	1025	46.6
	Korean	62	2.8
	Others	275	12.5

Note: Total size of the cohort is 2,285. Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding error.

Table 2: Grade Point Averages and SAT Scores of the 1979 University of Hawai'i Freshman Cohort for Selected Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Group	High School GPA			SAT Math			SAT Verbal		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Chinese	273	3.26	.40	302	537	92	302	409	104
Filipino	102	3.27	.41	104	481	92	106	339	75
Hawaiian	69	2.29	.40	69	463	104	69	413	100
Japanese	968	3.16	.43	968	532	95	970	429	84
Korean	57	3.14	.44	60	538	91	60	391	95

Note: SAT refers to the Scholastic Aptitude Test which is one of several criteria used to determine entrance eligibility at the University.

Table 3: Length of Time to Graduate for Selected Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Group	N	Number of Years (graduates only)				
		3	4	5	6	7
Total Sample	1281	1%	17%	51%	22%	9%
Chinese	219	3	21	48	20	8
Filipino	59	0	15	44	29	12
Hawaiian	29	0	17	38	24	21
Japanese	677	*	13	55	21	10
Korean	30	0	20	40	33	7

* = less than one percent.

Note: Graduation rates are computed from Fall 1979 to Summer 1986. Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding error

Table 4: Graduation Rates by Gender for Selected Ethnic Groups in the 1979 Freshman Cohort

Ethnic Group	Females		Males	
	N	Grad. Rate	N	Grad. Rate
Chinese	178	73%	136	65%
Filipino	68	46	51	45
Hawaiian	38	37	48	31
Japanese	556	70	469	61
Korean	35	43	27	37

Table 5: Graduation Rates by High School Grade Point Average for Selected Ethnic Groups in the 1979 Freshman Cohort

Ethnic Group	Under 3.0		3.0 and Over	
	N	Grad. Rate	N	Grad. Rate
Chinese	55	58%	218	72%
Filipino	23	35	79	58
Hawaiian	34	24	35	49
Japanese	310	55	658	74
Korean	20	40	37	54

Table 6: Graduation Rates by SAT Math Score for Selected Ethnic Groups in the 1979 Freshman Cohort

Ethnic Group	Under 500		500 and Over	
	N	Grad. Rate	N	Grad Rate
Chinese	94	66%	208	74%
Filipino	57	47	47	62
Hawaiian	44	30	25	48
Japanese	340	62	628	71
Korean	20	45	40	50

Table 7: Graduation Rates by SAT Verbal Score for Selected Groups in the 1979 Freshman Cohort

Ethnic Group	Under 450		450 and Over	
	N	Grad. Rate	N	Grad Rate
Chinese	198	70%	104	74%
Filipino	77	49	29	62
Hawaiian	47	30	22	50
Japanese	603	66	364	71
Korean	44	50	16	44

Table 8: The Relationship Between Ethnic Group and Graduation Status: Summary of a Logistic Regression Analysis

Ethnic Group	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Filipino	.588	.343	.908
Hawaiian	.362	.202	.646
Korean	.442	.242	.806
Japanese	1.026	.753	1.389

Note: The logistic regression outcome measure is graduation status (0 = did not graduate, 1 = graduated) and controls for SAT-V, SAT-M, high school grade point average, and type of school (public, private, mainland, foreign). The comparison group is Chinese students. If "1.0" is within the 95 percent confidence interval, then the odds ratio is not statistically significant.

Part Three

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ISSUES

THE ACCULTURATION OF KOREAN AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

JOHN GOLDEN

Social scientists traditionally viewed acculturation as a linear movement in which two cultural groups in contact ultimately fused to produce one culture which was that of the dominant group (Herskovits, 1938; Linton, 1972). For example, the Social Science Research Council (1972: 20) defined acculturation "...as culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems."

Gordon (1964) clarified the concept of acculturation by relating it to assimilation. He defined acculturation as cultural assimilation. Cultural assimilation refers to the changing of a subordinate group's cultural patterns to those of the dominant group. Acculturation is distinguished from social or structural assimilation which refers to the large scale entry by a subordinate group into the cliques, clubs, and institutions of the dominant group on a primary level. Unlike acculturation, social assimilation requires the acceptance of a subordinate group by the dominant group. This distinction was a breakthrough in better understanding acculturation. The dominant group usually favors acculturation but rejects social assimilation. In reality, the dominant group often wants a subordinate group to have responsibilities but not rights in society. The "melting pot," according to Gordon, is only an illusion.

Newman (1973) claimed that the reason theories of acculturation failed was that they assumed that all subordinate groups moved in a single, linear, assimilative direction. Basing his own theory on a dynamic rather than static view of society, he pointed out that the participation of a subordinate group in the dominant group's institutions did not foster assimilation if the subordinate group remained at the very bottom of those institutions. Further, he claimed, there were situations where subordinate groups had reward parity but wished to remain segregated--such as many Asian Americans, Hasidic Jews, Amish, Mennonites, Quakers as well as others--in order to preserve a life-style of values viewed as better than those of the dominant group.

But even before Newman, many social scientists began to focus on individuals instead of groups in the acculturation process. In their work, it became apparent that various heterogeneous types of individuals resulted from the process of acculturation (Child, 1943; Dohrenwend and Smith, 1962; Spindler and Spindler, 1972; McFee, 1972; Clark et al., 1976; Padilla, 1980; Hurh, 1980). Berry (1980a) used the model of adaptation to list three and possibly four main outcomes resulting from the process of acculturation:

assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. Thus, he argued that some people give up their native culture and language and become assimilated. Others refuse to give up their native culture and language and reject those of the dominant group, while others integrate the former and the latter. Finally, some people just go on their own way by themselves.

After interviewing 381 Mexican Americans, Padilla (1980) came up with five well-defined homogenous types of individuals in the acculturation process. Padilla made an important discovery. He found that a relatively large number of educated individuals were bicultural. These individuals had acculturated sufficiently to be able to function within the mainstream American society, but at the same time they had not moved away from their culture of origin in terms of either cultural awareness or ethnic loyalty. This was important since most researchers had usually studied people on either one or the other end of the acculturation continuum, the assimilated or the non-assimilated. Few had focused on bicultural individuals (McFee; 1968).

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) found that young Cuban males assimilated more rapidly to American culture than older Cuban females and that this was accompanied by conflicts in the family and high levels of drug addiction. Bilingual Cuban students, however, did not seem to have these problems and were considered by their teachers to be better adjusted than non-bilingual students. This study, along with that of Padilla, highlights the importance of biculturalism.

In their study of Korean immigrants in the United States, Hurh and Kim (1984: 190) called the process of biculturalism "adhesive adaptation." They claimed that Korean immigrants are:

> ...assimilated both culturally and socially, but to a limited extent (especially in social dimension), and such assimilation would not replace or weaken any significant aspect of Korean traditional culture and social networks. If this is true, the Korean immigrants' adhesive mode of adaptation would be far from a zero-sum model of "assimilation," the term which has largely been synonymous with 'Anglo-conformity' in the United States...

In her study of Korean American youth. Bok Lim Kim (1980) found problems among those who were highly culturally assimilated. These youth had identity crises and seemed to be headed toward negative marginality. Kim saw only two possibilities open to Korean American children. One was to develop a bicultural identity and the other was to "fall" into a state of

marginality.

Cummins (1984) noted in exploring the "myth of bilingual handicap" that before the 1960's, children were pressured to reject their culture of origin in order to belong to the dominant culture and were punished for speaking their native language as well as made to feel ashamed of their language and cultural background. They usually ended up unable to identify fully with either culture and did poorly in school. But this was changed by the success of Canadian language immersion programs where children performed better than comparison groups in some academic and cognitive skills. A positive association was found between bilingualism and aspects of both cognitive flexibility and divergent or creative thinking abilities.

Lin and Standford (1983: 51) found that almost all Chinese Canadian parents (92 percent) expressed the belief that a bilingual experience may have a positive influence on their children's intellectual development and "...it is more congenial for immigrants to acculturate while retaining their culture rather than to assimilate into the host society through de-ethnization."

Warning about the dangers of too rapid assimilation, Stonequist (1937: 206) has stated:

> Perhaps the finest citizens of foreign origin are those who have been able to preserve the best in their ancestral heritages while reaching out for the best that America could offer. They have been able to create a balance between continuity and change, and so have maintained reasonably stable characters."

Finally, Gordon (1964: 244-45) has written:

> The challenge for social welfare agencies and institutions in the immigration field is, without mounting a doomed effort to stem the inevitable tide of American acculturation, to aid the second-generation child to gain a realistic degree of positive regard for the cultural values of his ethnic background, which will hardly retard the acculturation process, but which will give the child a healthier psychological base for his confrontation with American culture and for his sense of identification with and response to his parents.

Korean American High School Students

A recent study conducted by the University of Colorado at Boulder (Golden; 1987) has verified the benefit of biculturalism in the acculturation process. The data for this study were obtained by interviewing Korean American high school students in Aurora, Colorado, a suburb of Denver. This population was chosen because of the high number of recent Korean immigrants who were in the process of acculturation. Eighty out of the 94 Korean American high school students in Aurora agreed to participate in this study.

The interviews used a questionnaire which collected data on the students' personal background, acculturation status, and marginality. The questionnaire was administered to the students at home, school, or other meeting places. A final phase of the study consisted of three in-depth student interviews.

The first part of the questionnaire was designed to collect personal background information such as place of birth, birth order among siblings, age and sex, age at immigration, class grades, college aspirations, recreational activities, types of other family members in the household, and parents' country of birth, age, current marital status, educational background, and employment status. In addition to the self-reporting of class grades, the official results from the California Basic Educational Skills Test (CBEST) were used to gauge academic success. All of these data were tabulated into frequencies and percentages in order to draw gemeral conculsions.

The second part of the questionnaire dealt with acculturation. The questions were based on four theoretical dimensions important in determining acculturative change. The first dimension concerned language familiarity and usage (Padilla, 1980). This dimension included language(s) understood and spoken, language(s) preferred for use with friends and at home, language(s) read, and preferred language(s) for reading newspapers and magazines as well as watching television programs.

The second theoretical dimension concerned identity and attitude (Berry, 1980a; 1980b). In addressing this dimension, the questionnaire asked students if they considered themselves to be Korean or American or Korean American and if they identified with and admired Koreans, Americans, or both. Students were also asked what first names, Korean or American, they used or felt should be used in the United States. Attitudes toward cultural preferences such as foods eaten and citizenship were also addressed.

The third dimension dealing with acculturation concerned social

behavior. Padilla (1980) refers to this as interethnic interaction and interethnic distance. He states that "...contact between members of different cultural groups facilitates the acculturation process." Thus the questionnaire dealt with language(s) used by closest friends, language(s) used by friends visited or friends visiting one's home, groups joined including religious groups, and the ethnicity of persons dated.

Finally, the fourth theoretical dimension concerned the more personal aspects of life such as feelings of isolation with people of the same ethnic background or others. The students were asked if they felt isolated with white Americans or with Koreans. This could indicate feelings of not being being accepted by one group or the other or the complete isolation from all groups.

General Findings on Korean American High School Students

The Korean American high school students in Aurora generally exhibited a strong positive self concept and high aspirations (94 percent intended to go on to college). The questionnaire revealed that 90 percent of these students were immigrants and almost half had been in the United States for six years or less. Despite their short stay, 80 percent understood and spoke both English and Korean. Over half (53 percent) read both languages, but most (64 percent) read American newspapers and magazines and watched American television.

Over half (54 percent) of the students considered themselves to be Korean. Eighteen percent felt left out or isolated with white Americans, while 33 percent felt left out or isolated with Koreans. All reported doing well in school (a B average in their courses). The students' CBEST results were, in many cases, very impressive. Eight percent of the reported scores were at or above the 90th percentile and 28 percent were above the 70th percentile. Since some of the students had not yet mastered the English language, this brought down the group mean to 46.3 (standard deviation of 28.9). When the ten non-English speaking students were excluded, the mean was 52.0 (standard deviation of 26.4).

Only eight percent of the students considered themselves to be American, but 54 percent considered themselves to be Korean and 39 percent considered themselves to be Korean American. Thirty-two percent had American names but most (52 percent) thought that names did not matter. Almost half (44 percent) of the students identified with or admired both Americans and Koreans, and over half (55 percent) believed that Korean immigrants should become American citizens. Seventy-four percent ate both

American and Korean food.

Most of the students were bilingual. Thirteen percent could only speak English and eight percent could only speak Korean; but the rest could speak both languages and several students could speak a third language. Twenty-three percent usually spoke English at home, 41 percent usually spoke Korean, and 38 percent usually spoke both languages. Many of the students did not know how to read Korean; 43 percent reported being able to only read English. Videotapes of Korean television programs were available, but only 36 percent of the students watched both American and Korean television programs. Most (64 percent) watched American programs and 57 percent usually read American newspapers and magazines.

Fifty-five percent of the students preferred to speak English with their friends, and 43 percent had closest friends who spoke only English. About half of the homes visited by the students were mostly English-speaking. Although 39 percent of the students did not date, of those who did, 45 percent usually dated whites. Forty-six percent did not belong to voluntary groups, but of those who did, 58 percent belonged mostly to American groups. Thirty-three percent of the students worked after school and 43 percent stayed home for recreational activities. Seventy-two percent attended religious services, and sixty-seven percent of those who did attended services conducted in Korean.

In research in Chicago and Los Angeles by Bok Lim Kim (1980), the Korean American child is portrayed as being overwhelmed by problems, marginality, and a desire for biculturality but not knowing how to achieve it. The high school students in Aurora did not exhibit these characteristics. It may be that they have not been in the United States long enough to forget their native culture. It may turn out that younger Korean American students now in elementary school will be different when they get to high school. On the other hand, these students may not experience the problems that often exist in larger cities like Chicago and Los Angeles. These students are ready and willing to take advantage of what American society has to offer, but they also wish to hold on to their Korean values. They do not seem to look upon their "Koreanness" as a liability but rather as an asset.

Differences Between Males and Females

The Korean American male and female students were quite similar with regard to their birthplace, age at immigration, and length of time in the U.S. as well as family characteristics.

There were some interesting differences between males and females in language ability. Females were more heavily represented in English as a second language (ESL) classes. More males used English to complete the questionnaire while more females used Korean. Eight-nine percent of the males could speak both Korean and English compared to 61 percent of the females. But more males (66 percent) spoke English with their friends than females (45 percent).

There were no big differences between males and females when they were asked if they considered themselves to be Korean, American, or Korean American. However, thirty-one percent of the females identified with and admired Koreans compared to only 14 percent of the males, but 53 percent of the males identified with and admired people of both nationalities compared to only 36 percent of the females. This reflects differences between males and females with regard to acculturation as will be discussed later. The females were predominately at both ends of the acculturation continuum. They outnumbered and over-represented the males with regard to Korean ethnicity and assimilation, and the males outnumbered and over-represented the females with regard to biculturality.

Questionnaire responses about personal and social behavior revealed that forty-one percent of the males felt isolated with Koreans compared to only 26 percent of the females. On the other hand, only eight percent of the males felt isolated with white Americans compared to 26 percent of the females. A test of association was conducted on this and a chi-square of 4.84 resulted. This was interpreted as a statistically significant difference between males and females with regard to feelings of isolation towards white Americans and Koreans. Dating habits were also significantly different with more females than males dating Asians. There were no other significant differences in personal and social behaviors.

This analysis indicates a high degree of similarity between the males and females in this study. However, academically, the males were slightly better than the females. There were some differences as far as language ability with more males using English and being bilingual than females. More males were also bicultural in terms of who they identified and admired. More males than females revealed feelings of isolation with Koreans. Finally, more females than males dated Asians.

Types of Acculturated Students

Olmedo (1980) has suggested using cluster analysis to develop

typologies of acculturation. The end result of cluster analysis is a qualitative typology that is empirically-derived on the basis of multiple quantified dimensions. In this study, each student's responses on each of nineteen acculturation items was scored on a weighted scale so that a response indicating an ethnic tendency was given a score of 1.00, a response indicating assimilation was given a 5.00, and a response indicating biculturality was given a 3.00. Theoretically, three main clusters of students would be formed by this process, one with a tendency toward ethnicity, another with a tendency toward assimilation, and a third with a tendency toward biculturality. When the means for each student on the nineteen items were graphically distributed along a continuum, roughly five clusters emerged. One cluster had eight cases with means ranging from 4.39 to 5.00. Another cluster had 25 cases with means of 3.77 to 4.23. A third cluster had 16 cases with means of 2.85 to 3.67. The next two clusters had 12 and 14 cases respectively with means of 2.33 to 2.69 and 1.67 to 2.09.

In this study, all items concerning acculturation were factor-analyzed using an orthogonal varimax rotation (Kim, 1975). Items were eliminated from this analysis if they had extremely skewed or truncated distributions or had low correlations with other items thought to measure the same concept or high correlations with other items thought to measure different concepts. Some items, especially concerning personal and social relationships, did not apply to many of the students. Any item that did not apply to over 25 percent of the students was eliminated. The varimax rotated factor matrix contained four factors (the first explained 74.3 percent of the variance in all of the items, the second explained 11.8 percent, the third 8.9 percent, and the fourth 5.0 percent). The fourth factor was eliminated from the analysis.

Factor 1 had the highest loadings on the following items: languages spoken and understood, .79; languages spoken at home, .73; identity of self, .60; newspapers and magazines read, .54; names friends used, .53; and languages read, .53. Factor 2 had the highest loadings on: languages used by visting friends, .73; languages used by friends visited, .72; and preferred language with friends, .54. Factor 3 had the highest loadings on: languages used by closest friends, .60; feelings of isolation with white Americans, .62; who one identifies and admires, .41; and feelings of isolation with Koreans, .37.

The first factor had high loadings on languages spoken and understood as well as read. Identity (whether students considered themselves to be Korean, American, or Korean American) also had a high loading. The second factor seemed to emphasize social life and revolved around friends

visited, friends visting one's home, and preferred language with friends. The third factor seemed to deal more with intimate feelings and personal aspects of life. Feelings of isolation with white Americans or Koreans, languages used by closest friends, and whether one identifies with and admires Koreans and/or Americans had the highest loadings. We can therefore summarize the three factors as: factor 1, language and identity factor; factor 2, social factor; and factor 3, personal factor.

When the questionnaire was being constructed it was thought that these factors would be composed differently with the personal and social items together and the language and identity items separate. The factor analysis provided different results. The three factors as described above were the ones that were used in further analyses.

Means were calculated for the items on each factor for each of the five previously derived clusters. These means are shown in Table 1. For Cluster 1, the mean for the language and identity factor is closer to the overall cluster mean than the means for the social or personal factors. Since the mean for the social factor is in the direction of the theoretical ethnicity mean of 1.00, it may be said that the social factor "pulls" Cluster 1 toward ethnicity. However, the mean for the personal factor, which is in the opposite direction, pulls Cluster 1 toward assimilation or biculturalism. Therefore it could be said that Cluster 1 is more ethnic in regard to the social factor but more bicultural or assimilative in regard to the personal factor and that the language and identity factor gives Cluster 1 its main standing. Cluster 1 will be called the Socially Ethnic Group since its overall mean of 1.85 is close to the theoretical ethnic mean of 1.00.

In contrast, Cluster 5 has an overall cluster mean of 4.67. Here the social factor has a mean of 4.83 and pulls Cluster 5 in the direction of the theoretical assimilation mean of 5.00, while the means for the personal and language and identity factors are both 4.63 and pull Cluster 5 in the opposite direction toward biculturalism or ethnicity. Cluster 5 will be called the Completely Assimilated Group since its overall mean of 4.67 is the close to the theoretical assimilation mean of 5.00.

Cluster 3 has an overall cluster mean of 3.24. This is close to the theoretical bicultural mean of 3.00. Therefore Cluster 3 will be called the Completely Bicultural Group. For Cluster 3, the language and identity factor pulls the cluster toward ethnicity but the personal and social factors pull it toward assimilation.

Cluster 2 has an overall cluster mean of 2.46 which is closer to the theoretical bicultural mean of 3.00 than to the theoretical ethnicity mean of

1.00. For Cluster 2, it is the personal and social factors that pull the cluster toward biculturalism; the language and identity factor pulls the cluster toward ethnicity. Cluster 2 will be called the Personally Bicultural Group.

Cluster 4 has an overall cluster mean of 4.06 which is between the theoretical bicultural mean of 3.00 and the theoretical assimilation mean of 5.00. For Cluster 4, the mean on the language and identity factor is 3.76, while the mean on the social factor is 4.73, which is a difference of almost one full point. These two factors strongly pull Cluster 4 in opposite directions. The mean on the personal factor is the closest to the overall cluster mean. Cluster 2 will be called the Bicultural Socially Assimilated Group.

Three of the clusters in this study were bicultural. Only Cluster 5 was completely assimilated. Most of the students in Cluster 5 were products of interracial marriages where the father was a white American. On the other hand, most of the 14 students in Cluster 1 were new arrivals who had been in the United States two years or less but who were for the most part bilingual. Let us look at these clusters a little more closely to see what kind of profile each presents.

