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**Differences in the Involvement of European American Parents and Korean  
Immigrant Parents in Young Children's Extracurricular Activities**

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**Differences in the Involvement of European American Parents and Korean  
Immigrant Parents in Young Children's Extracurricular Activities**

**by**

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**Thesis**

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

**Master of Arts**

**The University of Texas at Austin**

**December 2012**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

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This study investigated views, beliefs, and values about extracurricular activities of two sets of parents, Korean immigrant parents and American U.S. born parents, both groups of middle or higher class socioeconomic status with above college degrees. By examining how parents perceive their own involvement in their children's extracurricular activities and how differently parents of recent immigration from Korea or of established European American descent become involved with their children's activities, parents' motivation and their role emerged using self-determination theory as a basis to explain the internalization underlying self-determined motivation. Participants in this study were 31 parents (approximately 10 each from 3 activity groups) associated with three extracurricular activities for young children. This study used a mixed-methods approach. First, the degree to which parents perceived their involvement based on parental support or pressure, the two factors from Anderson et al. (2003), were surveyed. Second,

semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to elicit in-depth information from three parents for each activity, selecting them based on their responses to the survey. The findings suggested that parents expect their children to find their own interest, build competence, and ultimately acquire autonomy by engaging in extracurricular activities. In terms of cultural differences, the results revealed that though there are cultural differences in their involvement, these parents were aware of possible gaps and strove to close these gaps to help their children.

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## **Chapter1: Introduction**

### **Background and Significance**

When I was taking the course ‘Psychology of learning’, one assignment involved a Learning Project. For the project, I had to choose one learning situation and describe why I had chosen it and how, when, where the learning experiences had occurred. At the time, I chose my son’s Korean learning as my topic. The title of my project was “Why does Aiden (pseudonym) go to Korean school and how can his parents help Aiden to internalize better Korean writing, based on the concept of ‘Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation’?” Originally, the aim of this project was to understand the complexity of influences that emerges when learning is taking place. But, the project brought my attention to considering the relationship between parents’ and a child’s motivation when they sign up for extracurricular activities or how they continue doing those activities. For an adult, one can take a class or practice on one’s own within the budget and time when the person’s passionate for learning something. But, for a young child, the decision process should differ, and I wanted to study the different motivational aspects involved. I extended my observations to my son’s activities other than learning Korean, such as swimming, violin, Taekwondo, soccer, Cub Scout activity, and summer camps.

As I reflect, at first, I did not realize that there might be so many different parental involvement styles: how much or how differently parents get involved in their children’s activities. I assumed that most parents would want to help children’s development as much as they could. However, I found some differences among the degree and style of parent support through my observations.

First, some parents were focused on building children's individual skills such as playing instruments, athletic abilities, math, or language arts while other parents were concentrating more on participating in team sports or orchestra with those skills. Secondly, some parents were participating in their children's team activities as a coach or staff, while other parents were supporting their children's activities in the back seat. Lastly, some parents helped with everything on behalf of their children, while other parents saw activities from a distance and let children prepare themselves for their own activities. In terms of children's responses, on the other hand, some children seemed to enjoy their activities, while other children were busy reading their parents' countenance. Some children seemed to obey parents' order, while other children were urging their parents to allow them to quit.

I became more curious: how are children being motivated for engaging in activities? How much were their parents' motivations related? How did children find their motivation for particular activities? I also sensed there were some differences among parents' ethnic identities. Among activities, the involvement styles of parents in Korean School were much different from those in Cub Scout activities consisting of European American parents. I wanted to know where such differences came from and how such differences influence their children's motivations. Thus, I decided to study systemically parenting style, and different ways to influence children's motivation.

From an interest in how parents' different ways of being involved in their children's extracurricular activities might influence children's affect, I found the Parental Involvement in Activities scale (PIAS) developed by Anderson, Funk, Elliot and Smith (2003) to measure two factors, *support* and *pressure*. The scale is designed to measure children's perceptions of their parents' involvement. In this study, I used a modified

version of the PIAS to measure parents' perceptions of their involvement in the children's activities of two ethnic groups. My assumption was that studying parental involvement in young children's extracurricular activities would be worthwhile because parents play an important role in fostering children's motivation. Ryan and Deci (2000) introduced a subtheory of self-determination theory (SDT), referred to as Organismic Integration Theory (OIT), how individuals internalize various extrinsic motivations. It shows a motivational continuum, labeled as amotivation, external regulation, introjection, identification, integration and finally intrinsic regulation. Ryan and Deci pointed out that because not all activities are designed to be as intrinsically interesting, a central concern is the moving toward increasing self determination by fostering the *internalization* and *integration* of values and behavioral regulations. In this process, Ryan and Deci (2000) emphasize the role of teachers, parents, and other socializers that can lead children to internalize and sense the value of extrinsic goals.