The Socially Ethnic Group

The 14 students in this group represented 19 percent of the students in the study. All were born in Korea, 86 percent came to the United States in their teens, and 57 percent had been here for two years or less. All were born of Korean parents, and most (71 percent) were females. These students had an average CBEST score of only 15.7.[1] They seemed to be hard workers since they claimed to have grades of B in their subjects at school. They did not appear to have much of a social life as 71 percent stayed at home for recreation. Although most of these students (86 percent) usually spoke Korean at home, most claimed they could read and speak both Korean and English (71 and 86 percent respectively); however, over half were in ESL classes. None considered themselves to be American, and almost half (43 percent) felt isolated with white Americans. In summary, this group was largely composed of teen-age girls who were recent arrivals to the United States and who did not feel comfortable in their new environment but were

[1]Three of the 14 students did not have CBEST scores, presumably because of the recency of their arrival in the U.S. or their lack of English language skills.

working hard at school and doing well in their subjects. Over half of this group's members were in ESL classes.

The Personally Bicultural Group

These 12 students represented 16 percent of the students in the study. All were born in Korea. Half came to the United States in their teens, and 75 percent had been in the United States for 5 years or less. Three-quarters of these students were girls. Seventy-five percent considered themselves to be Korean. Almost half (42 percent) were in ESL classes. These students had a low mean CBEST score of 30.2, but they had a mean grade point average of 3.3. All of these students could read and speak both Korean and English. Half used Korean at home, and another 42 percent used both languages at home. Two-thirds stayed at home for recreation. These students felt less isolated with white Americans than those in the Socially Ethnic Group. In summary, this group was largely made up of teen-age girls who had been in the United States five years or less, who were beginning to adapt to their new envirnonment, who and were doing well in school.

The Completely Bicultural Group

These students represented 21 percent of the students in the study. All but one were born in Korea. Three-fourths came to the United States before they were teenagers; almost half (47 percent) arrived when they were between nine and 13 years of age. Sixty percent had been in the United States for five years or less. All of these students were born of Korean parents, 44 percent were the first-born, and 75 percent were males. All but one could speak both Korean and English, and half used both languages at home. One quarter had American first names, and half considered themselves to be Korean or Korean-American and had English-speaking friends. Thirty-eight percent felt isolated with Koreans. These students had an average CBEST score of 56.0. Half of these students had fathers who went to college. In summary, this group was largely made up of teen-age males who had been in the United States five years or less, who were adapting to their new environment, who were doing well in school, and who had above-average CBEST scores.

The Bicultural Socially Assimilated Group

These 25 students represented the largest proportion (33 percent) of

the students in this study. Seventy-six percent were born in Korea, and 85 percent came to the United States when they were eight years old or younger. Most had lived in the United States for six years or longer. Seventy-nine percent hao Korean fathers, and 92 percent had Korean mothers. Over half of these students had American first names, and one-third had American surnames. Eighty-four percent could speak both Korean and English, but eighty-eight percent could only read English. Sixty-four percent considered themselves to be Korean-American, and twelve percent considered themselves to be American. Almost half (43 percent) of these students identified with and admired Americans, and almost half (48 percent) felt isolated with Koreans. Seventy-two percent had English-speaking friends and spent time with them for recreation instead of staying at home. Most did not feel isolated with white Americans. About half of these students were boys and half were girls. Half had fathers who went to college. These students had an average CBEST score of 60.4 and did well in school with B grades. In summary, this group was well-assimilated but retained Korean culture and language. This was a truly bicultural group. Most of its members considered themselves to be Korean-American and felt quite at home in the United States.

The Completely Assimilated Group

The eight students in this group represented 11 percent of the students in this study. Three-quarters had white American fathers but all had Korean mothers. Half were born in Korea, and 83 percent came to the United States when they were four years old or younger. All had lived in the United States for more than 10 years. Three-quarters had American surnames and could only speak English. All could only read English. Seventy-five percent of these students considered themselves to be American, identified with or admired Americans, and felt isolated with Koreans. All had English-speaking friends. Half had fathers who went to college, and most (88 percent) had mothers who worked outside the home. Three-quarters were females, and 63 percent were first-born children. For almost all of these students, recreational activities were largely outside the home. These students had a mean CBEST score of 69.1 and had B grades in school. In summary, this group was very assimilated. Its members were were largely girls who had American fathers and Korean mothers, who could no longer speak Korean, and who felt isolated with Koreans. The members of this group did not reject their Korean background but they were more concerned about being American.

Data on Marginality

The semantic differential (Osgood et al., 1957) was used to measure negative marginality or acculturative stress. This method was highly appropriate since both negative and positive items could be included. Students rated individual items (e.g. friendly-unfriendly, polite-impolite, etc) on seven-step scales based on four concepts:

1. Self concept (I am usually...)
2. Ideal concept (I would like to be...)
3. Concept of Korean Americans (Korean American students are...)
4. Concept of white Americans (white American students are...)

For example, items for self concept were presented as:

I AM USUALLY

FRIENDLY___:___:___:___:___:___:___UNFRIENDLY
IMPOLITE ___:___:___:___:___:___:___POLITE
etc....

Items were scored one to seven with one being the lowest positive score, seven being the highest positive score and four being the neutral score. As noted by Osgood and his colleagues, an average calculated from the scores of closely related items is both more representative and more reliable than an individual score. In this study, their sets of related items, or factorial categories, were used:

Evaluative: friendly-unfriendly; happy-sad; honest-dishonest; positive-negative; smart-stupid; unselfish-selfish; lazy-hardworking; popular-unpopular.

Potency: severe-lenient; constrained-free; serious-humorous; strong-weak; brave-cowardly; urban-rural.

Activity: active-passive; excitable-calm; motivated-aimless.

Stability: polite-impolite; stable-unstable; careful-careless; dependable-undependable; respectful-disrespectful.

Aggressiveness: leader-follower; aggressive-defensive.

Unassigned: competitive-cooperative; sophisticated-naive; prejudiced-unprejudiced.

In addition, following the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972), four other items were added: lazy-hardworking; popular-unpopular; dependable-undependable; prejudiced-unprejudiced

Means were calculated for the items in each factorial category for each concept for each of the five groups of students. This provided the basis for making qualitative comparisons between the five groups. In addition, Osgood's distance scores were calculated to measure the distance between concepts.

Table 3 shows what the students in the Personally Bicultural, Completely Bicultural, and Bicultural Socially Assimilated Groups said they would like to be and what they thought of themselves. Since a score of four indicates a neutral position, means of 4.99 and below are not presented. In the first column of Table 3, the item with the highest mean is hardworking. This is a quality often attributed to Koreans and is what these students wanted to be most of all. They also wanted to be smart, happy, friendly, honest, strong, respectful, brave, positive, active, and popular. In addition, these students felt confident that they had attained these ideals. All of these same items appear in the second column of Table 3 (although they have lower means). In total, 19 out of 27 possible items have self-concept means above the neutral score of four. Since most of these items are positive characteristics, these students apparently had very positive self concepts.

The students in these three bicultural groups were much more positive about themselves than about white Americans or other Korean Americans. More positive characteristics for themselves than for whites or Koreans (see Table 4) have means above the neutral score of four. This may indicate that these students not only had positive self concepts but that they were also quite self-assured and perhaps able to resist peer pressures since they did not feel that their peers had attained the ideals they had attained.

Table 4 reveals the images that the students in the three bicultural groups had of white Americans and other Korean Americans. In general, whites tended to be rated more negatively than Koreans. Three negative characteristics appear for Koreans (defensive, severe, and negative) but nine appear for whites (selfish, prejudiced, competitive, undependable, impolite, lazy, careless, and disrespectful).

Osgood's distance scores support the idea that the students in the three bicultural groups are closer to other Korean Americans than white Americans. The smallest distance score is 0.79 between Self and Korean Americans. The next smallest distance score is 0.84 between Korean Americans and white Americans. This probably means that, in general, these students did not see much difference between Koreans and whites (except that whites may be viewed more negatively as discussed above). However, the students saw more distance between themselves and their ideals (1.28) than between themselves and whites (1.38). Whites were seen to be a great distance (2.57) from their ideals. These distance scores were statistically significant using the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks. Thus, it can be concluded that even though these students were bicultural, they still felt closer to Koreans than to whites.

Table 5 shows the distance scores for the three bicultural groups, the Completely Assimilated Group, and the Socially Ethnic Group. All three, including the Assimilated Group, had low distance scores between Self and Korean Americans. The Assimilated Group also had a low distance score between Self and white Americans, whereas the bicultural groups and the Ethnic Group had higher scores. Therefore, the students in the Assimilated Group did not see much distance between themselves and either other Koreans or whites. However the students in the Assimilated Group, compared to those in the other groups, saw more distance between other Koreans and whites. This may be because, being closer to both Koreans and whites, they could see more distinctions between them. Note that the students in the bicultural groups, compared to those in the other groups, saw less distance between themselves and their ideals, but they also saw more distance between Korean Americans and Ideal and white Americans and Ideal. The students in the Ethnic Group, compared to those in the other groups, saw less distance between Korean Americans and Ideal, as might be expected, but did not see less distance between Self and Korean Americans as might be expected.

Conclusion

This study has shown that the process of acculturation is more complex than previously thought. After examining the language, identity, and personal and social behavior of a sample of Korean American students, no homogeneous group was found. Instead, five groups with different characteristics emerged. There were also important differences between

males and females.

This study has also verified the relationship between ethnic characteristics and length of residence in this country. The most ethnically-oriented Koreans tended to be those who had been in the United States the shortest amount of time. Length of time in American public schools was likewise related to cultural assimilation. Students who attended such schools the longest tended to be the most culturally assimilated. They were more likely to speak English fluently, use American first names, prefer to speak English with friends, and to be comfortable with white Americans. However, all of this does not mean that acculturation is a purely linear process. For example, one-fourth of the Korean students who had been in the U.S. the longest were bicultural.

The bicultural students in this study seemed to be experiencing less acculturative stress and to have more positive self concepts than members of ethnic groups in other studies. The semantic differential items showed that bicultural students had highly positive images of themselves, and the distance scores showed that they saw less distance between themselves and their ideals than other Korean students.

Despite differences between the Korean American students in this study, most were found to be bicultural. In general, they were good students, had good achievement test scores, had English-speaking friends, felt comfortable with white Americans, could speak both Korean and English, were deeply interested in their native culture, aspired to a college education, and had positive images of themselves.

References

Berry, J. "Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation." In A. Padilla (ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1980a.

Berry, J. "Social and Cultural Change." In H. Triandis and R. (eds.), *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 5.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1980b.

Child, I. *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943.

Clark, M., Kaufman, S., and Pierce, R. "Explorations of Acculturation:

Toward a Model of Ethnic Identity." *Human Organization*, 35 (1976), 231-238.

Cummins, J. *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy.* San Diego: College-Hill Press, 1984.

Dohrenwend, B. and Smith, R. "Toward a Theory of Acculturation." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 18 (1962), 30-39

Gardner, R. and Lambert, W. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1972.

Golden, J. "Acculturation, Biculturalism and Marginality: A Study of Korean American High Schools Students." Unpublished Ph.D. disseration, University of Colorado, 1987.

Gordon, M. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Herskovits, M. *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact.* Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1938.

Hurh, W. "Toward a Korean-American Ethnicity: Some Theoretical Models." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 3 (1980), 444-464.

Hurh, W. and Kim, K. "Adhesive Sociocultural Adaptation of Korean Immigrants in the U.S. An Alternative Strategy of Minority Adaptation." *International Migration Review*, 18 (1984), 188-216.

Kim, B. *The Future of Korean American Children and Youth: Marginality, Biculturality, and the Role of the American Public School.* Washington, D.C.: National Institution of Education, 1980.

Lin, J. and Standford, L. "The Acculturation of Chinese in North America: A Sociolinguistic Profile of an Advantaged Minority Group in Edmonton." *Bilingual Review*, 10 (1983), 47-51.

Linton, R. "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation." In D. Walker (ed.), *The Emergent Native American.* Boston: Little Brown, 1972.

McFee, M. "The 150% Man, A Product of Blackfeet Acculturation." *American Anthropologist*, 70 (1968), 1096-1103.

McFee, M. *Modern Blackfeet: Montanans on a Reservation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Newman, W. *American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory.* New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Olmedo, E. "Quantitative Models of Acculturation: An Overview." In A. Padilla (ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1980.

Osgood, C., Suci, G., and Tannenbaum, P. *The Measurement of Meaning.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

Padilla, A. "The Role of Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty in Acculturation." In A. Padilla (ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1980.

Social Science Research Council. "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation." In D. Walker (ed.), *The Emergent Native American.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1972.

Spindler, G. and Spindler, L. "American Indian Personality Types and their Sociocultural Roots." In D. Walker (ed.), *The Emergent Native American.* Boston: Little Brown, 1972.

Stonequist, E. *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1937.

Szapocznik, J. and Kurtines, W. "Acculturation, Biculturalism and Adjustment Among Cuban Americans." In A. Padilla (ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1980.

Table 1: Means of the Three Factors for Each Cluster

	Factor Means			Overall Cluster Mean
	Lang./Identity	Social	Personal	
Cluster 1	1.81	1.55	2.07	1.85
Cluster 2	2.33	2.43	2.67	2.46
Cluster 3	2.87	3.53	3.59	3.24
Cluster 4	3.76	4.73	4.03	4.06
Cluster 5	4.63	4.83	4.63	4.67

Table 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and Distributions for Each Cluster

	N	Distribution	Mean	Std. Deviation
Cluster 1	14	1.76-2.09	1.85	.136
Cluster 2	12	2.23-2.69	2.46	.139
Cluster 3	16	2.85-3.67	3.24	.283
Cluster 4	25	3.77-4.23	4.06	.166
Cluster 5	8	4.38-5.00	4.67	.197

Table 3: Ideal and Self Concept Items With the Nineteen Highest Means for All Bicultural Respondents

Ideal Concept		Self Concept	
Items	M	Items	M
hardworking	6.81	respectful	6.00
smart	6.71	friendly	5.94
happy	6.69	polite	5.81
friendly	6.65	active	5.74
honest	6.65	positive	5.74
strong	6.50	smart	5.72
respectful	6.44	honest	5.70
brave	6.44	dependable	5.62
positive	6.42	happy	5.49
active	6.40	strong	5.32
popular	6.37	motivated	5.26
careful	6.35	urban	5.21
free	6.33	stable	5.19
dependable	6.29	excitable	5.17
leader	6.21	unprejudiced	5.15
polite	6.21	brave	5.09
motivated	6.21	competitive	5.08
unselfish	5.94	hardworking	5.06
unprejudiced	5.63	popular	5.04

Table 4: Items on Koreans and Whites With the Highest Means Above 4.99 for All Bicultural Respondents

Koreans		Whites	
Items	M	Items	M
smart	5.81	excitable	6.30
defensive	5.67	selfish	5.85
serious	5.64	popular	5.62
honest	5.49	prejudiced	5.49
hardworking	5.40	competitive	5.47
competitive	5.24	happy	5.23
careful	5.23	free	5.13
motivated	5.19	undependable	5.13
strong	5.08	urban	5.11
friendly	5.06	impolite	5.11
polite	5.06	lazy	5.09
severe	5.02	careless	5.09
negative	5.02	active	5.02
respectful	5.00	disrespectful	5.02

Table 5: Distance Scores for All Groups

Concepts	Assimilated	All Biculturals	Ethnics
Self and Koreans	.82	.79	.81
Koreans and Whites	1.04	.84	.90
Self and Ideal	1.59	1.28	1.65
Self and Whites	.97	1.38	1.25
Koreans and Ideal	1.88	2.06	1.20
Whites and Ideal	2.52	2.57	2.05

COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS OF ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICANS: A REVIEW OF FOUR STUDIES

ROSALIND Y. MAU

Recent studies on status transmission in the United States have focused on the influence of significant others (Looker and Pineo, 1983; Otto and Haller, 1979; Alexander et al., 1975; Sewell, et al., 1970). Aspirations are central mechanisms in this process. Aspirations are influenced by school academic performance and the expectations of significant others. Significant others including "...parents, (teachers), and friends bring the value orientation of their socioeconomic position to bear upon the formation and adjustment of the youth's aspirations" (Otto and Haller, 1979:893).

Significant others also bring the value orientation of their ethnicity to bear on the development of a youth's aspirations. This paper will discuss the effect of ethnicity on educational and occupational aspirations by reviewing four studies of Asian and Pacific American students in Hawaii.

Hawaii is an ideal social setting for an evaluation of the effects of ethnicity on aspirations because of the diversity of people living in a close-knit society. Previous studies of Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, and Samoans in Hawaii have shown that these groups have lower educational and occupational attainments than other ethnic groups. For example, Filipinos, Native Hawaiians (including part-Hawaiians), and Samoans comprise 19, 22, and three percent respectively of the public school enrollment but are only six, five, and three percent respectively of the students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa (University of Hawaii, 1985). Also, Filipino, Native Hawaiian, and Samoan students, on the whole, have lower mean Scholastic Aptitude Test scores (SAT, 1985) and lower median years of schooling completed than other ethnic groups (Hawaii State Department of Health, 1981). Furthermore, Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, and Samoans have the largest proportions of "low-status" workers such as farm and non-farm laborers (Hawaii State Department of Health, 1981).

Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, and Samoans can be considered to be minority groups because they have limited access to the economic, political and social rewards in society. Because many minority group students drop out of high school and do not pursue higher education to obtain the credentials necessary for high-status careers, they have lower rates of social mobility. Nationally, the high school dropout rate is about 25 percent and minority group students such as Blacks and Hispanics in urban areas drop out at rates of about 50 percent (Earle et al., 1987). In Hawaii, the high school dropout rate is 12 percent, but some minority groups have much higher rates. For

instance, the rate for Native Hawaiian females is 21 percent (University of Hawaii, 1987), and the rate for Samoan females is 44 percent (Franco, 1987).

Hawaii Teenagers Study

In 1986, a statewide survey was conducted of secondary school students (grades 7-12) in Hawaii (Social Science Research Institute, 1986). A total of 8,741 questionnaires were completed and analyzed. Among other results, this survey showed that some minority group students do have career aspirations for professional and executive or managerial jobs. See Table 1. More specifically, Filipino students were generally found to have higher career aspirations than Native Hawaiian students. Lower percentages of Samoan students than students in either of the other two groups aspired to executive or managerial positions. The percentages in Table One also show that greater proportions of Filipino, Native Hawaiian, and Samoan girls than boys aspire to high-status careers. However, these girls may lack important family support to fulfill their aspirations or may self-select themselves from the mathematics and science courses necessary to do well on civil service tests, college entrance exams, or other critical tests for entering higher education or good-paying (and often male-dominated) jobs.

Hawaii Youth Study

In 1983, data from the Hawaii Youth Study (Won et al., 1969) on 1,897 public school students (from eighteen schools) and their parents were reanalyzed to examine by ethnic group the influence of academic performance and the support of significant others on post-high school plans. In these data, the rank ordering of numbers of students by ethnic group (including Native Hawaiians, Caucasians, Japanese, Filipinos, Portuguese, Chinese, Samoans, and others) was similar to the rank ordering of students in the Hawaii public schools in 1983.

Two types of analyses were performed on the Hawaii Youth Study data. First, an multivariate analysis of the relative importance of four kinds of influences (academic achievement and three groups of significant others: parents, teachers, and peers) on post-high school plans was conducted. Significant others were individuals who interact daily with a youth and regulate and/or control short-term and long-term conduct. Second, an evaluation of the relative density and congruence among these influences, with ethnicity as a conditional influence, was conducted using a form of analysis to

index congruence of expectations/support and achievement levels (a generalized least squares program for categorical data in the Statistical Analysis System was used). The first two columns in Table 2 summarize the results of this analysis.

In this study, 45 percent of the students planned to go to college, 33 percent planned to attend a business/vocational school, and 22 percent had no plans for postsecondary education. Fifty percent of the students were Chinese, Japanese, or Korean; 21 percent were Caucasian; 16 percent were Native Hawaiian; 10 percent were Filipino; and three percent were from other ethnic backgrounds.

Table 2 shows that 80 percent of the Chinese and Japanese had a high degree of support for their post-high school plans from parents, peers, and teachers and also had high levels of academic achievement in high school. Of this group, 91 percent planned to go to college. In comparison, 23 percent of the Filipino and Native Hawaiian students had a high degree of support from parents, peers, and teachers, and also had a high level of academic achievement. Of this group, 83 percent planned to go to college. It is clear from this rough analysis that ethnicity is a powerful factor in influencing postsecondary plans. Japanese and Chinese students were much more likely than Native Hawaiian and Filipino students to receive support for their plans by significant others and to have good academic records. Consequently, more Japanese and Chinese students had high educational aspirations. However, where there was a high degree of support from parents, teachers, and peers and a high level of academic achievement, the predominant desire of all of the students was to attend college.

Minority Group Study

A study was conducted in 1987 of 386 students from three public high schools in Honolulu, the largest urban area in Hawaii (Mau, 1987). Fifty-five percent of the students in the study were Filipinos, 33 percent were Native Hawaiians, and 13 percent were Samoans. A large proportion of the students had aspirations and support from significant others to attend college.

Table 3 shows the percentages of students who responded to various questions regarding postsecondary education. Higher percentages of Filipino than Native Hawaiian or Samoan students had aspirations or expectations of graduating from a four-year college and support from their parents and friends to graduate from a four-year college.

As noted earlier, Filipinos make up 19 percent of the public school

enrollment but are only six percent of the student population at the University of Hawaii at Manoa (and 10 percent of the students at the University of Hawaii at Hilo). Filipinos are better represented at the community college level. For example, they are 28 percent of the students at Kauai Community College, 20 percent of the students at Maui, and 18 percent of the students at Honolulu. (Office of Institutional Research and Analysis, 1987). Poor mathematics and English skills have been identified as fundamental deficiencies of incoming Filipino freshmen. This is confirmed by their low SAT scores. In addition, a major barrier for Filipino students is the cost of higher education.

In the present study, 41 percent of the Native Hawaiian and 30 percent of the Samoan students had expectations of attending some college. Almost half of the Native Hawaiian students had parents who felt they should attend some college, and 40 percent had friends who planned to attend some college. Thirty-six percent of the Samoan students had parents who felt they should attend some college and 38 percent had friends who planned to attend some college. Yet as pointed out earlier, Native Hawaiians and Samoans are underrepresented at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Native Hawaiians, Samoans, and Filipinos are also underrepresented among University graduates. For example, from 1977 to 1984, only two pecercent of the graduates of the University of Hawaii at Manoa were Native Hawaiians and four percent were Filipinos. The number of Samoan graduates was also very low (University of Hawaii Report, 1987).

A previous study on the problems faced by Native Hawaiians in education recommended a reshaping of institutional forces to help Native Hawaiians (Native Hawaiian Education Assessment Report, 1983). Thus, the University of Hawaii has created a Hawaiian Studies Task Force to work on behalf of Native Hawaiians to establish a Hawaiian studies center that will coordinate appropriate curricula and instruction and recruit and retain Native Hawaiian students in postsecondary education. In 1987, a similar task force on Filipinos was formed, and one is to be formed in the future on Samoans.

Student Alienation Study

Theoretically, majority group status is accompanied by economic, political, and social rewards and a minority group status is accompanied by fewer such rewards. Majority group parents have aspirations that their children go to college. On the other hand, although minority group parents also hope their children will continue on to postsecondary education, smaller

percentages of these students actually enroll in colleges. Minority group students may see less of a link between high school and their future plans after high school. Some of them may feel powerless to improve their academic abilities so that they can earn the grades necessary for college entrance. Consequently, a feeling of powerlessness, a dimension of alienation, seems to be linked to college aspirations.

The fourth study to be discussed in this paper was conducted in 1984-85 with a sample of 987 students from three public high schools in Honolulu (Mau, 1986). One of the schools was located in a lower socioeconomic status (SES) neighborhood. The second school was located in a lower-middle SES neighborhood, and a third was located in an upper-middle SES neighborhood.

This study found that regardless of socieconomic status and ethnic background, these high school students did feel alienation in and from school. Alienation as manifested in the school context was conceptualized as powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, and estrangement. A smallest space analysis of 24 items showed the correspondence betweer conceputal and empirical types of alienation (Mau, 1985). In this study, 43 percent of the Chinese and Japanese students felt some alienation. Likewise, 42 percent of the Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Samoan, and Caucasian students felt some alienation. Most of the Caucasian students were from Hispanic, Chicano, or Portuguese backgrounds.

The neighborhood schools in this study not only had students of different SES backgrounds, but also had different ethnic mixes of students. For example, School One was located in a lower SES neighborhood and 85 percent of its students were Filipinos or Native Hawaiians. Approximately 53 percent of School One graduates in 1984 went on to college (18 percent to four-year colleges, 35 percent to two-year colleges). The majority of School Two students came from lower middle-class families and were Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Southeast Asian. In School Two, 62 percent of the graduates in 1984 went on to college (30 percent to four year colleges and 32 percent to two year colleges). In School Three, most of the students came from upper-middle SES backgrounds. Fifty-nine percent were Filipinos or Native Hawaiians; the rest were mainly Chinese, Japanese, or Koreans. School Three had the highest proportion of graduates going to college in 1984, 67 percent (38 percent to four-year colleges and 39 percent to two-year colleges). Students from various ethnic groups do aspire to postsecondary education. But upper-middle SES Filipino or Hawaiian students who attend schools with Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and other students of similar backgrounds may be more likely to have aspirations for college compared to

those from lower-SES backgrounds and school environments.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed four studies of Asian and Pacific American students in Hawaii. It has examined educational and career aspirations as well as feelings of alienation in and from school.

Aspirations and support from significant others, namely parents, teachers, and friends, influence students to pursue postsecondary education and high-status careers. Majority group parents expect their children to attend college to maintain their economic, social, and political status in society. Minority group parents (including Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, and Samoans) also hope their children will attend college as a means of achieving upward social mobility. Minority group girls, in particular, have high educational and career aspirations. Yet, the numbers of students from minority groups who actually enroll and then graduate from college is much smaller than the numbers of students expecting to pursue postsecondary schooling. Further research is needed to examine the reasons for this discrepancy.

References

Alexander, K., Ekland, B. and Griffin, L. "The Wisconsin Model of Socioeconomic Achievement: A Replication." *American Journal of Sociology*, 81 (1975), 324-342.

Earle, J., Roach, V. and Fraser, K. *Female Dropouts: A New Perspective.* Washington, D.C.: The Youth Services Program, National Association of State Boards of Education, 1987.

Fine, M. "Why Urban Adolescents Drop Into and Out of Public School?" *Teachers College Record*, 87 (1986), 393-409.

Franco, R. *Samoans in Hawaii: A Demographic Profile.* Honolulu: East-West Center, 1987.

Hawaii State Department of Health. *Population Characterisics of Hawaii, 1980.* Honolulu: Hawaii State Department of Health, 1981.

Ikeda, K. *Statistical Information on Native Americans.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1982.

Looker, E. and Pineo, P. "Social Psychological Variables and Their Relevance to the Status Attainment of Teenagers." *American Journal of Sociology*, 88 (1983), 1195-1219.

Mau, R. "Dropouts: Developing Interventions Based on Cultural Values," paper presented at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Hawaii Education Research Association, 1987.

Mau, R. "Sources of Student Alienation in a School Context." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1986.

Mau, R. "Social Influences of Parents, Teachers, and Peers, and Academic Achievement on Plans After High School," paper presented in the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1983.

Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project. *Final Report.* Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate, 1983.

Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs and Office of Instructional Research and Analysis. *Report on University of Hawaii Admissions Standards.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1984.

Cito, L. and Haller, A. "Evidence for a Social Psychological View of the Status Attainment Process: Four Studies Compared." *Social Forces*, 57 (1979), 887-914.

Sewell, W., Haller, O. and Ohlendorf, G. "The Education and Early Occupational Attainment Process: Replication and Revisions." *American Sociological Review*, 35 (1970), 1014-1027.

Social Science Research Institute. *Hawaii's Teenagers.* Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1986.

University of Hawaii. "Fall Enrollment 1985." In University of Hawaii, *Report to the 1987 Legislature.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1987.

Won, G., Yamamura, D. and Ikeda, K. "The Relationship of Communication With Parents and Peers: Deviant Behavior of Youth." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 31 (1969), 43-47.

Table 1: Career Aspirations of Filipino, Hawaiian, and Samoan Secondary School Students by Gender

Career Aspirations To become an...	Filipino M	Filipino F	Hawaiian M	Hawaiian F	Samoan M	Samoan F	All Groups M	All Groups F
Executive or Manager	10%	12%	9%	12%	7%	9%	10%	12%
Professional Person	34	58	19	38	26	45	30	47
Technical Person	11	16	7	14	8	11	10	12
Service Worker	8	2	11	10	7	13	7	6
Athlete or Entertainer	16	12	21	17	18	15	20	15
Other	21	0	33	9	34	7	23	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2: The Influence of Support from Parents, Peers and Teachers and Academic Achievement on Plans After High School by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Support of Parents/Peers/ Teachers	Academic Record	%	Plans After H. Sch.			
				Coll	Bus/ Voc	Other	Total
Chinese and Japanese	high	high	80%	91%	8	2	100%
	high	low	2	60%	40	0	100%
	low	high	4	18%	59	24	100%
	low	low	4	14%	52	35	100%
	total		100%				
Filipino and Hawaiian	high	high	23%	83%	10	7	100%
	high	low	3	30%	50	20	100%
	low	high	8	17%	41	41	100%
	low	low	66	5%	36	59	100%
	total		100%				

Support of Parents/Peers/Teachers: "High" support represents encouragement and "low" support represents no encouragement regarding postsecondary education after high school graduation. Students were asked whether, in terms of their education, their parents, peers, and teachers felt they should: 1) drop out of high school, or 2) graduate from high school, or 3) attend some college or vocational school, or 4) graduate from a four year college, or 5) attend graduate or professional school after college. Items #1-2 represent low support for postsecondary education and items #3-5 represent high support.

Academic record: The standardized mean of the verbal test scores, quantitative test scores, and total grade point averages of the students in the sample for the 1963-64 and 1965-66 school years were calculated. "High" academic record represents a mean above -.052 and "low" academic record represents a mean below -.052.

Table 3: Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Filipino, Hawaiian, and Samoan Secondary School Students and Support from their Parents and Friends

Survey Questions	Filipino	Hawaiian	Samoan
How far would you want to go in school?			
1) Drop out of high school	1%	0%	2%
2) Graduate from high school	10	22	22
3) Attend some college	27	34	40
4) Graduate from a 4-year college	43	33	28
5) Attend graduate/prof. school	18	11	8
Total	100%	100%	100%
How far do you really expect to go in school?			
1) Drop out of high school	1%	0%	2%
2) Graduate from high school	16	28	36
3) Attend some college	32	41	30
4) Graduate from a 4-year college	43	27	26
5) Attend graduate/prof. school	9	4	6
Total	100%	100%	100%
My parents feel I should:			
1) Drop out of high school	1%	0%	2%
2) Graduate from high school	12	14	24
3) Attend some college	27	48	36
4) Graduate from a 4-year college	48	32	30
5) Attend graduate/prof. school	13	7	8
Total	100%	100%	100%
Most of my friends will:			
1) Drop out of high school	3%	4%	6%
2) Graduate from high school	27	41	46
3) Attend some college	38	40	38
4) Graduate from a 4-year colleg	28	13	6
5) Attend graduate/prof. school	3	2	4
Total	100%	100%	100%

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENTS OF REFUGEES IN COLORADO: IMPLICATIONS FOR GRASSROOTS EDUCATION REGARDING MENTAL HEALTH[1]

PETER W. VAN ARSDALE AND ELIZABETH SKARTVEDT

This article will present the results of a 35-household study covering seven refugee ethnic groups in the metropolitan Denver area. It will focus on socio-psychological adjustments and coping mechanisms being used by adult male refugees. Of particular interest are the implications of this study for the grassroots community education of refugees regarding the mental health system. This article is based on research conducted as part of a 1986-87 needs assessment of the Refugee Assistance Program--Mental Health, Colorado Division of Mental Health[2], which the senior author coordinated and in which the junior author served as both intern and field researcher. The findings presented here are based on sections of a document entitled "Ethnographic Survey--The Social Adjustment Context" (Van Arsdale and Skartvedt, 1987).

Since 1975, the largest legal-status refugee groups arriving in the United States have been the Vietnamese, Laotians (including Lowland Lao and Hmong), and Cambodians. In late 1988 and 1989, there was a surge in the admission of Soviet and Iranian refugees and other groups. In Colorado, the above-mentioned Southeast Asian groups have made the greatest numerical impact. In addition, Soviet Jews and Pentacostals. Afghans, Ethiopians, and Iranians have impacted this state in significant but smaller numbers. In 1989, it was estimated that approximately 15,300 legal-status refugees were resident in Colorado (Bagan, 1989).

The fall of South Vietnam's Thieu regime on April 30, 1975 signaled the beginning of the "modern era" in U.S. refugee resettlement, not just for refugees from Southeast Asia, but also those from Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the Caribbean,' the Middle East, Southwest Asia (especially Afghanistan), and Africa. Enabling regulations and national legislation, highlighted by the Refugee Act of 1980, have been implemented in an attempt to ensure that the processing and resettlement of refugees would proceed smoothly and that states would have significant latitude to "fine tune" the

---

[1]The authors would like to thank Rita Carroll-Seguin and Carolyn L. Williams for their comments regarding earlier versions of this article.

[2]NIMH Award #2 U80 MHU000022-02.

delivery of services to meet local conditions (Van Arsdale and Bagan, in press). By 1982, most states had succeeded in implementing improved (i.e. better coordinated) resettlement and service systems, with the mandate of "enhanced refugee self-sufficiency" serving as an ever-present reminder of the federal conviction that welfare dependency must be minimized. Yet while enhanced university, public school, and English as a second language (ESL) educational opportunities have been pursued (King and Van Arsdale, 1980), community-based ethnographic information gathered in Colorado indicates that alternative/informal grassroots educational opportunities for adults have not kept pace. In particular, the education of refugees as to what human service delivery systems have to offer, especially in the area of mental health, has been lagging (RAP-MH, 1987).

Our study primarily relied upon a small, judgmental sample which crossed cultural boundaries. It used a somewhat unorthodox methodological perspective that gives precedence to the "refugee commonality of experience" over "refugee inter-ethnic differences" (see Berry, in press). Thus the study focused on 35 male household heads from seven ethnic groups whose ages ranged from approximately 30 to 75. Precedence for this approach is found in some of the qualitative work reported by Williams and Westermeyer (1986) as well as the work of Lin, et al. (1982). In addition, our findings are complemented by information gained through a number of key informant interviews. However, the findings may be somewhat restricted in their generalizability.

The findings suggest that refugee males, and other adult refugees as well, who have been in Colorado at least five years have been moderately to highly successful in making adjustments to their new lives. The findings also suggest that certain "windows" of opportunity exist to develop and deliver alternative education, particularly regarding the sensitive topic of mental health services.

Research Framework and Methodology

An understanding of adjustive (short-term) and adaptive (long-term) processes provided the necessary conceptual "umbrella" for this study. Subsumed within this was the concern for understanding the refugee coping process, which, in turn, sheds light on "windows" of opportunity for alternative education. Since all of the respondents were male, the primary concern was the way in which they adjusted and adapted within a family context.

Our sample of 35 included five representatives from each of the seven

largest legal-status refugee groups in Colorado: Vietnamese, Cambodian, Lowland Lao, Hmong, Soviet Jew, Afghan, and Ethiopian. Although these refugee groups are clearly culturally and historically distinct, there are a number of important elements linking them together that provide a "commonality of experience." It is this commonality that provided the conceptual underpinning for the study. First and foremost, all of these groups are legal-status refugees. Thus all have experienced presumably stressful pre-emigration situations (albeit particularly varied for the Soviets and Afghans). All have experienced similar types of processing and paperwork; thus, their initial U.S.-enerated systems-specific experiences have been similar in key ways. All are relatively recent first-generation arrivals. All are in transition, with their lifeways being disrupted in various ways. All share the common situation of being ethnically, linguistically, and socio-culturally different from the "mainstream" U.S. environment they have entered. The 35 respondents were selected using a "snowball" technique (i.e., through referrals from respected contact persons). The criteria for selection were: 1) married males, 2) heads of households, 3) wives living in the same households, 4) minimum ages of approximately 30, and 5) emigration from their homelands no earlier than 1975 and no later than 1982. It should be noted that these criteria purposely did not include economic/welfare or mental health factors. The intent was to obtain information from as wide a range as possible of "everyday refugees."

From the perspective of commonality of experience, refugees are seen in the literature on social adjustment to confront similar acculturation stressors and to develop similar types of problems (Berry, in press). Cross-culturally these stressors have been summarized in a recent synthetic literature review by Ben-Porath (1987) as falling into the categories of familial discord, occupational stressors, and cultural stressors, including language difficulties. (Ben-Porath's synthesis provided the primary conceptual frame around which our data were initially organized.) An understanding of these common stressors may contribute to an understanding of refugee mental health, given the underlying assumption in much of the literature on refugee mental health that the involuntary uprooting and resettlement experienced by refugees renders them more susceptible than non-refugees to emotional distress and certain mental health problems (Skartvedt, 1986; Yee and Van Arsdale, 1986).

Concomitant to a discussion of stressors confronting refugees in the social adjustment process must be an understanding of the mechanisms used by refugees to cope with these stressors. Coping behaviors can be understood through evidence of successful short-term adjustments. For this study, several

indicators of "successful adjustment" were developed along lines previously suggested in the social indicators literature (cf. Land, 1983) and were used in the analysis in primary fashion. These indicators included degree of self-sufficiency as determined by an individual's ability to take responsibility for themself and others, English language ability, intent to remain in the United States, awareness and usage of sources of assistance, social participation with other members of the ethnic group, and employment status.

Part of the study revolved around the interpretations of traditional values and value shifts upon emigration. The general relationship of values to social adjustment is discussed in the literature on trauma, catastrophe, and displacement (Holland and Van Arsdale, 1986) as well as in other cross-cultural research (Ucko, 1986). Values are reflections of strongly held cultural beliefs; to the degree that adjustment processes are compatible with such beliefs, or to the degree that certain beliefs are independent of the environment, problems of adjustment and coping can be lessened. On the other hand, values such as those regarding marital practices and intergenerational relations can exacerbate adjustment as a displaced person attempts to cope in a new cultural environment. Assessments of values from an ethnographic perspective are extremely important as they shed light on possible grassroots educational opportunities.

An ethnographic survey questionnaire was administered to each respondent in their native language by a team of two trained bilingual interviewers. A total of 14 interviewers and seven languages were used in the administration of the 35 questionnaires. Back-translation and cross-checking procedures were employed to insure the accuracy and comparability of results. The major sections of the 23-page questionnaire were: 1) demographic and family characteristics, 2) behavioral characteristics and community dynamics, 3) attitudes and opinions, and 4) community and social adjustment.

Results

Demographic and Economic Profile

Repondents from six of the seven groups surveyed were found to be relatively internally homogeneous in terms of cultural and linguistic background. Ethiopians were the exception.

As previously indicated, the 35 respondents ranged in age from approximately 30 to 75 years. The average age was about 39. On the whole, the respondents lived in nuclear-family households that had an average of

about 5 members.

The respondents were fairly well educated. On average, they had an amount of education comparable to U.S. high school level (11.8 years). The number of years of education ranged from four to 22. On average, the respondents' wives were somewhat less well educated, with a mean of 8.6 years of schooling and a range of zero to 17 years.

The respondents demonstrated a relatively high degree of English competency. About three-quarters reported that their own speaking, reading, and writing abilities were either excellent or adequate. Respondents reported somewhat lower levels of English competency for their spouses. In none of the cases did the husband report that the overall English capabilities of his wife were superior to his own.

Eighty-six percent of the respondent were employed at the time of the interview; sixty-six percent were employed full-time. Sixty-nine percent of respondents' wives were employed outside the home. Ninety-one percent of the respondents reported having no regular source of non-earned income or external financial assistance, and well over half received no income assistance from other household members either. It is important to note that older as well as younger respondents indicated a high degree of economic self-sufficiency.

Information on the work the 35 respondents did in their native countries and their jobs in the United States indicated downward occupational mobility and an inability (or lack of opportunity) to translate skills learned in their native countries to a new environment. The majority of those interviewed had worked in professional capacities in their native countries; however, after arrival in the U.S., three-quarters of those who were working at the time of the interview were employed in less skilled work such as electronic assembly. Only 14 percent reported that their current work was similar to that prior to emigration. Complaints about underemployment were obtained, but actual welfare dependency and "survival problems" associated with unemployment were found to be low.

The most striking occupational change for the respondents' wives was that more of them worked in the United States than previously in their native countries. Sixty-nine percent of the wives were employed in this country while only 39 percent were employed prior to emigration.

In summary, these demographic and economic indicators of adjustment suggest a relatively strong degree of self- sufficiency on the part of refugees, and they hint at ways in which non-traditional education can be attempted.

Resettlement Antecedents and Initial Urban Adjustments

Information about the flight and resettlement of refugees was collected in order to gain an understanding of the disruptions they experienced in their lives. In general, these data showed a fairly high level of disruption for the refugees sampled. Three-fourths of the respondents had escaped from their native countries rather than leaving in orderly (i.e. "paper-processed") fashion. Only the Soviet Jews were uniform in their not having employed any methods of escape.

Sixty-three percent of the respondents had lived in refugee camps prior to resettlement in the U.S. The Southeast Asian refugees were the most likely to have had lengthy stays. For those who had lived in refugee camps, the average length of stay was nearly two years and for some it was as long as five. Ten respondents' wives had given birth in the camps. Despite cultural orientation programs, the camp environment tended to be quite disruptive due to several characteristics including segregation from the host population, loss of control over one's life situation, a need to share inadequate facilities, lack of privacy, and overcrowding (Ben-Porath, 1987).

The respondents experienced a great deal of disruption in their family life during this transitional/resettlement period. Although more than three-quarters were accompanied to this country by some of their close family members, two-thirds still had family members remaining in their native countries. Nearly one-half had family members remaining in countries other than their native lands or the U.S. A clue to the relatively successful adjustments in the U.S. made by the refugees can be found in what the authors judged to be their realistic responses to this question: "Do you expect other family members to join you in the U.S.?" Only 53 percent responded affirmatively.

Many of the refugees had experienced the loss of family members who died due to war or political problems. Complemented by information gained through key informant interviews, a strong and vital realism again emerges as to what a survivor's future prospects might be.

Many of the refugees had demonstrated continued mobility (i.e. secondary migration) after arriving in the U.S. Half of those sampled had moved to Colorado from another state. The respondents had occupied an average of 2.5 residences since arriving in Colorado (with a range of one to 10).

Ben-Porath (1987) mentions accelerated modernization (e.g. moving from rural to urban settings) as another of the major stressors affecting

refugees in the resettlement process. However, disruption was not as evident in our sample in terms of adjustment to an urban environment. Seventy-one percent of the refugees had lived in urban areas in their native countries. Based on this, plus other information not reported here (see Van Arsdale and Skartvedt, 1987), these men were presumed to have had a good deal of familiarity with so-called "modernization processes." A significant part of these processes included formal education.

In summary, a pattern of significant disruption, but not necessarily socio-psychological fragmentation, of family life emerges during the transitional (i.e. immediate pre- and post-emigration) period. The loss of family members has been substantial, but key networks of immediately accessible nuclear family support remain. Secondary migration once in the United States has taken place, but shifts in residence once in Colorado have been relatively few and about equal, on average, to the number for non-refugee households. Familiarity with urban environments was gained by most of the refugees prior to emigration and therefore it can be inferred that the process of becoming familiar with the Denver metropolitan area has not raised major impediments. A pattern of short-term "adjustive resilience" is suggested.

Refugees Interactions, Responsibilities, Obligations, and Expectations

Half of the sample reported moving to "refugee-centric" neighborhoods upon their first arrival in Colorado. However, apart from the southwest corridor with its so-called "Vietnamese City," the metropolitan Denver area does not have strongly identifiable refugee ethnic enclaves

Ninety-one percent of the respondents reported that they regularly socialized with refugees in their own group. Almost one-half said that community activities were part of their regular routines. They participated in events such as traditional celebrations and community-sponsored (including Mutual Assistance Association) activities. A somewhat lower level of interaction with Americans and refugees of other ethnic groups was reported. However, it should be noted that all 35 respondents reported having friends living nearby.

Our data showed that the respondents tended to assume a moderate degree of responsibility for others as well as themselves, with the younger respondents assuming more responsibility outside the household than older respondents. Relatively well-established, albeit informal, systems of responsibility and obligation existed. Somewhat surprisingly, many of these

were not tied directly to the work of Mutual Assistance Associations.

An understanding of the respondents' sense of responsibility for themselves was gained through an analysis of their usage of the social service system along with reports their of expectations for this system. As covered in detail elsewhere (Van Arsdale and Skartvedt, 1987), all 35 respondents or their families had been in contact with one or more components of the social service system (broadly defined to include welfare, employment, language/ESL/education, health, and mental health services). In rank order, the components used most frequently by the respondents had been education, job placement, and health services. The components being used most frequently at the time of the interviews were education, general social services, and health services. The mental health component was being used the least frequently. An average of about two of the five types of services mentioned here were being used per household. Older respondents used slightly more services than the younger ones. The responses of the refugees showed a particularly high level of awareness of and connection with the health care system. At the other extreme, connection with the mental health system as a whole was determined to be low.

When asked to rate the effectiveness of the services they had received, the respondents as a group rated educational, health, and community-based services (such as community centers) the most favorably. Less favorable evaluations were given to job placement, housing, cash assistance, and mental health services. Seventy-four percent of the refugees indicated that they had sufficient access to needed services.

In terms of expectations (with implications for level of responsibility vis-a-vis adjustment), the responses of the refugees indicated that there were no major expectations that public agencies be responsible for them. Most respondents said that they expected only initial help with various basic needs, cultural orientation, employment, and education. Others expected only educational help and orientation services.

In summary, information from the respondents indicates a high level of interaction with other members of the same ethnic group and a moderately high degree of investment in helping others in the adjustment process. However, strong community-based ethnic enclaves do not play prominent roles. Mutual Assistance Associations aid the process of community socialization for some but do not play prominent roles in structuring patterns of binding obligation. Awareness of and connections with the social service system (as broadly defined) are extensive, but dependency relationships are not in evidence. Usage of mental health services is very low. Expectations

concerning social services are restricted, with a high degree of reliance on them clearly not in evidence.

Values

Respondents' values, as they related to their adjustment to life in the U.S., were elicited by asking them about their initial likes and dislikes regarding this country and what they perceived to be the major differences between their traditional values and those they encountered in the U.S. In structuring the research, it was assumed that these likes, dislikes, and salient cultural differences would provide information about aspects of life in this country that either impede or enhance adjustment.

Most commonly cited as things respondents initially liked about the U.S. were: freedoms, rights, and laws; educational and employment opportunities (although many of the latter were not being actualized); and American people and their customs. Most commonly cited as things the respondents initially disliked were: discrimination and racial problems; employment and financial problems; crime; community and family relationships; language barriers; and problems with transportation. Not surprisingly, it was in this general area of inquiry that the greatest inter-ethnic differences were encountered. For example, Ethiopian respondents were the most favorably impressed with freedoms and the availability of the media. By contrast, Hmong and Lowland Lao respondents reported most liking job and educational opportunities.

Within the context of this variability, some types of response emerged as being similar cross-ethnically. In particular, perceptions of differences in family and community relationships (refugee versus American) were noted. Respondents perceived American relationships as being less close, supportive, and respectful, with individualism and materialism determining interpersonal relationships and overriding family unity. Lack of respect for the elderly and children's behavior/problems of discipline were frequently cited. These exacerbated intergenerational stresses within refugee.

In summary, familial and community support relationships are perceived as being areas of stress, particularly as important differences in American and refugee values are highlighted. Intergenerational stresses experienced in the household are reported as creating difficulties. However, when asked open-ended questions as to problems being encountered, such intergenerational stresses were not spontaneously offered by respondents as being within the realm of mental health. Mental health service providers

would disagree such an assessment (Coen, 1987).

Conclusions

Constraints and Incentives

In drawing conclusions, a reminder is offered as to the limited generalizability of our findings. Yet despite the small and multiethnic nature of the sample, the authors believe that the information presented is of importance because of the overall methodology employed and particularly the extensive questionnaire and its careful administration by trained teams of interviewers in seven native languages. The balance between behavioral and attitudinal/opinion-oriented questions, in conjunction with both structured and open-ended response options, afforded what the authors believe to be an accurate indication of socio-psychological adjustments on the part of "everyday" adult male refugees who have been in Colorado at least five years.

The information presented in the four parts of the previous section of this article provides several key indicators of adjustment. Qualitatively, these can be summarized as follows. This group of refugees can be characterized as having a relatively high level of responsibility for themselves, a relatively high degree of economic self-sufficiency (despite complaints about underemployment and financial circumstances), excellent to adequate capability in English, and a relatively high degree of awareness of and connection to (but not long-standing dependency on) the social service system. "Connectedness" to the educational/ESL system is relatively strong and that to the mental health system is relatively weak. These findings have implications for the grassroots community education of refugees about mental health services which are clearly little-accessed and lightly regarded. A foundation for future success clearly exists if creative efforts are employed.

Over one hundred of Colorado's refugees receive mental health care annually at the Asian/Pacific Center for Human Development located in Denver. However, relatively few are seen by clinicians in the state's community mental health centers (CMHCs) or state hospitals. Yet the needs assessment on which this article is based suggests that at least a hundred more refugees who are receiving other services may also be in need of mental health care but not getting it (Coen, 1987). Others, still unknown to the service system in general, are in need but being "closeted" by relatives and friends.

Access to the mental health system in Colorado has not been

constrained by transportation or financial concerns as much as by beliefs that mental illness is not separable from illness in general and beliefs that traditional practices are superior to those offered by Western clinicians. Strongly held negative stereotypes of "mental illness" are found among Southeast Asians in particular. A correlate of this, for some, is that any personal problems will become well-known within their community should they visit a counselor or clinician who is a member of the same ethnic group.

Strategies for Change

The authors believe that the socio-psychological adjustment patterns discussed here afford avenues by which strategies can be developed to overcome the constraints mentioned above. Strategies for enhanced mental health care involving specialty clinics such as the Asian/Pacific Center for Human Development and the CMHCs must be built upon the dual premises of: 1) making available culturally-appropriate services, and 2) educating refugees about the mental health system (Van Arsdale, 1988). In addressing the latter, it is particularly important to overcome refugees' strongly held negative stereotypes about mental health. Education on such a topic must involve community members; in large part it must be "grassroots."

Informal networks of friendship and social support are being used extensively by refugees. Jacobson (1987) reminds us of the importance of looking at such networks in the context of the cultures they reflect. Informal networks can provide a first line of entree' to grassroots education regarding a negatively perceived topic such as mental health. Informal community leaders can be identified, as is currently being done in Colorado, and used to facilitate neighborhood "peer discussion sessions" within existing informal networks. This strategy is especially important in a state like Colorado where refugee Mutual Assistance Associations are relatively weak and where most of these organizations have little interest in mental health service enhancement (RAP-MH, 1987). Informal leaders, moreso than those in formal positions of authority, can also effectively serve as "gatekeepers" by monitoring the pulse of their communities and thus judging when a sensitive topic might best be discussed.

Some innovations practices have been developed overseas. Grassroots community education for refugees that is focused on particular topics of pragmatic concern has been pursued through cultural orientation programs developed in Southeast Asian refugee processing camps such as Bataan in the Philippines (Vernon, 1985). Cultural orientation emphasizes topics and skills

that will be of immediate use to refugees who will be resettling in the U.S. ESL is taught in complementary fashion. Muncy (1985) describes ways in which refugees are educated in refugee processing camps as to available mental health services, with a heavy emphasis on problem prevention. Community-based leadership training is used with the hope that those so trained will, in turn, impact the more reticent members of their ethnic groups. In this effort, formal classroom settings only are only used on occasion.

Whether overseas or in the U.S., such educational outreach must be culturally and ethnically sensitive. Male (1986) reminds us that, in the education of minorities, a key issue is accessing the mainstream while retaining elements of traditional ethnic group identity. The strictures imposed by mainstream agencies must be understood, but they are not insurmountable.

Experience both in Southeast Asian refugee camps and in the U.S. indicates that the health service system is perceived much more positively by refugees than the mental health service system and that certain inter-systemic approaches ultimately intended to benefit mental health can begin with entree' through the health system. This strategy also capitalizes on the holistic view of health/mental health held by most refugees with the possible exception of those from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Since most of the refugees who were surveyed as a part of our research had been in the U.S. five years or longer, were relatively well-educated, and were relatively well-adjusted in terms of English language capability, economic self-sufficiency, and networks of support and reciprocity, grassroots educational outreach covering mental health in Colorado is now being structured so as to partially rely upon them. There are also indications that refugee women can be relied upon in a similar fashion (RAP-MH, 1987). "Designated points of contact," such as these men and women, are being identified by the Colorado Division of Mental Health in an effort to enhance the flow of information in informal community grassroots settings.

Also in the planning stage or underway in Colorado are "piggy-backing" outreach approaches. It is hoped that by building on existing respected services outside the mental health sector, more formal but nonetheless innovative refugee community educational outreach about mental health can also be achieved. Examples of such services include the Adult Learning Source, which emphasizes adult literacy and relies extensively upon volunteers; an intergenerational program of education whereby refugee elders share their knowledge and lore with younger people and younger people aid the elders in their English language enhancement; and library programs such

as those in Jefferson County where "friends of the library" are touting the benefits of understanding Asian cultural adjustment processes.

Special Cultural Considerations

Traditional, entrenched systems of responsibility and obligation have been brought to the U.S., particularly by many Southeast Asian refugees. Patron-client relationships, often operating *sub rosa*, guide the key activities of numerous Vietnamese refugees, for example, in Denver (Van Arsdale, 1987). Future grassroots educational possibilities might innovatively build on such relationships; a patron might become the mentor of a client (as defined sociologically), with mental health information being transferred as a part of a larger body of information.

Peer counseling/education programs involving young refugees are already under way in Colorado. "Cultural bridging" considerations are being carefully taken into account. Three of the state's largest school districts are actively involved. While alcohol/drug abuse information is currently included in the curricula, additional mental health information might be added, especially information regarding prevention. In so doing, parents and students alike could ultimately benefit.

Realism

As discussed earlier, an underlying realism was detected among the refugees in our study. This is of great importance. By inference, the authors choose to assume that refugees' expectations for successful cultural adjustment and mental health in the U.S. will be realistic for the most part. Modest gains will be appreciated. "Miracles" will not be anticipated.

An understanding of the short-term "adjustive resilience" of refugees (a phrase introduced earlier) may reflect this realism as well. It may indeed be more appropriate and more realistic to focus on short-term adjustments rather than long-term adaptations. Recognizing this, grassroots educational programs covering mental health for refugees may do well to take a smaller and more diversified series of steps.

References

Bagan, L. Personal Communication, 1989.

Ben-Porath, Y. "Issues in the Psycho-Social Adjustment of Refugees." Paper prepared for the National Institute of Mental Health Refugee Assistance Program--Mental Health/Technical Assistance Center of the University of Minnesota (Contract # 278-85-0024 CH), 1987.

Berry, J. "Refugee Acculturation and Adaptation: An Introduction." *High Plains Applied Anthropologist*, in press.

Coen, A. *The Mental Health Status and Service Needs of Refugees Who Use Mental Health and Social Services--Technical Report.* Part IV of the Refugee Mental Health Needs Assessment, Refugee Assistance Program--Mental Health, Colorado Division of Mental Health (NIMH Award # 2 U80 MHU000022-02), 1987.

Holland, C. and Van Arsdale, P. "Responses to Disaster: A Comparative Study of Indigenous Coping Mechanisms in Two Marginal Third World Communities." *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*, 4 (1986), 51-70.

Jacobson, D. "The Cultural Context of Social Support and Support Networks." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 1 (1987), 42-47.

King, E. and Van Arsdale, P. "Teaching in the Ethnically Diverse Classroom: Implications for Educational Anthropology." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, 1980

Land, K. "Social Indicators." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9 (1983), 1-26.

Lin, K., Masuda, M. and Tazuma, L. "Problems of Vietnamese Refugees in the U.S." In R. Nann (ed.), *Uprooting and Surviving: Adapatation and Resettlment of Migrant Families and Children.* Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1982.

Male, G. "Policy Issues in the Education of Minorities. "Education and Urban Society, 18 (1986), 395-397.

Muncy, S. "Community Mental Health and Family Services, Inc.: A Program Description." *Passage: A Journal of Refugee Education*, 1 (1985), 43-45.

RAP-MH (Refugee Assistance Program--Mental Health). *Refugee Mental*

Health Needs Assessment: Final Report. Denver: Colorado Division of Mental Health, 1987.

Skartvedt, E. "Refugee Mental Health: A Review of the Literature." Unpublished paper, Colorado's Refugee Assistance Program--Mental Health/University of Kentucky intern program, 1986.

Ucko, L. "Perceptions of Aging East and West: Soviet Refugees See Two Worlds." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 1 (1986), 411-428.

Van Arsdale, P. "Mainstreaming Mental Health Services to Refugees." *New England Journal of Human Services*, 8 (1988), 34-36.

Van Arsdale, P. "Accessing Human Services: Ethnographic Perspectives on Refugee Communities and Mutual Assistance Associations." *Information and Referral: The Journal of the Alliance of Information and Referral Systems*, 9 (1987), 1-25.

Van Arsdale, P. and Bagan, L. "The Development of Refugee Policy and Mental Health Programming in Colorado." In V. Nanda (ed.), *The Refugee Problem: International and U.S. Responses.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood/Praeger, in press.

Van Arsdale, P. and Skartvedt, E. *Ethnographic Survey--The Social Adjustment Context.* Part VII of the Refugee Mental Health Needs Assessment, Refugee Assistance Program--Mental Health, Colorado Division of Mental Health (NIMH Award # 2 U80 MHU000022-02), 1987.

Vernon, A. "Needs Assessment and Learner-Developed Objectives in Cultural Orientation." *Passage: A Journal of Refugee Education*, 1 (1985), 60-62.

Williams, C. and Westermeyer, J. (eds.) *Refugee Mental Health in Resettlment Countries.* Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere, 1986.

Yee, B. and Van Arsdale, P. "Adaptation and Coping of Vietnamese Elderly Women: Review, Research, and Speculation". *High Plains Applied Anthropologist*, 6 (1986), 11-17.

Part Four

CURRICULUM ISSUES

A CURRICULAR FRAMEWORK FOR INTEGRATING MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

BOB H. SUZUKI

> There is mass confusion in the minds of my generation in trying to find a solution for ourselves and the world around us. We see the world as a huge rumble as it swiftly goes by with wars, poverty, prejudice, and the lack of understanding among people and nations. Then we stop and think: there must be a better way and we have to find it.
>
> -*Culture and Commitment* by Margaret Mead (1972)

The feelings of the fifteen year old quoted above exemplify the challenge facing teachers as we approach the twenty-first century. The "greenhouse" effect, the AIDS epidemic, the resurgence of racism, the devastating impact of drugs, increasing crime and violence, unrest in China and South Africa, wars in the Middle East and Central America, and the persistence of poverty are among the multitude of problems confronting our youth of today.

While these growing social problems probably appear overwhelming to the average person who, perhaps understandably, may tend to avoid even thinking about them, I believe that educators, of all people, cannot avoid addressing them. Indeed, if the children they teach are to have any chance of finding solutions to these problems, educators may have a moral responsibility to do so.

Fortunately, during the past decade or two, many educators (although they are still a small minority) have recognized this responsibility and have been attempting to meet it through the development of educational programs that address these problems (Gelpi, 1985; Boyer, 1978; Cross et al., 1977; Brameld, 1970; Reischauer, 1974). Most of these programs may be grouped into two major fields: 1) Multicultural Education, and 2) International Studies.

These two fields, for the most part, have tended to develop quite separately. Multicultural Education has been primarily concerned with domestic issues such as race relations, cultural diversity, socio-cultural biases in schools, and social and educational equity (Banks and Banks, 1989; Gollnick and Chinn, 1983; Cross et al., 1977) whereas International Studies has been primarily concerned with global issues such as the population explosion, conflicts between "have" and "have-not" nations, the depletion of

the world's natural resources, universal human rights, the impact of multinational corporations, and the dangers of nuclear proliferation (Graves et al., 1984; Remy et al., 1975; Walsh, 1973; Boulding, 1964).

In this paper, I will discuss the relationship between the two fields and why I think it is important to develop the connections between them and, ultimately, to integrate them. I will also outline a conceptual framework which suggests one way in which the two fields might be integrated and discuss the implications of this framework for curriculum development. The ideas I will be presenting are largely based on my experience in teaching courses in both Multicultural Education and International Studies over the past fifteen years and on my experience in assisting classroom teachers develop and implement curriculum in both fields.

Relationship Between Multicultural Education and International Education

In many respects, the domestic problems and issues being addressed in the field of Multicultural Education, such as the racism and inequality faced by minority groups, may be seen as a microcosm of the global problems and issues being addressed in the field of International Studies. For example, as the economic gap between the "have" and "have-not" nations continues to grow, Third World countries, which constitute the bulk of the "have-not" nations, become increasingly concerned with the racism and inequality that is being manifested on a global scale. These countries do not believe it is coincidental that most of the "have" nations are largely white and that most of the "have-not" nations, containing 75 percent of the world's population, are largely non-white (Mattelart, 1979; Reischauer, 1974; Mesarovic and Pestel, 1974).

Consequently, more and more of these nations, such as those in OPEC and the coffee cartels, are uniting to collectively demand the establishment of a new international economic order which would result in a more equitable distribution of the world's resources. When we consider the fact that the United States consumes anywhere from 30 to 40 percent of the world's resources with only six percent of its population, while 30 percent of the world is living on the brink of starvation, it is not difficult to understand why these countries view such a demand as reasonable and justified (Ehrlich et al., 1973).

I wish to add, somewhat parenthetically, that unless these economic aspects of international relations, including the enormous impact of

multinational corporations on Third World countries (Mattelart, 1979; Solomon, 1978; Barnet and Muller, 1974), are included as an essential part of International Studies, any efforts to increase cross-cultural understanding through such studies may ultimately have little meaning. In fact, conflicts between nations have historically been triggered more by competition over scarce resources than by cross-cultural misunderstandings. If this competition continues to intensify in the world, the conflicts between the "have" and the "have-not" nations are likely to intensify also. In such an event, I believe there is a real danger that the more powerful, industrialized nations of the world may expeditiously choose to ignore the issue of human rights and use their vastly superior military, economic and political power to maintain their dominant, privileged position over Third World countries.

By developing the connections between Multicultural Education and International Studies, I believe our understanding of both fields can be increased significantly. In our ever-shrinking world, we clearly can no longer consider domestic problems and issues in isolation from the rest of the world. This fact was brought home rather painfully to many Americans during the past two decades as a result of such events as the Vietnam War, the OPEC oil embargo, and the Iranian hostage crisis.

Today, international events touch almost all spheres of our lives, including the social, economic, political and cultural. We cannot fully understand domestic phenomena without viewing them from a global perspective. Our nation's economy is becoming increasingly globalized, particularly in recent years with the advent of burgeoning U.S. trade with Pacific Rim nations. This trade now exceeds that with European nations and is expected to grow to be several times greater over the next several decades (Lockwood and Leinberger, 1988).

This shift in the patterns of international trade has been accompanied by a sharp rise in the influx of immigrants from Pacific Rim countries, especially from Asia and Latin America. Asian and Hispanic immigrants now constitute over 80 percent of the immigrants annually entering the country. These new immigrants are not only forming new cultural communities in the United States (e.g., the new Korean and Southeast Asian communities in California) but are also having a significant impact on the ethnic makeup of neighborhoods (Lemann, 1987; Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1977); Takagi, 1978; Koo and Yu, 1981).

Because of the huge influx of capital from Pacific Rim trade, economic analysts expect the financial center of the country to shift eventually from New York City to Los Angeles, perhaps within the next few decades. And

since cultural infusion usually follows closely on the heels of capital infusion, the various Pacific Rim cultures, especially the cultures of Asia, may be expected to influence and transform our predominantly Eurocentric culture to a greater and greater degree.

Conversely, the global situation in which Third World countries find themselves has many parallels with the situation of minority groups in the United States. In fact, in view of these parallels, it seems to me that International Studies could be taught more effectively if it would begin with the study of minority groups in our own society and then relate the experiences of these groups to that of people in Third World countries. By viewing the global situation from the perspective of American minorities, students are likely to develop greater understanding and empathy for the plight of the poor in other parts of the world. Moreover, because of their long history of oppression in this country and their ties to many of the Third World countries, American minorities tend to be particularly sensitive to the economic concerns of these countries and to the related issue of human rights, which many of them relate to their own struggles for civil rights within the United States. Consequently, I believe that the perspectives of minority groups could well serve as the conscience of the nation in its international relations with Third World countries.

I believe that such parallels can be used to make learning about other cultures much more meaningful to students and far more relevant to their personal lives. Too often, people study other cultures from a distance, viewing them in the abstract as something foreign and outside the realm of their experiences. They may acquire a lot of factual knowledge and cognitive understanding of these cultures, but little feeling, empathy, and sensitivity toward them. In fact, all of us are probably familiar with the so-called "expert" in international relations who has a vast store of factual knowledge about another culture, but, at the same time, displays a patronizing attitude and an incongruous lack of sensitivity toward members of that culture.

It seems to me that such cross-cultural gaps could be bridged for many people by having them study and directly interact with people from different cultures within the United States who are generally far more accessible than people in foreign countries. Moreover, since such ethnic subcultures are an ever-present reality of American society, I think Americans should have some understanding and feeling for the subcultures in their own society before going on to study cultures outside of it. If people don't have an appreciation for the cultural diversity within their own society, they are not likely to develop an appreciation for it in the world at large.

As an aside, I would like to point out that many teachers make the mistake of thinking that teaching about Asians in Asia will help develop positive self-concepts among Asian American students. Unfortunately, I believe it often has the opposite effect. Since most Americans almost automatically assume that Asian Americans are foreigners, not Americans, teachings about China, Japan, and other Asian countries may just reinforce the feelings of both Asians and non-Asians alike that Asian Americans are, somehow, not full-fledged Americans despite their 150 years of history in this country, thereby adding to the subtle discrimination encountered by them.

I should hasten to add that I am not advocating that teachers should not teach about Asian countries. The only point I am making is that, in most instances, teachers should teach about these countries only *after* they have taught about Asian Americans. Otherwise, despite their good intentions, I am afraid they may do more harm than good both to Asian Americans and non-Asians. I suspect that these comments may also be valid other minority groups.

Let me finally make the point that cross-cultural learning cannot be only cognitively oriented; that is, it cannot be focused only on factual knowledge, logical analysis, and abstract reasoning to the neglect of the affective, experiential dimension of learning. In my opinion, true cross-cultural empathy and sensitivity can only be acquired through immersion in cross-cultural learning experiences that arouse feelings and emotions. Yet, feelings and emotions are generally suppressed in schools since most teachers view them as inhibitors of learning. However, as studies have shown (Jones, 1968), if feelings and emotions are properly directed and controlled, they can be powerful stimulators of meaningful learning experiences and greatly enhance cross-cultural learning.

It has been my experience that feelings and emotions are generally aroused by sensitive issues that hit close to home and often produce some anxiety in students. For example, such issues as racial name-calling and racially-based peer relationships and how they develop among students are among the more potent issues with which students are concerned. The discussion of these issues in the classroom can be used by a skilled teacher to give students a deeper, more personal understanding of the broader social issues that affect international relations. In such ways, then, can Multicultural Education be used as an effective bridge to help students gain greater cross-cultural understanding of the more abstract and distant global issues which International Studies must address, particularly for the vast majority of students who cannot afford to go abroad.

Conceptual Framework

Given the relationships just discussed between Multicultural Education and International Studies, I will now propose a conceptual framework for integrating the two fields. This framework is an extension of a more limited framework I developed in some detail in an earlier paper for the field of Multicultural Education (Suzuki, 1984).

The development of the framework begins with a description of an ideal society which would be compatible with the concept of cultural pluralism. Such a society would require the elimination of highly centralized bureaucratic structures and over-congested urban centers and their replacement by a decentralized system of self-governing communities. These communities would be equalitarian in nature and would be governed as participatory political and economic democracies. Everyone would be ensured of a decent standard of living, individual and group differences would be respected, and the rights and freedoms of all individuals would be guaranteed. Each of these communities would work out its own priorities and methods and develop a large degree of economic and technological self-sufficiency within the context of maintaining a sensible ecological balance. All of these communities would cooperate with each other within a larger framework of regional, national and international coordinating institutions.

Admittedly, this outline of the ideal pluralistic society is rather vague and general. However, I have deliberately refrained from describing it in more detail because I believe such details can only be worked out through the actual experience of changing society by a participatory, democratic process. Moreover, even if the vagueness and generality of this description were not a point of contention, one might justifiably ask, "So what! Why talk about such a utopian dream, and besides, what good is this vision of a better society for the purposes of education?"

Perhaps John Dewey (1966) provided the answer to this question when he wrote that "the conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind" (i.e. until we have defined our vision of an achievable better society). Dewey believed that students should be prepared not for a defective existing society, but for an ideal society in which the highest human ideals were achievable and toward which their aspirations could be directed.

In order to inspire students toward and prepare them for such a society, I believe that are several major goals that education must pursue. These goals, which were formulated by combining the goals of both

Multicultural Education and International Studies, are listed below and are grouped under four concepts: a) democracy/equality, b) cross-cultural understanding, c) interdependence/global survival, and d) socio-cultural change.

Goals of Education for a Democratic Society

1. Democracy/Equality

Teaching students the concepts of democracy, freedom and equality.

Teaching students about the present state of democracy.

Helping students conceptualize and aspire toward a vision of a more equitable and democratic society.

2. Cross-Cultural Understanding

Helping students develop a better understanding of their own ethnic backgrounds and of other ethnic groups that comprise our society.

Helping students transcend their ethnocentrism and appreciate and respect other cultures.

Helping students develop an understanding of and a commitment to universal human rights.

3. Interdependence/Global Survival

Teaching students about the interdependence of all the peoples of the world and the values needed for human survival.

Teaching students about the impending crises facing the world and the need for a global-community view of the world.

Teaching students about alternative national and international economic and socio-political systems.

4. Socio-Cultural Change

Helping students understand the socio-historical, economic and political forces that have led to the impending crises facing the world.

Helping students develop their ability to critically analyze and make intelligent decisions about pressing societal problems and issues through a process of democratic, dialogical inquiry.

Helping students develop the knowledge, skills and commitment to enable them to create the changes leading to a better society.

The translation of these goals into a curricular framework can perhaps be illustrated best by means of the diagram, entitled "The Sprial Development of Concepts," shown in Figure 1. This diagram has been adapted from an earlier model of curriculum development formulated by Hilda Taba (1962). It represents the most comprehensive and ambitious framework in which the total curriculum in all subject areas is organized around the four major concepts that were presented above.

Let me explain a number of the features of this diagram. Each of the concepts and their associated goals provide a common thread connecting all grade levels from lower elementary through high school. The diagram could easily be extended to the college level. Each of the concepts may be exemplified both in the domestic context, which is the realm of Multicultural Education, and in the global context, which is the realm of International Studies.

The curriculum would begin with a focus on self-concept and the family and gradually decenter the student toward the community, commonwealth, and so forth, toward greater degrees of abstraction through a spiral development of concepts. However, I am not suggesting that his process must follow a rigid, invariant sequence. In fact, the dotted lines with arrows in two directions are drawn to indicate that the context and topics from a higher level may be used at a lower level. The arrows are also drawn to indicate that events in the world at large may affect the family or local community, or vice versa. For example, family relations may be discussed not only in one's own family, but also within the context of families in other parts of the country or in other parts of the world. To take another example, we may examine the impact of multinational corporations not only on a world economic system, but also on nations, states and local communities.

Some examples of the types of subtopics that might be covered under each major topic at a given grade level are also shown on the diagram. For example, at the junior high level, one major topic listed is "Cultures of the World," under which are listed the subtopics "Balance of Power," "Imperialism," "Cultural Relativity," and "Cultural Diversity."

Finally, the process goals shown on the right-hand side of the diagram refer to certain process dimensions of learning such as critical thinking and dialogical inquiry (cf. Freire, 1970; Shor, 1980). These process goals, like the four concepts mentioned earlier, are also common threads through all grade levels. They are often the unstated outcomes of the so-called "hidden curriculum" (Overly, 1970). I would suggest that these process goals need to be explicitly stated so that teaching strategies are planned and will result in certain interactions in the classroom that will, for example, foster critical thinking and dialogical inquiry on the part of students.

Application to Curriculum Development

There are several ways in which the conceptual framework I just described can be applied in developing curriculum. The most comprehensive and ambitious application would be to use it in developing the total curriculum of a K-12 school system. The curriculum in all subject areas would be based on the framework. While the application of the framework may be most obvious for such subjects as social studies and language arts, it can also be applied in developing curriculum for math and science. In the latter subjects, not all of the concepts and process goals shown on the diagram may be applicable. Nevertheless, concepts such as interdependence/global survival and socio-cultural change and process goals such as critical thinking and dialogical inquiry could form the common threads around which the curriculum would be organized. However, such an application would require sweeping curricular changes in all subjects at all grade levels. Realistically speaking, such changes are probably not feasible in most school systems in the United States, at least at the present time.

There are, however, more limited and less ambitious ways of applying the framework. One such way is to apply the framework to a single subject which is taught across several grade levels, for example social studies at the K-6 levels or at the junior high or high school level. The framework may also be applied to other subjects such as language arts, science, or art. However, even this approach may not be feasible in many schools.

Another less ambitious application of the framework is to use it to

develop curriculum for all subjects at one grade level, for example by using it in conjunction with the so-called "integrated day" approach to organizing the total curriculum in an elementary school classroom. In this case, the grade levels on the diagram should be replaced by time during the school term.

Perhaps the most feasible application of the framework would be to use it in developing a single course on a particular subject. Such an application would probably be most common at the secondary or college level. In this case, the grade levels on the diagram would, again, be replaced by time during the school term. As an example of this application, I have presented below an outline of a college-level, one-semester course on global education that I taught over a period of several years.

Outline for College-Level Course on Global Education

1. Culture, Cultural Change and Education
2. Pluralism, Social Class and Education
3. Sociocultural Forces and Education
4. Global Survival and Education
5. International Relations and Education
6. Education for a Democratic Society: Goals and Practices

It was through this course that I first developed the framework presented in this paper. The first five units of the course (I through V), which took most of the semester to cover, provided students with the necessary background for the framework before the framework itself was presented in unit VI. The first five units covered such topics as culture and its relationship to education; the nature of pluralism in the United States and other societies; racial, sexual and cultural biases in the schools; major impending crises facing the world; and U.S. foreign policy, multinational corporations and the Third World; among others. Some of these topics were briefly discussed earlier in this paper. Without this background information, students would have difficulty fully understanding the framework.

Let me finally mention one other application of the framework. It seems to me that the framework might be very useful for the purpose of developing a college-level general education program. Such programs are being reviewed and overhauled, sometimes in major ways, by colleges and universities across the country. Most of these programs are required to be highly interdisciplinary, involving a wide variety of disciplines ranging from the physical sciences to the social sciences to the humanities to the fine and

applied arts. However, what is often lacking is a coherent, meaningful, and unifying approach to the development of these programs. For reasons which should now be apparent, I believe the framework presented in this paper could provide one such approach. In applying the framework for this purpose, the grade levels on the diagram should be replaced by the sequence of courses that comprise the general education program. Alternatively, the grade levels could be replaced by lower division and upper division levels common to most institutions of higher education. The details of each program would, or course, have to be worked out within the context of the available faculty and their areas of interest and competency.

The five different ways described above in which the proposed conceptual framework may be applied for curriculum development purposes are summarized in Figure 2. There may be other ways in the framework may be applied as well, but these examples should provide an idea of the range of possibilities.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have only presented a brief summary of my ideas on the relationship between Multicultural Education and International Studies and the implications of this relationship for curriculum development. Many of the connections between the two fields could undoubtedly be developed in more detail and depth. However, the basic purpose of the paper is to indicate that a significant relationship can be shown to exist between the two fields and to propose a curricular framework by which the two fields could be integrated. There are undoubtedly many other, perhaps better, frameworks that could be proposed. At the very least, I hope this paper will provoke further thoughts on the subject and, thereby, stimulate greater interest and development in both the fields of Multicultural Education and International Studies. I also hope the proposed framework will prove to be of some use to educational practitioners who try to apply it.

References

Banks, J. and Banks, C. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1989.

Barnet, R. and Muller, R. *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

Boulding, K. *The Meaning of the 20th Century.* New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Boyer, E. "A Global Perspective: The New Imperative." *Today's Education*, 67 (1978), 69-70.

Brameld, T. *The Climatic Decades: Mandate to Education.* New York: Praeger, 1970.

Cross, D., Baker, G. and Stiles, L. *Teaching in a Multicultural Society.* New York: Free Press, 1977.

Dewey, J. *Democracy and Education.* New York: Free Press, 1966.

Ehrlich, P., Ehrlich, A., and Holdren, J. *Human Ecology: Problems and Solutions.* San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973.

Freire, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

Gelpi, E. *Lifelong Learning and International Relations.* Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm, 1985.

Graves, N., Dunlop, J., and Torney-Purta, J. (eds.). *Teaching for International Understanding, Peace, and Human Rights.* Paris: UNESCO, 1984.

Gollnick, D. and Chinn, P. *Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society.* St. Louis: C.V. Mosby, 1983.

Hopkins, T. and Wallerstein, I. "Patterns of Development of the Modern World-System." *Review*, (1977), 111-145.

Jones, R. *Fantasy and Feeling in Education.* New York: New York University Press, 1968.

Koo, H. and Yu, E. "Korean Immigration to the United States: Its Demographic Pattern and Social Implications for Both Societies." Papers of the East-West Population Institute No.74. Honolulu: East-West Center, 1981.

Lehmann, N. "Growing Pains." *Atlantic Monthly*, 261 (1987), 57-62.

Lockwood, C. and Leinberger, C. "Los Angeles Comes of Age." *Atlantic Monthly*, 61 (1987, 31-56.

Mattelart, A. *Multinational Corporations and the Control of Culture.* Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1979.

Mead, M. *Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap.* New York: Doubleday, 1970.

Mesarovic, M. Pestel, E. *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Report to the Club of Rome.* New York: E.P. Dutton, 1974.

Overly, N. (ed.). *The Unstudied Curriculum: Its Impact on Children.* Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, 1970.

Reischauer, E. *Toward the 21st Century: Education for a Changing World.* New York: Random House, 1974.

Remy, R., Nathan, J., Becker, J., and Torney, J. *International Learning and International Education in a Global Age.* Bulletin 47. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1975.

Shor, I. *Critical Teaching and Everyday Life.* Boston: South End Press, 1980.

Solomon, L. *Multinational Corporations and the Emerging World Order.* Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1978.

Suzuki, B. "Curriculum Transformation for Multicultural Education." *Educational and Urban Society* , 3 (1984), 294-322.

Taba, H. *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962.

Takagi, P. "The New Asian Immigration and the Development of Racial Communities in the United States." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1979.

Walsh, J. *Intercultural Education in the Community of Man.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973.

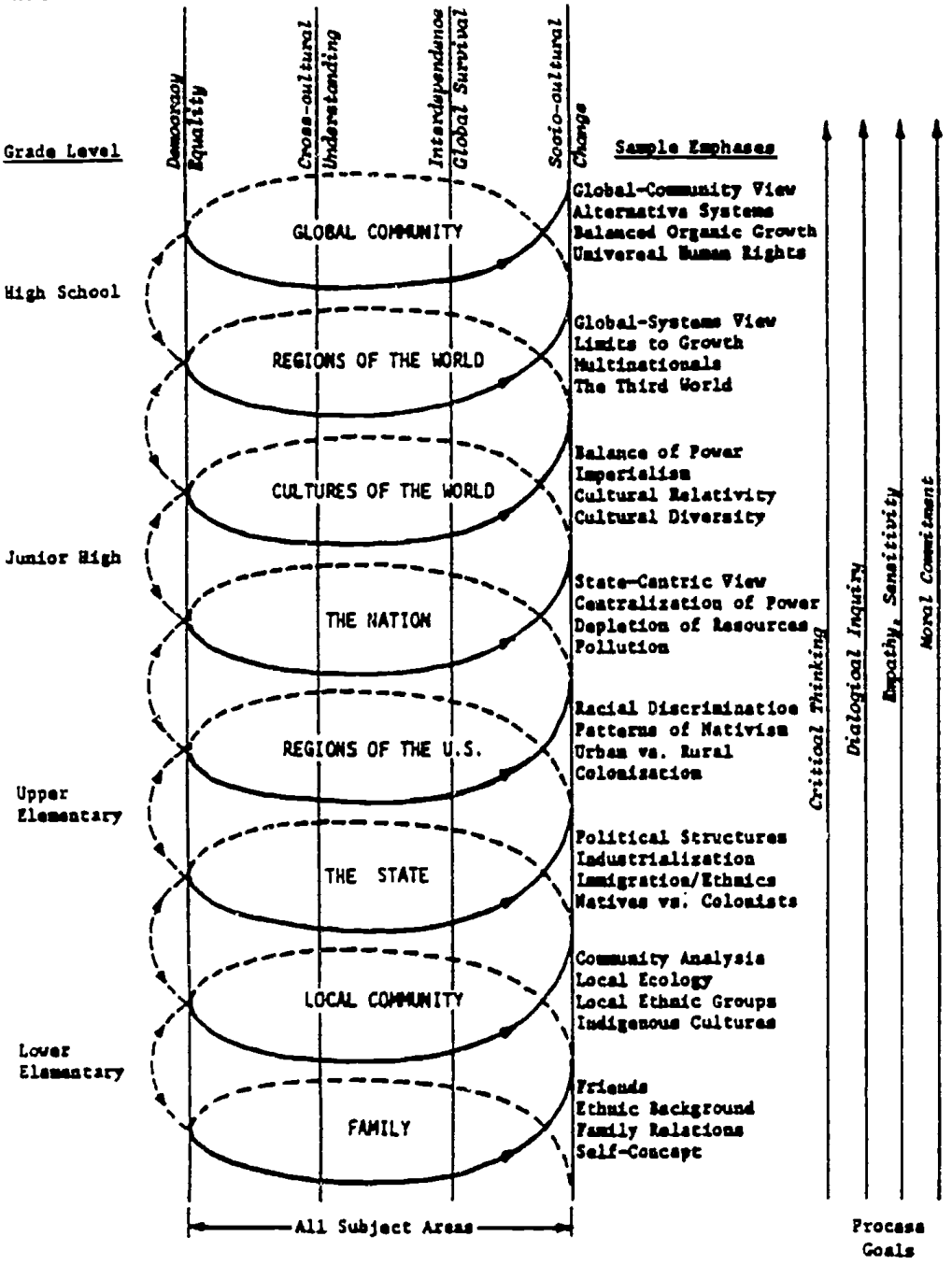


Figure 1: THE SPIRAL DEVELOPMENT OF CONCEPTS

Education for a Democratic Society

Figure 2: Ways of Applying Proposed Curricular Framework

TOTAL CURRICULUM, K-12

Provides framework for all subjects, all grade levels. Not likely to be implemented in most school systems.

SINGLE SUBJECT, SEVERAL GRADE LEVELS

Provides framework for single subject taught across several grade levels; e.g., social studies at the K-6 levels, or at the junior high or high school levels. May also be applied to other subjects such as language arts, science, art, etc.

ALL SUBJECTS, ONE GRADE LEVEL

(Replace grade levels on diagram by time during term) Provides framework for all subjects at one grade level; e.g., it may be applied to an Integrated Day approach in an elementary classroom.

SINGLE SUBJECT, ONE LEVEL

(Replace grade levels on diagram by time during term) Provides framework for a course at the junior high, high school, or college level.)

Example: Outline for College-Level Course on Global Education:

1. Culture, Cultural Change and Education
2. Pluralism, Social Class and Education
3. Sociocultural Forces and Education
4. Global Survival and Education
5. International Relations and Education
6. Education for a Democratic Society: Goals and Practices

GENERAL EDUCATION

(Replace grade levels on diagram with sequence of courses) Provides unifying, interdisciplinary framework for a college-level General Education program.

THE EVACUATION AND INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING WORLD WAR II: AN INVALUABLE LESSON ON THE AMERICAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM*

NOBUYA TSUCHIDA

The maturity of American democracy should be measured by, among other criteria, how the United States has treated her racial minorities since her independence as a nation. By the same token, the fairness of the American judicial system ought to be judged partly on the basis of how the courts have disposed of cases involving non-white defendants and litigants. The evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, coupled with their struggle with the courts and federal government, therefore, provides an invaluable case in point. This episode not only represents an irreparable tragedy in American history, but also illustrates how this country's otherwise illustrious legal system sometimes malfunctions because of its overt and subtle racism which may be cloaked by political, economic, and/or strategic considerations.

The U.S. Supreme Court has sometimes tended to defer excessively to the executive branch in time of war,[1] as well as to unduly consider fiscal implications for the national coffers in adjudicating claims against the federal government for takings (i.e., eminent domain) under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution[2]. *United States v. Hohri*[3] is a case which may be explained by the Court's blind wartime deference to the executive determination of "military necessity," and whose merits the Court chose to avoid determining out of political and fiscal expediency. When the aggrieved parties are racial minorities, the Court appears to find it easier to avoid reviewing the merits of a case either by disposing of the case on technicalities,[4] or by creating dubious theories.[5]

This paper will analyze the wisdom and implications of the Court's decision in *Hohri* in the context of earlier Japanese American evacuation cases and recent *coram nobis* cases arising therefrom. It is hoped that the present study will not only help educate students and the public about racism

---

*The footnotes for this paper will be omitted due to space limitations and their technical nature. However, the author will make the footnotes available upon request to interested readers. The footnote numbers, therefore, will be retained in the text in order to facilitate the matching of cited information and corresponding footnotes.

and the resultant injustice in American society, particularly in the judicial system, but also represent a practicable legal approach to teaching a college-level course on the wartime experience of Japanese Americans.

This paper will shed light on how complex judicial and legislative processes, however fair they may be in theory and appearance, could be prolonged or manipulated in such a way that victims of racial discrimination might be subtly and yet effectively stymied in their quest for justice and equality. By studying the Japanese American experience since 1941 from a legal perspective, both students and the general public would be able to enhance their understanding of the complexity of racism entrenched in the American legal system.

United States v. Hohri

During World War II, the U.S. government evacuated from the West Coast 110,000 American citizens and residents of Japanese ancestry and interned them for up to four years in ten interior relocation centers (i.e., internment camps) on the grounds of "military necessity" without charge, trial, or conviction. As a result of this incarceration, Japanese Americans sustained property losses of $370 million, equivalent to $2 billion in 1983 dollars.[6] Under the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, the federal government paid $37 million in inflated postwar dollars to compensate for property losses which could be substantiated by documentary evidence.[7]

In 1980 Congress established the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians to investigate whether the U.S. government had violated the civil rights of Japanese Americans.[8] In 1982 the Commission reported to Congress that there was no "military necessity" for the evacuation and internment program, which would not have taken place but for "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."[9] The Commission determined that Japanese Americans had consequently "suffered deprivation of their constitutional rights; loss of homes, businesses, educations, and careers; physical and psychological injuries, including loss of life; destruction of family ties; and personal stigma."[10] The Commission recommended that Congress appropriate $1.5 billion as compensation for 60,000 surviving internees at $20,000 each, and for a trust fund to support research and publication on civil rights issues.[11]

Buttressed by the Commission report, William Hohri and eighteen former internees and descendants of internees filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia a class action against the United States, seeking

$24 billion in damages. Relying on the Commission's findings, they alleged that their wartime evacuation and internment constituted a wrongful act by the U.S. government which could not be justified by "military necessity."

The plaintiffs' claim was based on the theory that the government's suppression of evidence disproving the existence of military necessity was fraudulent enough to toll the six-year statute of limitations applicable in such situations until the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was created in 1980. The court granted the federal government's motion to dismiss the class action on the grounds that the six-year statute of limitations barred the plaintiffs' action.[12] The plaintiffs appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.[b]

In 1986 the appeals court reversed the district court's dismissal of the class action suit, holding that the plaintiffs' cause of action under the takings clause of the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is not barred by the statutory limitations.[15] In justifying its departure from the customary application of the statute of limitations, the court said: "[E]xtraordinary injustice can provoke extraordinary acts of concealment. Where such concealment is alleged it ill behooves the government of a free people to evade an honest accounting."[16] The federal government appealed from this decision.

In 1987 the Supreme Court vacated the appeals court judgment, holding that the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit had exclusive appellate jurisdiction in this case.[c] The case was remanded to the federal

---

[b]The regional appeals court asserted jurisdiction over the plaintiffs' appeal, contrary to the general rule that "[t]he United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit shall have exclusive jurisdiction of an appeal from a final decision of a district court of the United States... if the jurisdiction of that court was based, in whole or in part, on section 1346 of this title...."[13] The court justified its assumption of jurisdiction on the theory that the federal circuit does not exercise exclusive appellate jurisdiction over cases involving both nontax Little Tucker Act (28 U.S.C. Sec. 1346 (a)) and Federal Tort Claims Act (28 U.S.C. Sec. 1346 (b)) claims.[14]

[c]The Supreme Court held that the federal circuit had exclusive appellate jurisdiction of a mixed case predicated upon both nontax Little Tucker Act claims and Federal Tort Claims Act claims.[17] Instead of determining the merits of the case, the Court made its decision solely on the basis of an interpretation of the except clause in 28 U.S.C. Section 1295 (a)(2):

circuit court. The Supreme Court stopped short of dismissing the case by reason of statutory limitations. In his concurring opinion, Justice Blackmun predicted that the issue on the merits would come back to the Court sooner or later.[19] In order to understand the Court's holding in *Hohri* in a proper historical context, it is necessary to examine four earlier evacuation/internment cases which challenged the constitutionality of extraordinary wartime measures taken solely against this ethnic group.

Earlier Evacuation/Internment Cases

In the wake of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the U.S. government became increasingly apprehensive about another surprise attack by the Imperial Navy on the West Coast. With a view to preventing Japanese American residents from assisting the invading enemy forces, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. This decree authorized the Secretary of War and his

---

> The United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit shall have exclusive jurisdiction of an appeal from a final decision of a district court of the United States... if the jurisdiction of that court was based, in whole or in part, on section 1346 of this title, except that jurisdiction of an appeal in a case brought in a district court under section 1346 (a)(1), 1346 (b), 1346 (e), or 1346 (f) of this title or under section 1346(a)(2) when the claim is founded upon an Act of Congress or a regulation of an executive department providing for internal revenue shall be governed by section 1291, 1292, and 1294 of this title.

While admitting the ambiguity of the statute, the Court concluded that the legislative history established: 1) that Congress expected the appellate courts to reach consistent decisions on the same issues arising particularly from nontort claims against the federal government; 2) that the uniform determination by the federal circuit of nontax Little Tucker Act claims should take precedence over the often inconsistent and unpredictable adjudication by the regional appeals courts of Federal Tort Claims Act claims; and 3) that the federal circuit should exercise appellate jurisdiction over claims which, though insufficient by themselves to create federal circuit jurisdiction, are joined with nontax Little Tucker Act claims which come under the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal circuit courts.[18]

designees to "prescribe military areas... from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion."[20] Pursuant to Executive Order 9066, Lt. General John L. DeWitt, Commander of the Western Defense Command, on March 2 issued Public Proclamation No. 1 which designated as Military Area No. 1 the western half of the three Pacific coast states and the southern half of Arizona.[21] Since the executive order provided for no penalty for disobeying DeWitt's proclamation, Congress on March 21 enacted Public Law 503 making such disobedience a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of up to $5,000 or imprisonment not to exceed one year, or both.[22]

On March 24, 1942, DeWitt issued Proclamation No. 3 which imposed an 8:00 p.m. - 6:00 a.m. curfew on "all alien Japanese, all alien Germans, all alien Italians, and *all persons of Japanese ancestry*" residing within Military Area No. 1.[23] Japanese Americans were the only group of U.S. citizens to whom this curfew order applied. However, martial law was never declared in the continental United States, where civilian courts continued to function during World War II. Nothing but genuine military necessity occasioned by a foreign invasion or civil war can justify martial law, which is instituted only after civil administration and courts have ceased to function.[24] In the absence of martial law, only enemy aliens are subject to apprehension, detention, and removal.[25] Therefore, many Nisei (American-born, second-generation Japanese Americans) felt that DeWitt's curfew and subsequent exclusion orders were unconstitutional as applied to citizens. Some decided at great personal risk to test in court the constitutionality of such orders.

Yasui v. United States

Minoru Yasui was the first Nisei to contest in the legal arena the validity of Gen. DeWitt's proclamation imposing curfew on *all persons of Japanese ancestry*. Born in Hood River, Oregon on October 19, 1916 of Japanese immigrant parents, he received bachelor's and law degrees from the University of Oregon by 1939. Upon graduation, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Reserve. Shortly after his admission to the Oregon bar, he started working as a propaganda agent at the Japanese Consulate General in Chicago.[26] The day after Pearl Harbor was bombed, Yasui resigned this position and returned to Portland to request to be placed on active military duty, but to no avail.[27]

As a young lawyer, Yasui was convinced that a military commander could not constitutionally subject citizens to a curfew in the absence of martial law. On March 28, 1942, he walked around conspicuously in downtown Portland after 8:00 p.m. so that he would be arrested for a curfew violation. Since no patrolman took him seriously enough to apprehend him despite his request to be arrested, Yasui turned himself in to the Portland Police Department. He pleaded "not guilty," contending that a citizen could not be convicted for disobeying DeWitt's proclamation.[28] Yasui waived his right to a jury trial.

The U.S. District Court for the District of Oregon started with a correct postulate but used wrong facts to reach an illogical conclusion in Yasui's case. Relying on *Ex parte Milligan*,[29] the court premised that since neither Congress nor the President had declared martial law for the West Coast, DeWitt had no authority to issue proclamations binding upon both citizens and aliens.[30] Without martial law in effect, emergency alone did not create power, nor did war power suspend citizens' constitutional rights.[31] While concluding that criminal sanctions should not be imposed on the basis of violators' race and color, the court judged DeWitt's curfew and exclusion orders to be legally applicable to enemy aliens but unenforceable against citizens.[32] Nevertheless, the court's sound judgment abruptly ended here.

While admitting that Yasui was a native-born citizen of the United States, the court found that "[b]y international law... he was also a citizen of Japan and subject of the Emperor... to whom he was bound by race, the nativity of his parents and the subtle nuances of traditional mores engrained in his race by centuries of social discipline."[33] This was the same court that a few paragraphs earlier had explicitly disavowed the classification of citizens on the basis of race and color[34] by writing that discriminatory treatment based on "hostility to the race and nationality" was illegal and unjustifiable.[35] The court's rationale epitomizes a classic case of underinclusive discrimination where similarly-situated German and Italian Americans were not affected by DeWitt's public proclamations, even though Japanese Americans were singled out for disparate treatment by reason of their racial classification.

Despite the fact that Yasui had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States when commissioned as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Reserve, the court concluded that he had "made election and chose allegiance to the Emperor of Japan..." and "served the purpose and philosophy of the ruling caste of Japan as a propaganda agent...."[36] The court based its conclusion on three factors. First, the Japanese government had conferred a medal upon Yasui's father. Second, his father was instrumental in the

defendant's being hired as a propaganda agent for the Japanese Consulate General in Chicago. Third, it was not until after Pearl Harbor had been bombed that Yasui resigned from the Consulate General. The court further concluded, without adducing any supporting evidence, that following the U.S. declaration of war against Japan, Yasui unsuccessfully attempted to be placed on active duty in the U.S. Army with a view to rendering more effective service to the Emperor of Japan.[37]

The court in essence used the following strained syllogism to find Yasui guilty. All enemy aliens are subject to Gen. DeWitt's order; Yasui is a citizen of Japan which is at war with the United States; therefore, he is guilty of a curfew violation, a misdemeanor. The court sentenced Yasui to one year's imprisonment.[38]

Yasui appealed his conviction to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. The circuit court certified the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court vacated the judgment of the district court on the ground that Yasui's U.S. citizenship, which the government had never disputed, was not at issue. Because the district court had imposed the maximum penalty after finding Yasui to be an alien, the Supreme Court remanded the case to the district court for resentencing.[39] On remand, the district court reversed its finding that Yasui had renounced his U.S. citizenship.[40]

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court upheld Yasui's conviction for a curfew violation, because DeWitt's proclamation was binding on citizens and aliens alike, rendering Yasui's citizenship immaterial.[41] The Court reached this decision in conformance with *Hirabayashi v. United States*,[42] *Yasui's* companion case decided on the same day.

Hirabayashi v. United States

When hostilities broke out between the United States and Japan, Gordon Hirabayashi, 23 years of age, was a senior enrolled at the University of Washington in Seattle. He was the American-born son of Japanese immigrants. A devout Quaker, Hirabayashi was determined not to submit himself to Gen. DeWitt's curfew and evacuation orders.[43]

On March 18, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9102,[44] creating the War Relocation Authority to operate ten interior relocation centers (i.e., internment camps) where approximately 120,000 Japanese were to be incarcerated for the duration of the war. On March 24, DeWitt began issuing Civilian Exclusion Orders instructing the West Coast Japanese to report by designated dates to the Wartime Civil Control

Administration for evacuation into assembly centers.[45] These assembly centers were former racetracks and fairgrounds used as temporary quarters to house Japanese Americans for a few months prior to their incarceration in the permanent relocation centers in the interior of the country. On May 10, 1942, DeWitt issued Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57 directing "all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and nonalien," in the Seattle area to report to a civil control station on May 11 or 12.[46] Hirabayashi thereupon resolved to defy Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57 as well as Public Proclamation No. 3 which had subjected him to curfew restrictions since March 27, 1942.[47]

In the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington, Hirabayashi was indicted on two counts: 1) failure to evacuate pursuant to Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57, and 2) violation of the curfew provision contained in Public Proclamation No. 3. He pleaded "not guilty" to each count, contending that these regulations promulgated by military commander DeWitt were unconstitutional because they violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and the privileges and immunities clause under Article IV, Section 2.[48] A jury found Hirabayashi guilty on both counts, and he was sentenced to three-month imprisonment on each count, both terms to be served concurrently.[49]

The court rejected Hirabayashi's argument on the grounds that "certainly in time of war a technical right of an individual should not be permitted to endanger all of the constitutional rights of the whole citizenry."[50] Concluding that Executive Order 9066, Public Law 503, Public Proclamation No. 3, and Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57 were constitutional and valid, the court held that in the light of the war emergency, the President and the military commander could determine whether military necessity dictated the imposition of curfew and evacuation orders on all persons of Japanese ancestry.[51] The court justified its unbridled deference to such executive assessment by stating that "[n]o one can reasonably question the wisdom of such measures. And this court will not question in this time of war the wisdom or necessity of the curfew or evacuation orders with respect to those of Japanese ancestry...."[52]

Hirabayashi appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit which certified the entire record to the Supreme Court. Because the district court had imposed on him two concurrent sentences of three months each, the Supreme Court decided to review his conviction only on the second count charging him with a curfew violation. The Court's decision was predicated on the postulate that if Hirabayashi's conviction on the second count were upheld, it would be superfluous to consider his conviction on the

first count dealing with a violation of the exclusion order.[53]

The Court identified two questions: 1) whether DeWitt's issuance of the curfew and evacuation orders constituted Congress' unconstitutional delegation of its legislative power; and 2) whether the military decrees, distinguishing Japanese Americans from the rest of the citizens on the basis of ancestry, violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment.[54] Citing relevant legislative history, the Court concluded that by enacting Public Law 503 which made it a criminal offense to disobey a military commander's orders promulgated under the authority of Executive Order 9066, the Congress had properly delegated to the executive branch the authority to establish, among other restrictions, curfews within the military areas.[55] With respect to the second question, the Court determined that the curfew and evacuation orders were not discriminatory in violation of the Fifth Amendment. The Court thought that the Fifth Amendment prohibited "only such discriminatory legislation by Congress as amounts to a denial of due process."[56]

Nevertheless, the Court's answers to the two questions appeared to be contradictory. If Congress had indeed delegated legislative authority to the executive branch by means of Public Law 503, then Public Proclamation No. 3 and Civilian Evacuation Order No. 57 subsequently issued by DeWitt ought to be construed as functionally equivalent to federal legislation. Since the curfew and evacuation orders were applied only to Japanese Americans without due process of law, DeWitt's decrees were tantamount to "such discriminatory legislation by Congress" and thus violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment.

The Court sustained Hirabayashi's conviction for a curfew violation by reason of: 1) the extensive war power that Articles I and II of the U.S. Constitution confer on Congress and the President; and 2) Gen. DeWitt's reasonable belief in time of war that this nation faced the real threat of a foreign invasion as well as the danger of espionage and sabotage by a certain racial group.[57] In other words, the power to wage war allowed military leaders to take appropriate preventive measures for the protection of military areas and war materials from the threat of an enemy attack which the experts had reasonable grounds to believe existed. Since the exigencies of war required the military commander to exercise such timely and proper judgment as volatile conditions might dictate, it was strongly presumed that his assessment of a particular situation and the measures he adopted to deal therewith were reasonable and rational under the circumstances. The Court, therefore, refrained from second-guessing the wisdom of strategic decisions

made in time of war or from substituting its own judgment for that of military experts charged with the responsibility of successfully waging war.[58]

However, *Ex parte Milligan* unequivocally rejects such excessive judicial deference to the executive branch in time of war. The Supreme Court in that case averred that this country's republican government would be doomed and there would be no civil liberties under the law if the following proposition were true:

> That in time of war the commander of an armed force (in his opinion the exigencies of the country demand it, and of which he is to judge), has the power, within the lines of his military district, to suspend all civil rights and their remedies, and subject citizens as well as soldiers to the rule of *his will*; and in the exercise of his lawful authority cannot be restrained, except by his superior officer or the President of the United States.
>
> [W]hen war exists, foreign or domestic, and the country is subdivided into military departments for mere convenience, the commander of one of them can, if he chooses, within the limits, on the plea of necessity, with the approval of the Executive, substitute military force for and the exclusion of the laws, and punish all persons, as he thinks right and proper, without fixed or certain rules.[59]

The above proposition describes a situation alarmingly identical with the conditions that existed on the West Coast at the initial stage of the Pacific War.

The crux of the Supreme Court decision in *Hirabayashi* seemed to be that in the absence of declared martial law, the government in time of war may discriminate against a racially distinct group of citizens purely on the basis of their ancestry. Even though discrimination on account of racial classification is usually unconstitutional,[60] where legitimate military necessity so dictates, neither Congress nor the President is "wholly precluded from taking into account those facts and circumstances which are relevant to measures for our national defense... and which may in fact place citizens of one ancestry in a different category from others."[61] The Court went so far as to justify by means of military necessity the government's implementation against Japanese Americans of extraordinary war measures which would most likely be unconstitutional if peace prevailed, provided that there were

indicators tending to show that this racial group was more dangerous than others to the security of the United States.[62] The most decisive factor, therefore, was whether such overriding military necessity did exist when Hirabayashi disobeyed DeWitt's curfew and exclusion orders.

The existence of military necessity is not always a political question; it is justiciable under certain circumstances. Unless the President or Congress has established martial law, a functioning civil court "should not find the existence of [military] necessity as a fact,"[63] without subjecting the military determination to strict scrutiny, particularly when such a justification is used for the discriminatory treatment of a racial minority. A merely threatened invasion cannot justify the proclamation of a state of martial law, which may be invoked only by such actual aggression as would paralyze civil courts and administration.[64] Under *Milligan*, the absence of military necessity in the Hirabayshi case might be syllogized as follows. Martial law arises from bona fide military necessity; in 1942, no martial law was in effect on the West Coast; therefore, no military necessity to put only Japanese Americans in preventive custody existed when DeWitt promulgated Public Proclamation No. 3 and Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57. Unfortunately, however, some of the Supreme Court Justices were not totally immune from wartime hysteria and racial prejudice toward Japanese Americans. Thus affected by such human frailty, the Court was to resort to blind deference to the military experts' determination of exigencies in burying yet another constitutional challenge to government's evacuation and internment program.

Korematsu v. United States

Fred Korematsu was the third Nisei to institute a test case challenging the constitutionality of war measures aimed specifically against persons of Japanese ancestry. Born in 1919 in Oakland, California of Japanese immigrant parents, he became a shipyard welder after withdrawing from Los Angeles City College. Prior to the issuance on May 3, 1942 of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34 instructing Japanese American residents to evacuate from the Oakland-San Leandro area by noon on May 9, Korematsu moved out of his house in Oakland and had plastic surgery to make his physical features appear less Japanese. He and his Italian fiancee, Ida Boitano, were planning to go to Arizona to get married and then to proceed to the Midwest to live as husband and wife, hopefully without anyone detecting his true racial background. Before he could leave the Bay Area, Korematsu was arrested in San Leandro on May 30, 1942.[65]

The U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California found Korematsu guilty of violating Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34. The court placed him on five-year probation, with its terms and conditions to be established later by the court's probation officer. The pronouncing of the judgment was suspended by a court order.[66] Korematsu appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, which affirmed the judgment of the trial court in accordance with the Supreme Court decision in *Hirabayashi*.[67]

In contrast with *Yasui* and *Hirabayashi*, both of which involved the question of the validity of Gen. DeWitt's curfew order, *Korematsu v. United States*[68] was decided on the issue of a violation of the exclusion order. Although Korematsu was charged with violating Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34, he requested the Supreme Court to determine its constitutionality in conjunction with Civilian Restrictive Order No. 1[69] issued on May 19, 1942 to authorize the detention of Japanese Americans in the assembly and relocation centers. The two decrees, he argued, were inseparable, because once he was evacuated from the restricted area, he had no option other than submitting to incarceration in an assembly or relocation center. However, the Court rejected his proposition that should detention be held unconstitutional, the exclusion order would fail to pass constitutional muster, on the grounds that only his conviction for failure to evacuate was at issue.[70]

Hirabayashi again controlled *Korematsu*. Despite the fact that the war was coming to an end with an American victory in sight, the wartime Court was bound to reach the same decision in the light of its unwavering deference to military judgment. In sustaining Korematsu's conviction, the Court explicated its rationale as follows:

> Korematsu was not excluded from the Military Area because of hostility to him or his race. He was excluded because we are at war with the Japanese Empire, because the properly constituted military authorities feared an invasion of our West Coast and felt constrained to take proper security measures, because they decided that the military urgency of the situation demanded that all citizens of Japanese ancestry be segregated from the West Coast temporarily....[71]

Korematsu thus established a potentially dangerous doctrine that "pressing public necessity" may justify the suspension or curtailment by the government of a particular racial group's constitutional rights. In time of war or other exigencies, such urgent public necessity is not a justiciable question.

Ex Parte Endo

In *Ex parte Endo*, decided by the Supreme Court on December 18, 1944, the same day as *Korematsu*, the Court for the first time considered the question of detaining a loyal Japanese American against her will in a relocation center.[72] The Court here departed markedly from its earlier view that the war power vested in the federal government "extends to every matter and activity so related to war as substantially to affect its conduct and progress."[73] Distinguishing between exclusion and detention, the Court held that the War Relocation Authority had no authority to keep a concededly loyal citizen incarcerated.[74]

Mitsuye Endo was a Nisei woman residing in Sacramento, California. She was working for the state government when the war broke out. In the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the state personnel board fired all Nisei civil servants including Endo. She did not speak, read, or write the Japanese language.[75] On May 15, 1942 she was evacuated from her house to the Sacramento Assembly Center, from which she was transferred to the Tule Lake Relocation Center in Northern California in June, 1942. She sought a writ of *habeas corpus* in July, 1942, from the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, which denied her petition in July, 1943. Shortly after Endo appealed this denial to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, the War Relocation Authority moved her from Tule Lake to the Topaz Relocation Center in Utah. The appeals court certified the entire record to the Supreme Court.[76]

As soon as Japanese Americans were settled in the ten relocation centers, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) established procedures for granting leave clearance and indefinite leave with the objective of facilitating the internees' reintegration into American society. Applicants were cleared for release from the centers if a thorough investigation by federal intelligence agencies unearthed no evidence tending to show their disloyalty to the United States. However, leave clearance did not mean automatic permission to leave a relocation center. The WRA would not grant indefinite leave unless cleared applicants applied for such permit and satisfied one of the further requirements such as a job offer, possession of sufficient financial resources, or sponsorship by a qualified relative. On February 19, 1943, Endo applied for leave clearance which was approved on August 16, 1943. However, she did not apply for indefinite leave.[77]

With respect to Endo's petition for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the WRA and the Department of Justice conceded that she was a loyal and law-abiding

citizen, and that she was not being detained on any charge. Nonetheless, the government argued that additional detention following the issuance of leave clearance was necessary to ensure that Japanese American internees would not be sent out to hostile communities.[78] Unpersuaded by such rationale, the Supreme Court held that Endo should unconditionally be freed without delay, adding that the WRA was without authority to subject concededly loyal citizens to its leave clearance procedure.[79]

The Court reviewed the language of Public Law 503 and Executive Orders 9066 and 9102 to ascertain whether the WRA was statutorily authorized to detain persons of Japanese ancestry in the relocation centers. The Court proceeded with an assumption that "the law makers intended to place no greater restraint on the citizen than was clearly and unmistakenly indicated by the language they used."[80] Due to such an assumption so favorable to Endo, the Court concluded that since the term "detention" was nowhere to be found in Public Law 503 or the executive orders, the WRA had no statutory power to detain any Japanese American evacuees.[81]

Executive Order 9066 provided in relevant part:

> Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities...
>
> Now, therefore... I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War... to prescribe military areas... from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War... may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War..., and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order.[82]

Judging from the language of Executive Order 9066, the Court determined that the purpose of the presidential decree was to protect this country from espionage and sabotage and that detention was not one of the war measures contemplated against these twin dangers.[83]

Public Law 503, which gave Executive Order 9066 congressional approval, provided in relevant part that "whoever shall enter, remain in, leave, or commit any act in any military area or military zone prescribed, under the authority of an Executive order of the President, by the Secretary of War,... contrary to the restrictions applicable to any such area or zone..., shall... be guilty of a misdemeanor...."[84] Referring to the relevant legislative history, the Court confirmed that the intent of Congress in enacting Public Law 503 was to forestall any acts of espionage and sabotage.[85]

Finally, Executive Order 9102, which established the War Relocation Authority, was also silent about "detention." The presidential decree provided in relevant part:

> 2. The Director of the War Relocation Authority is authorized and directed to formulate and effectuate a program for the removal, from the areas designated... by the Secretary of War... under the authority of Executive Order No. 9066..., of the persons or classes of persons designated under such Executive Order, and for their relocation, maintenance, and supervision.
>
> 3. In effectuating such program the Director shall have authority to:
>
> (a) Accomplish all necessary evacuation not undertaken by the Secretary of War or appropriate military commander, provide for the relocation of such persons in appropriate places, provide for their needs in such manner as may be appropriate, and supervise their activities.[86]

The Court construed the absence of the term "detention" in Public Law 503 and Executive Orders 9066 and 9102 to mean that "detention in Relocation Centers was not part of the original program of evacuation."[87] However, it appears to be a rather far-fetched view that the President authorized the construction of relocation centers in the desolate parts of the country with no intention to detain the evacuated Japanese Americans therein.

Admitting that "initial detention in Relocation Centers was authorized" for the successful execution of the evacuation program, the Court developed a strained theory that such authority to detain must be implied given the absence in Public Law 503 and the executive orders of any reference to such authority.[88] Since the implied authority must be rationally related to the

objective of the war measures adopted against Japanese Americans, the Court concluded that the detention of loyal citizens was not conducive to achieving that objective and thus was unauthorized. No citizen that the government conceded to be loyal to this country should be presumed to engage in espionage or sabotage.[89]

In holding that the WRA must release Endo from the Topaz Relocation Center, the Court emphasized that "[l]oyalty is a matter of the heart and mind, not of race, creed, or color."[90] This hardly seems to be the same Court that upheld the convictions of Yasui, Hirabayashi and Korematsu on the grounds of unjusticiable military necessity and the broad war power vested in the President and Congress. But what would become of the Supreme Court decisions in the three pre-*Endo* cases, should military necessity, the very premise upon which the cases were decided, later prove to have been concocted? When the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in 1982 reported to Congress its finding that there never existed such overriding military necessity on the West Coast in 1942, Minoru Yasui, Gordon Hirabayashi and Fred Korematsu decided to exonerate themselves.

Coram Nobis Cases

It was in the course of exhaustive research undertaken by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians that material evidence came to light disproving the existence in 1942 of the military necessity to indiscriminately impound West Coast Japanese Americans. In late 1982, Aiko Herzig Yoshinaga, an archival researcher on the Commission staff, by chance unearthed in the National Archives a copy of the original version of Gen. DeWitt's *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942*.[91] The Justice Department relied on the revised version of this document to establish military necessity, of which the U.S. Supreme Court took judicial notice in deferring to DeWitt's decision to evacuate the Japanese Americans. The Court in *Korematsu* concluded: "There was evidence of disloyalty on the part of some, the military authorities considered that the need for action was great, and time was short."[92] However, the doctored version of the *Final Report* was materially different from the original which DeWitt had submitted to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and Chief of Staff Gen. George C. Marshall in mid-April, 1943.[93] The unaltered document, which the Commission researcher uncovered in 1982, reveals that it was not the nonjusticiable military urgency but rather DeWitt's racial prejudice that

led to the implementation of the evacuation and internment program.

Fabricated Military Necessity

Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy was concerned about the content of the *Final Report* which DeWitt had printed and distributed without prior consultation with or approval by the War Department. McCloy instructed Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen, Gen. DeWitt's assistant and the architect of the wartime detention program, to revise the document. When informed of such instructions, DeWitt vehemently objected to any revision. On April 27, 1943, he transmitted to Brigadier General James W. Barnett the following message:

> My report as signed and submitted to Chief of Staff will not be changed in any respect whatsoever either in substance or form and I will not *repeat* not consent to any *repeat* any revision made over my signature. Higher authority may of course prepare and release whatsoever they so desire as views of that authority but statements in my signed report of evacuation are mine and so submitted....[94]

Hirabayashi and *Yasui* were argued in the Supreme Court on May 10 and 11, and on May 11, 1943 respectively. As late as May 5, DeWitt was unyieldingly opposed to any revision. On that day, he dispatched the following message to Barnett:

> Have no desire to compromise in any way govt. case in Supreme Court and do not understand how substance and form of report as submitted can have this effect.... Do not understand McCloy's proposal. Report is now factual and I *solemnly* see my views and actions determined as necessary at time of evacuation weakened or undermined if report changes....[95]

By May 9, 1943, however, DeWitt finally succumbed to pressure from the War Department which "proposed" 55 changes.[96] The two most significant changes made in the altered version of the *Final Report*, dated June 5, 1943, concerned the veracity of the government's claim that military urgency warranted the uprooting of the entire West Coast Japanese American community. The War Department deleted from paragraph 2 on page iii the

following sentence: "The security of the Pacific Coast continues to require the exclusion of Japanese from the area now prohibited to them and will continue for the duration of the present war."[97] If retained, such a statement would have been construed as meaning that the Western Defense Command was claiming military necessity for the continued incarceration of Japanese Americans even after the possibility of a Japanese naval attack on the Pacific Coast had completely dissipated. Put another way, such an assertion would have been tantamount to admitting that there was in fact no articulable military necessity to forcibly remove Japanese Americans from their homes at the very time that this extraordinary war measure was taken.

A former savvy Wall Street lawyer,[98] Assistant Secretary McCloy might probably have feared that but for appropriate "editing" of the *Final Report*, the Court would not defer to DeWitt's determination of war exigency as nonjusticiable. Consequently, the deleted statement was substituted by the following passage: "More than 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry resided in colonies adjacent to many highly sensitive installations. Their loyalties were unknown, and time was of the essence."[99]

A second major change made in the revised version of the *Final Report* was so fundamental that it was instrumental in leading the *Hirabayashi* Court to conclude that disloyal Japanese Americans' "number and strength could not be precisely and quickly ascertained," and that "in a critical hour such persons could not readily be isolated and separately dealt with."[100] Expunged from page nine of the initial version of the document was the following passage:

> It was impossible to establish the identity of the loyal and the disloyal with any degree of safety. It was not that there was insufficient time in which to make such a determination; it was simply a matter of facing the realities that a positive determination could not be made, that an exact separation of the "sheep from the goats" was unfeasible.[101]

DeWitt's deleted statements indicated that the military necessity for the mass evacuation arose from the impossibility of distinguishing the loyal from the disloyal among persons of Japanese ancestry. If the military commander had indeed found it impossible for racial reasons to ascertain their loyalty to the United States, the Court would not have deferred to his expertise in such a matter. The determination of individual loyalty would have been justiciable.[102]

The expunged passage was replaced by the following sentence: "To complicate the situation, no ready means existed for determining the loyal and

the disloyal with any degree of safety. It was necessary to face the realities--a positive determination could not have been made."[103] The government's brief submitted to the Court *in re Hirabayashi* faithfully reflected the War Department's "official" view expressed in the altered version of the *Final Report*. The brief read in relevant part: "The operative fact on which the classification was made was the danger arising from the existence of a group of over 100,000 persons of Japanese descent on the West Coast and virtually impossible task of promptly segregating the potentially disloyal from the loyal."[104]

DeWitt was convinced that regardless of how much time the government had to hold individual loyalty hearings, it was by reasons of race impossible, as far as the Japanese Americans were concerned, to segregate the loyal from the disloyal. He then determined that the unascertainableness of their loyalty, rather than the insufficiency of investigatory time, made it militarily necessary to promptly exclude this entire group from the coastal region without due process of law. Through the initial version of the *Final Report*, the War Department knew of DeWitt's true rationale for the evacuation order. However, McCloy was afraid that such a reason would be inadequate to constitute military necessity unreviewable by the judiciary. He therefore ordered a substantial alteration of the original *Final Report* and provided the Justice Department with only the revised version. Ignorant of the existence of the unexpurgated document, the Justice Department successfully argued before the Supreme Court that in the crisis of war, the dearth of time to accurately verify individual loyalty had justified DeWitt's evacuation order as military necessity.[105] On June 21, 1943, the Court decided *Hirabayashi* and *Yasui* in favor of the government.[106]

Unaware of the true nature of "military necessity" as conceived by DeWitt, the prosecution neither deliberately withheld material evidence from defense counsel in *Hirabayashi* and *Yasui*, nor intentionally misled the Court in order to win the convictions of the two Nisei petitioners. Nevertheless, the government should be faulted with the suppression and alteration of substantial evidence, since the War Department, part of the executive branch of the government, perpetrated such egregious misconduct.[107] The War Department's malfeasance in this regard constituted an error "of the most fundamental character,"[108] rendering the petitioners' convictions invalid under the doctrine of *error coram nobis*.

Korematsu v. United States

On September 8, 1942, the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California found Fred Korematsu guilty of violating a civilian exclusion order issued by DeWitt. The Supreme Court affirmed his conviction on December 18, 1944.[109] After material evidence became available establishing prosecutorial impropriety prior to and during his appeal proceedings before the Court, Korematsu filed in the district court a petition for a writ of *error coram nobis* on January 19, 1983 seeking vacation of his 1942 conviction.[110]

The All Writs Act[111] authorizes federal courts to grant *coram nobis* relief. Section 1651(a) of the Act provides: "The Supreme Court and all courts established by Act of Congress may issue all writs necessary or appropriate in aid of their respective jurisdictions and agreeable to the usages and principles of law."[112] A *coram nobis* motion must be heard by the federal district court where the petitioner was convicted.[113] Although the Supreme Court had affirmed the judgment of the trial court, appellate leave was not required for the district court to entertain Korematsu's *coram nobis* petition and to reopen his case.[114]

In his *coram nobis* petition, Korematsu alleged that his conviction and the Supreme Court's affirmance thereof were attributable to the government's willful suppression, destruction, and alteration of material evidence. The petition also asked the district court to find fact based on the newly discovered evidence.[115] Instead of objecting to his petition, the government filed a counter-motion pursuant to Fed. R. Crim. P. 48(a) to vacate Korematsu's wartime conviction, requiring the district court not to review the merits of the petition.[116] Derived from the common law doctrine of *nolle prosequi*, Rule 48(a) provides: "The Attorney General or the United States attorney may by leave of court file a dismissal of an indictment, information or complaint and the prosecution shall thereupon terminate...." Relying on *United States v. Brokaw*,[117] the district court denied the government's counter-motion on the ground that the prosecutor is devoid of the authority to invoke the doctrine of *nolle prosequi* or Rule 48(a) after the petitioner has already served his sentence.[118]

Although the government stopped short of confessing error, its failure to controvert Korematsu's petition founded upon allegations of prosecutorial malfeasance, as well as its willingness to vacate his conviction without specifying the grounds thereof, was "tantamount to a confession of error."[119] The government even conceded that the district court could rightfully take judicial notice of *Personal Justice Denied*, a report submitted to Congress in

1982 by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.[120] This report categorically repudiated military necessity as justification for the mass evacuation and detention of Japanese Americans, ascribing instead the extraordinary wartime measure to "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."[121] However, the court declined to take judicial notice of the Commission's specific findings and conclusions as adjudicative facts in pursuance of Rule 201, Fed. R. Evid.[122]

Where the government agrees to grant relief without any attempt whatsoever to refute the petitioner's allegations, the court need not engage in an extensive inquiry into fact and evidence. In this instance, however, the prosecution did not admit specific errors of fact. The district court, therefore, undertook a limited review of the original record and the recently uncovered evidence with a view toward ascertaining whether they would justify the approval of Korematsu's *coram nobis* petition.[123]

The trial court focused its review on two types of evidence: 1) the Commission report, and 2) recently declassified intragovernmental memoranda. Although the court did not take judicial notice of the Commission's specific findings or conclusions, it nonetheless admitted *Personal Justice Denied* as "public records and reports" under Rule 803(8), Fed. R. Evid. The Commission was created by Congress in 1980 to thoroughly investigate the wartime treatment by the federal government of Japanese Americans. Armed with subpoena power, the Commission took testimony from over 750 former internees, government officials and scholars in 20 days of hearings held across the United States, in addition to conducting exhaustive archival research for a year and a half.[124] In the light of the Commission's legislative mandate and its scope of review, the district court was satisfied that *Personal Justice Denied* met the foundational requirement of trustworthiness under Rule 803(8).[125] The court determined that the report "provides ample support for the conclusion that denial of the motion would result in manifest injustice and that the public interest is served by granting the relief sought."[126]

The second type of evidence the court examined consisted of correspondence exchanged between the War and Justice Departments regarding the content of the government's brief being prepared for *Korematsu* before the Supreme Court. Korematsu submitted such documents to show that the prosecution had knowingly withheld from the Court material evidence contradicting the government's contention of military necessity. The district court admitted in evidence such intragovernmental memoranda and letters under Rule 803(1), Fed. R. Evid., or alternatively Rule 803(16).[127]

DeWitt's *Final Report* enumerated, among other things, radio

transmission and signaling between shore and Japanese submarines as specific examples of Japanese Americans' alleged acts of espionage and sabotage. The Federal Communications Commission investigated all the reported cases of such treasonous activities, none of which was ever confirmed.[128] Justice Department attorney John L. Burling's September 11, 1944 memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Herbert Wechsler attests to the fact that prior to the preparation of the *Korematsu* brief, the government was well aware of the falsity of DeWitt's statements in the *Final Report*. The internal memorandum read in relevant part:

> You will recall that General DeWitt's report makes flat statements concerning radio transmitters and ship-to-shore signaling which are categorically denied by the FBI and by the Federal Communications Commission. There is no doubt that these statements were intentional falsehoods, inasmuch as the Federal Communications Commission reported in detail to General DeWitt on the absence of any illegal radio transmission....
>
> In view of the fact that General DeWitt in his official report on the evacuation has sought to justify it by making important misstatements of fact, I think it important that this Department correct the record insofar as possible and certainly we should not ask the Court to take judicial notice of those facts.[129]

The initial version of the Justice Department's brief for the *Korematsu* case argued before the Supreme Court contained a footnote describing specific activities imputed to Japanese Americans which, in the government's view, laid the foundation for military necessity. Reflecting the prosecution's serious misgivings about the veracity of factual information supplied by DeWitt, the footnote read in relevant part:

> The *Final Report* of General DeWitt... is relied on in this brief for statistics and other details concerning the actual evacuation and the events that took place subsequent thereto. The recital of the circumstances justifying the evacuation as a matter of military necessity, however, is in several respects, particularly with reference to the use of illegal radio transmitters and to shore-to-ship signaling by persons of Japanese ancestry *in*

> *conflict with information in the possession of the Department of Justice*. In view of the contrariety of the reports on this matter we do not ask the Court to take judicial notice of the recital of those facts contained in the Report.[130] (Emphasis added).

Solicitor General Charles Fahy revised, among other parts, the above italicized passage as follows: "in conflict with the views of this Department."[131] The revision was obviously intended to minimize the inaccuracies of the *Final Report*.

Dissatisfied with the Solicitor General's modification, the War Department started pressuring him into making a more drastic revision of the footnote. Upon learning of such inappropriate interference, Edward J. Ennis, Director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit in the Justice Department, sent Assistant Attorney General Wechsler a memorandum imploring him to steadfastly resist the military's meddling in this matter. Ennis wrote about *Final Report*:

> This Department has an ethical obligation to the Court to refrain from citing it [the *Final Report*] as a source of which the Court may properly take judicial notice if the Department knows that important statements in the source are untrue and if it knows as to other statements that there is such contrariety of information that judicial notice is improper....
>
> The general tenor of the report is not only to the effect that there was a reason to be apprehensive, but also to the effect that overt acts of treason were being committed. Since this is not so it is highly unfair to this racial minority that these lies, put out in an official publication, go uncorrected. This is the only opportunity which this Department has to correct them.[132]

Ennis concluded his memorandum with the following entreaty: "If we fail to act forthrightly on our own ground in the courts, the whole historical record of this matter will be as the military choose to state it. The Attorney General should not be deprived of the present, and perhaps only, chance to set the record straight."[133]

In spite of the repeated implorations of Justice Department attorneys to senior officials, the wording of the footnote in question subsequently underwent a fundamental revision in the opposite direction. The final version

of the footnote in the government's brief submitted to the Supreme Court read in pertinent part as follows:

> The *Final Report* of General DeWitt... is relied on in this brief for statistics and other details concerning the actual evacuation and the events that took place subsequent thereto. *We have specifically recited in this brief the facts relating to the justification for the evacuation, of which we ask the Court to take judicial notice, and we rely upon the Final Report only to the extent that it relates to such facts* .[134]

The footnote was completely silent about the findings by the FBI and the Federal Communications Commission that tended to negate the accuracy of DeWitt's *Final Report*.[135] Even more egregious was the fact that the government edited the brief to the extent that such a revision approximated the falsification of evidence. Far from fulfilling its ethical obligation to be truthful to the Supreme Court, the Justice Department requested that the Court take judicial notice of factual data that the Department knew to be false.

Partly as a result of this prosecutorial impropriety, the Supreme Court in *Korematsu* uninquisitively acknowledged "a definite and close relationship"[136] between the Japanese American exclusion and the protection against espionage and sabotage. The Court thus deferred to the military because its experts, "charged with the primary responsibility of defending our shores, concluded that curfew provided inadequate protection and ordered exclusion."[137] Even though the *Korematsu* Court applied strict scrutiny as the standard of review, it held that "[p]ressing public necessity may sometimes justify the existence of such restrictions...."[138] Unfortunately, however, there was no such necessity other than the fabricated military necessity based on false allegations of disloyal acts by Japanese Americans.

Upon limited review of the intragovernmental memoranda submitted by Korematsu in 1983, the district court concluded that the prosecution had withheld such critical contradictory evidence from defense counsel and the Supreme Court that Korematsu's 1942 conviction should be vacated.[139] Relief under the doctrine of *error coram nobis* is available where, as here, "the errors were of the most fundamental character, that is, such as rendered the proceeding itself irregular and invalid."[140] Furthermore, prosecutorial malfeasance constitutes sufficient grounds for granting a *coram nobis* remedy.[141] In granting Korematsu's petition for a writ of *coram nobis*, the

court cautioned that in time of war "the shield of military necessity and national security must not be used to protect governmental actions from close scrutiny and accountability."[142]

Yasui v. United States

On November 16, 1942, Minoru Yasui was convicted in the U.S. District Court for the District of Oregon for violating a curfew order issued by Gen. DeWitt. He was sentenced to a one-year prison term and a $500 fine.[143] Although the Supreme Court on June 21, 1943 affirmed the judgment of the district court with respect to his conviction, the case was remanded for resentencing.[144] On July 14, 1943, his sentence was reduced on remand to 15 days in prison,[145] long after he had already been subjected to solitary confinement for nine months.[146]

Yasui filed a *coram nobis* petition in the district court on February 1, 1983, requesting that the court declare the curfew order unconstitutional in addition to dismissing his indictment and vacating his 1942 conviction. The Justice Department moved to: 1) dismiss his indictment, and 2) vacate his conviction, but 3) dismiss his *coram nobis* petition. The court granted the government's motion on January 26, 1984.[147]

On March 2, 1984, 36 days after the entry of the district court's order, Yasui appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, pursuant to Rule 4 (a)(1), Fed. R. App. P. which permits any party in civil cases to file a notice of appeal within 60 days.[148] On June 25, 1984, the Justice Department filed a motion to dismiss his appeal, under Rule 4 (b) which provides: "In a criminal case the notice of appeal by a defendant shall be filed in the district court within 10 days after the entry of the judgment or order appealed from...." The appellate court held that Yasui failed to timely file his notice of appeal since the 10-day criminal time limit under Rule 4 (b) applied to his *coram nobis* petition, which should be treated as a criminal proceeding.[149] The court relied for the source of its judgment on footnote 4 in *United States v. Morgan* which states that a motion in the nature of a writ of *error coram nobis* "is a step in the criminal case and not... the beginning of a separate civil proceeding."[150]

Yasui died on November 12, 1986. The Supreme Court denied his petition for a writ of *certiorari* on October 5, 1987.[151] His wife filed a petition on his behalf for a rehearing which the Court denied on November 30, 1987.[152]

Hirabayashi v. United States

In early 1983, Gordon Hirabayashi instituted a *coram nobis* action in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington seeking vacation of his 1942 convictions for violating an exclusion order and a curfew provision.[153] Since both sentences ran concurrently, the Supreme Court had reviewed his conviction only on the latter and affirmed it on June 21, 1943.[154]

Although the district court granted Hirabayashi's petition to vacate his conviction for failure to evacuate, it refused to set aside his curfew conviction. The court decided that the burden arising from compliance with the curfew order was "relatively mild when contrasted with the harshness of the exclusion order."[155] In the court's view, prosecutorial misconduct in the appeal proceedings before the Supreme Court was not "an error of the most fundamental character with respect to the curfew count," nor was it "actually prejudicial to petitioner with respect to that count."[156]

On September 24, 1987, a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit affirmed the order of the district court to vacate Hirabayashi's exclusion conviction and reversed the lower court's decision not to set aside his curfew conviction.[157] The appeals court predicated its conclusion on the theory that since the Supreme Court had justified both exclusion and curfew orders by military necessity, the collapse of that fictitious postulate should warrant vacation of both of Hirabayashi's convictions.[158]

In November, 1987, the Justice Department filed a petition in the appellate court, seeking a rehearing. The Justice Department argued in the petition that: "It is one thing to say that, in retrospect in 1987, the facts recited could not justify the racial classification that was at issue in *Hirabayashi*, but it is quite another to assume, as did the panel, that in 1943 the Supreme Court declined to look at the facts and blindly deferred to the government's assertion that its conduct was justified."[159] On December 24, 1987, the appeals court denied the Justice Department's petition for a rehearing *en banc*.[160] Since the Justice Department did not appeal to the Supreme Court within the statutory 60-day period,[161] the ninth circuit's holding is final regarding the vacation of Hirabayashi's wartime convictions for curfew and exclusion violations.

Although the Japanese American community was forever deprived of an opportunity to have the Supreme Court reconsider its decisions in *Yasui*, *Hirabayashi*, and *Korematsu*, the appellate court's ruling in favor of Hirabayashi invalidates by implication any precedential authority that the three wartime cases may have had. It took these three Nisei men four

decades to prove that the government had violated their constitutional rights during World War II. Fortunately, they lived long enough to exonerate themselves against overwhelming odds. Depending on how one looks at it, the American judicial system is either so fair that justice is eventually done,[162] or so unfair that only exceptional individuals, such as Minoru Yasui, Gordon Hirabayashi and Fred Korematsu, can ultimately prevail. Lamentably, however, their victories in the *coram nobis* cases are exceptions to the rule.

Civil Liberties Act of 1988

On September 17, 1987, the House of Representatives finally passed, by a 243 to 141 vote, a redress bill, H.R. 442, to implement the recommendations made in 1982 by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Due to the catastrophic stock market crash on "Black Monday" in October, 1987, however, it was not until April 22, 1988 that the Senate passed its version, S. 1009. On August 10, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed into law the bill commonly known as the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.

The Act had four major purposes pertinent to Japanese Americans:

> 1) To acknowledge the fundamental injustice of the wartime evacuation and detention of U.S. citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry.
>
> 2) To apologize on behalf of the American people for the evacuation and internment of such persons.
>
> 3) To establish a public education fund to prevent such occurrences by better educating the public.
>
> 4) To provide monetary compensation for former Japanese American internees.[163]

In the preamble to the Civil Liberties Act, the Congress acknowledged:

> [A] grave injustice was done to both citizens and permanent resident aliens of Japanese ancestry by the evacuation, relocation, and internment of civilians during World War II... The excluded individuals of Japanese ancestry suffered enormous damages, both material and intangible, and there

> were incalculable losses in education and job training, all of which resulted in significant human suffering for which appropriate compensation has not been made. For these fundamental violations of the basic civil liberties and constitutional rights of these individuals of Japanese ancestry, the Congress apologizes on behalf of the Nation.[164]

The Congress of the United States thus officially recognized the unconstitutionality of the wartime measures taken against the West Coast Japanese Americans, and offered an official apology for the deprivation of their constitutional rights at the hands of their own government.

The most important provision of the Act, however, was a $20,000 restitution for each of the approximately 60,000 survivors of the internment camps who were alive when President Reagan signed the Act into law, or for their heirs in the event of the former internees' subsequent deaths. The Act authorized the appropriation of $1.25 billion over a ten-year period starting with fiscal 1990, not to exceed $500,000 per year. It is important to note that the acceptance by eligible Japanese Americans of such compensation will constitute full satisfaction of any and all claims against the United States arising from its wartime measures instituted against this group.[165] In other words, the recipients of the $20,000 restitution will have to waive their right to sue the government for damages on the same causes of action.

Nonetheless few people foresaw the possibility that the Act itself could be meaningless as it related to monetary compensation unless Congress annually appropriated sufficient funds for this purpose. When President Reagan disclosed on January 9, 1989 his budget for fiscal 1990, it allocated only $20 million to provide compensation for merely 1,000 individuals under the Civil Liberties Act.

In response to the Japanese American Citizens League's inquiry as to why the proposed funds were so meager, Joseph R. Wright, Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), incorrectly stated that the Justice Department was not ready to start payments ecause enough eligible individuals had not been identified. The fact of the matter was that by that time, the Office of Redress Administration in the Justice Department had already located a sufficient number of eligible recipients to expend up to $500 million for the 1990 fiscal year.[166] To make matters worse, the OMB naively or maliciously misinterpreted a provision of the Civil Liberties Act as meaning that no payment could start until and unless the oldest eligible person was identified.[167] The provision in question, Section 105(b) Order of Payments,

simply states:

> The Attorney General shall endeavor to make payments under this section to eligible individuals in the order of date of birth (with the oldest individual on the date of the enactment of this Act... receiving full payment first)....[168]

It was obvious that this section simply meant that monetary compensation should be provided to former internees in the order of seniority. If correct, the OMB's interpretation would produce an absurd result of withholding all payments until the "oldest" eligible recipient was discovered, which of course might never happen.

The House of Representatives subsequently increased redress appropriations to $50 million to provide compensation for approximately 1,300 victims of the wartime incarceration 90 years of age and over. Surprisingly, the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee appropriated no funds for fiscal 1990, but voted on September 12, 1989 to make funding for the Civil Liberties Act a three-year entitlement program beginning in fiscal 1991.[169] Under this arrangement, the redress compensation program would no longer be subjected to the whims of Congress each year at the time of appropriations bills.

At the urging of Senator Daniel Inouye, the Senate approved an entitlement program which would automatically receive $1.25 billion over three years for redress payments.[170] Although the payments would not commence until October 1, 1990, Senator Inouye emphasized the advantage of the entitlement program by stating:

> I believe that this approach ensures that all internees will receive payments as quickly as possible. It also avoids a difficult annual appropriations struggle, pitting reparations payments against funding for other government programs.[171]

Since the House and Senate differed on funding for the Civil Liberties Act, a conference committee had to work out a compromise for final approval. On October 19, 1989, the Senate-House conference committee approved the Senate version of a federal entitlement program.[172]

On October 26, 1989, the House of Representatives approved by a 323-81 vote a conference report on the $17.2 billion appropriations bill for Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary, which contained the entitlement program for the redress payments.[173] The Senate approved the conference

report on November 8[174], and the appropriations bill was signed into law by President George Bush on November 21.[175]

The long overdue personal compensation for the survivors of America's concentration camps will soon become a reality. However, about 200 prospective beneficiaries have been passing away every month.[176] Over 60,000 former internees died prior to the enactment of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. An additional 5,000 eligible persons will have passed away by the time the first payments are mailed in October, 1990.[177] Representative Robert Matsui who was one of the four Japanese American members of Congress who had tirelessly, fearlessly, and successfully fought for the passage of the redress bill, poignantly expressed the sentiments of the Japanese American community:

> My heart sinks for the many internees who don't live to see their payment. Once again, we have been forced to accept a postdated check--one that unfortunately will never reach thousands of internees who will die before the first payments are made.[178]

For many people, justice done too late is no justice at all.

United States v. Hohri: The Ending

On May 11, 1988, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit to which the U.S. Supreme Court had remanded *United States v. Hohri*, disposed of the Japanese American litigants' appeal. The circuit court rejected the appeal by affirming the district court's decision that the class action was barred by the six-year statute of limitations.[179] Although William Hohri and other petitioners appealed from the circuit court's decision, the Supreme Court denied their petition for a writ of *certiorari*[180] on October 31, 1988, after ascertaing that President Reagan had signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 into law, and that Congress had thereby publicly apologized to the Japanese Americans for the wartime violations of their constitutional rights. The Supreme Court thereby permanently denied the former internees their day in court.[181]

Conclusion

Yasui, *Hirabayashi*, and *Korematsu* seem to suggest that the Supreme

Court needs to develop a new standard of review in dealing with the disparate treatment of a racial minority group in a wartime emergency. Although the most rigid scrutiny was applied in the Japanese American evacuation cases, the Court fatally compromised this by blindly and readily deferring to military necessity which four decades later proved to have been a sham. The Court, in racial discrimination cases, must not only use the strict scrutiny standard, but should also subject to the same standard of review any wartime measures as they apply to a particular racial group. This proposed standard of review does not apply to strictly strategic maneuvers that affect civilians in general.

In spite of such a new standard of review, there may be no assurance that the government will not again perpetrate such unethical conduct as concealing, altering, or destroying material evidence in dealing with the courts. Should such acts occur, prosecutorial impropriety could remain shielded as long as governmental documents are classified. *Hohri* and the *coram nobis* cases show that even if critical contradictory evidence comes to light 40 years later, the courts could still refuse, on trivial technicalities, to determine the merits of the cases involved. Under these circumstances, the suit by a racial minority group against the government might often result in no justice, with or without a new standard of review.

The deprivation of Japanese Americans' constitutional rights took place nearly 50 years ago. More than one half of the victims have already died and their number keeps diminishing every month. In view of the egregious nature of prosecutorial malfeasance and the horrendous extent of personal injustice suffered by Japanese Americans, the Supreme Court should have reviewed *Hohri* on its merits to decide once and for all the issue of compensability. Instead, the Court repeatedly refused to review the case by reason of jurisdictional and statutory limitations in the hope that the legislation would provide a much more expedient and less costly resolution of an important constitutional problem. The nation's highest court again deferred, as it did during World War II, to the whims and judgments of the executive and legislative branches of government. As a result, the Japanese Americans had no choice but to accept less than half a loaf of bread even 50 years after the national infamy.

The wartime experience of Japanese Americans is neither a thing of the past nor a problem peculiar to this group. Similar things could have happened or could happen in the future to other racial groups under different circumstances. Because of inveterate systemic flaws, American democracy can malfunction from time to time, especially with respect to non-white populations. Even a flawless Bill of Rights, if applied in a discriminatory

manner, would not be able to guarantee every person the equal protection of the laws. Furthermore, if the participants in the judicial and legislative processes are consciously or unconsciously susceptible to racial prejudice, an otherwise sound system could sometimes produce unfair or absurd results.

The lessons to be learned from the unconstitutional treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II and their subsequent struggle with the courts and the federal government ought to be national in their applicability. We must educate students and the general public about the tragedy that befell Japanese Americans and, for that matter, the entire nation, in order to prevent such egregious violations of the United States Constitution from ever occurring to any persons. Only by learning from our past mistakes can this nation come closer to achieving justice and equality for all.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

AMY AGBAYANI is a program officer in the Office of the Vice President, University of Hawaii, Manoa

JOHN GOLDEN is coordinator of Title IX projects, Aurora (Colorado) School District

KEIKO KODA is an associate professor in the Department of Linguistics, Ohio University

LLOYD KUNIYOSHI is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii, Manoa

ROSALIND MAU is a project coordinator and researcher in the Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, Manoa

SAMUEL PENG is acting associate commissioner, Postsecondary Education Statistics Division, National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education

MICHAEL POWER is an evaluation specialist in the Hawaii State Department of Education

ELIZABETH SKARTVEDT is a community corrections specialist in the Jefferson County (Colorado) Department of Community Corrections

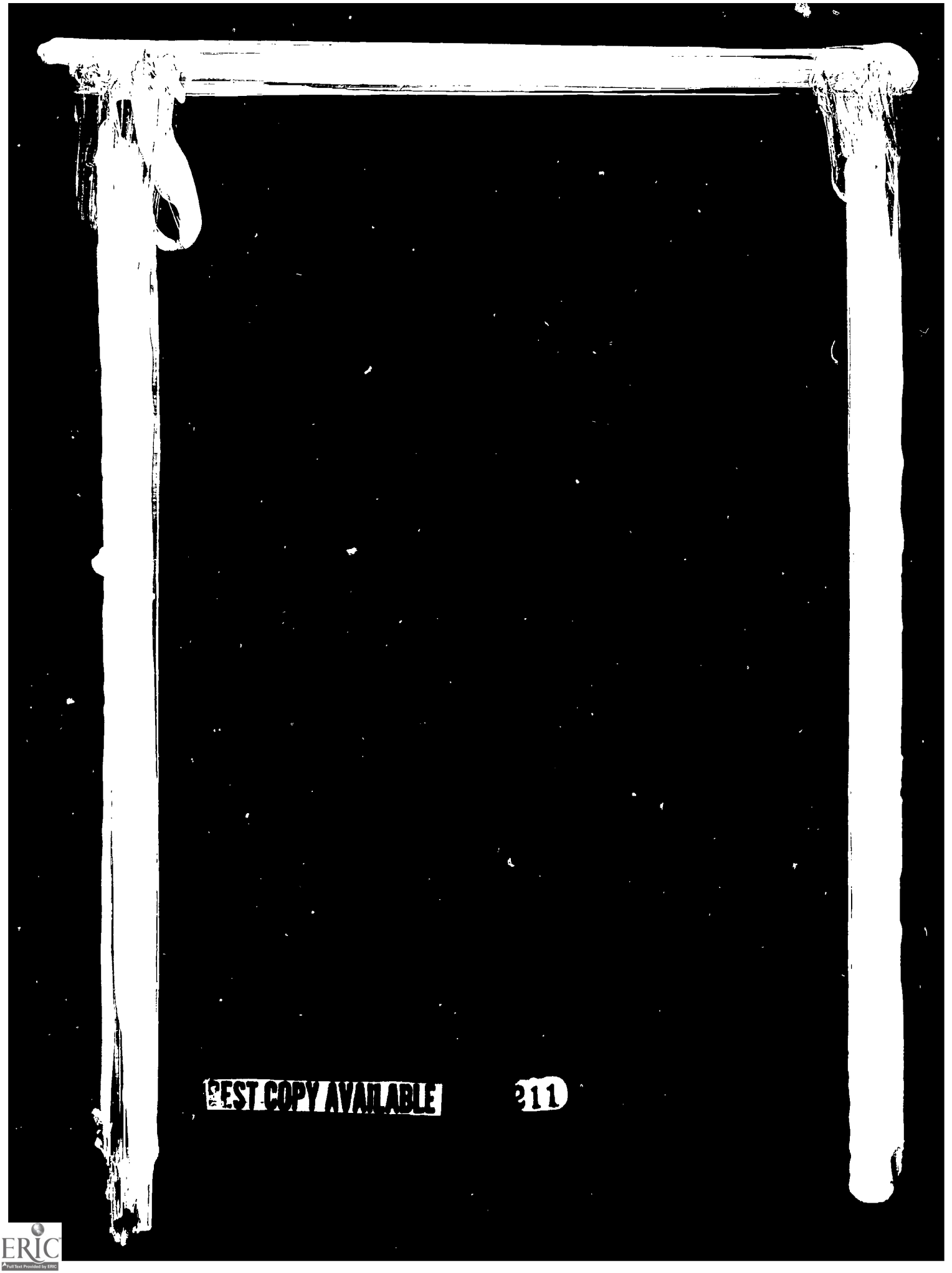
BOB SUZUKI is vice president for academic affairs, California State University, Northridge

DAVID TAKEUCHI is associate director of the National Research Center on Asian American Mental Health, University of California, Los Angeles

NOBUYA TSUCHIDA is director of the Office for Minority and Special Student Affairs, University of Minnesota

PETER VAN ARSDALE is a refugee and immigrant specialist in the Colorado Division of Mental Health and an adjunct associate professor in the School of International Studies, University of Denver

CHRISTINE YOSHINAGA-ITANO is an associate professor in the Department of Communication Disorders and Speech Science, University of Colorado, Boulder


BEST COPY AVAILABLE
211

END

U.S. Dept. of Education

Office of Educational
Research and Improvement (OERI)

ERIC

Date Filmed
January 12, 1994

FL021409

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

REPRODUCTION RELEASE

(Specific Document)

I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title	CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN EDUCATION
Author(s)	Russell Endo Sally Chow, Virgie Chatterjy, Nobuya Tsuchida.
Corporate Source	(NAAPAE) NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN EDUCATION
Publication Date	Dec. 1990

II. REPRODUCTION RELEASE:

In order to disseminate as widely as possible timely and significant materials of interest to the educational community, documents announced in the monthly abstract journal of the ERIC system, *Resources in Education* (RIE), are usually made available to users in microfiche, reproduced paper copy, and electronic/optical media, and sold through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS) or other ERIC vendors. Credit is given to the source of each document, and, if reproduction release is granted, one of the following notices is affixed to the document.

If permission is granted to reproduce the identified document, please CHECK ONE of the following options and sign the release below.

☑	Sample sticker to be affixed to document	Sample sticker to be affixed to document ☐
Check here Permitting microfiche (4 x 6" film), paper copy, electronic, and optical media reproduction	PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY Sample TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)	"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY Sample TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)" **or here** Permitting reproduction in other than paper copy
	Level 1	**Level 2**

Sign Here, Please

Documents will be processed as indicated provided reproduction quality permits. If permission to reproduce is granted, but neither box is checked, documents will be processed at Level 1.

"I hereby grant to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) nonexclusive permission to reproduce this document as indicated above. Reproduction from the ERIC microfiche or electronic/optical media by persons other than ERIC employees and its system contractors requires permission from the copyright holder. Exception is made for non-profit reproduction by libraries and other service agencies to satisfy information needs of educators in response to discrete inquiries."

Signature	Position: Director
Printed Name: Daniel S. Chen	Organization: Pacific Asia Press
Address: P.O. Box 9118 10937 Klingerman St. S. El Monte, CA 91733	Telephone Number: (818) 575-1000
	Date: 6-29-93

OVER