Therefore, by asking and interviewing parents about what they think and perceive about their involvement in their children's activities, I hoped to understand better how parents would support their children's activities, using SDT as a basic to explain the internalization underlying self-determined motivation.

### **Statement of the problem**

Parents play an important role in fostering children's motivation. According to Self-determination theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985ab, 2000, 2008), children are intrinsically curious and enjoy learning for the joy that brings them and internalize values, behaviors, and attitudes from the in social environment. If children are intrinsically motivated, they will be

more likely to challenge experience and want to continue participation (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Deci & Ryan, 1985b). Also, self-determination theory emphasizes the role of the social context, which can either encourage or undermine children's motivation and internalization. In this sense, parents would be the first mirrors for children because most children start to learn from their parents. They walk like their parents walk, they eat like their parents eat, they speak like their parents' speak and so on so forth. In addition, when children differentiate their motivation to optimal challenge, parents may encourage them, help them, and help them find the way. Thus, it is very obvious that parent involvement plays a critical role in fostering children's motivation.

Then, what makes parents get involved in their children's development? How do they perceive their role in children's education? Parental involvement in education has been an area of interest in the United States since the turn of the nineteenth century. Parental involvement is referred as to how knowledgeable and active are parents in their children's lives (Gonzalez & Wolters, 2006). Many researchers, including Hoover-Dempsey wanted to clarify the reason why parents become involved in their children's education. According to Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's model (1995, 1997 as modified; Walker et al., 2005), there are three major sets of contributors to parents' involvement: parents' motivational beliefs, parents' perceptions of invitations to involvement, and parents' life-context variables. In other words, not only would parents influence children's motivation, but also parents are motivated and influenced by many variables.

However, the extant literature is mainly focused on student's outcome and school policies (Fan & Chen, 2001; Greenwood & Walker, 1994; Reynolds, 1992). Parents are being treated just as one of components of the parents-school-community (Berger, 1981, 1987).

Research is focused on how important the three components in the partnership are in encouraging student academic performance from the school's viewpoint. Parents are different from school and community in that they are individuals. In other words, a family is composed of individuals who have special relationships. Thus, it is worth examining parents' motivation and roles in children's education separate from those of the school and the community. In this sense, it is necessary to investigate what variables motivate parents, what variables motivate new parents, and what variables do not motivate parents to be involved in children's education from the perspective of parent-oriented in today's educational environment. Especially, parents who are recent immigrants or not mainstream may feel barriers to access social relations and resources, which affect their participation in dominant social institutions such as school and community (Bourdieu, 1986; Wang, 2008). In the United States, around a quarter of parents are immigrants with diversified cultural background (Elmelech et al., 2002). In 2000, one out of every five children under the age of 18 in the United States was estimated to have at least one foreign-born parent (Elmelech et al., 2002). In this sense, we should consider how foreign-born parents perceive their role and motivation (Elmelech et al., 1998).

In addition, surprisingly the extant research has focused on parental involvement in higher grades, even though elementary school parents were more likely to feel that they are very involved in children's school life than secondary school parents (Brian, 1994; Gonzalez, 2002; Falbo, Lein &, 2001; Keith, 1991; Wang, Wildman, & Calhoun, 1996). This focus is probably due to the fact that many researchers are worried that parental involvement declines as children are growing up because they believed that parental involvement brings up positive outcome for even adolescents or high school students. Or, it may be easier to measure perceived parental involvement and academic performance for students in higher grades.



However, for young children, it is obvious that parents' role and motivation play a more crucial role in their lives. Therefore, parents' role and motivation for young children should be investigated with in-depth and multi dimensional perspectives, even though it is may be difficult to measure.

The last but not least rationale comes from the fact that parents' roles and motivations should reflect extant social change. Today, parents can find and share information with the development of Internet. The majority of today's parents search for both information and social support on the Internet (Plantin & Daneback, 2009). In addition, as what is seen is not everything, parent involvement at school does not represent all of parents' motivations for getting involved. There is a wide range of extracurricular activity programs, and children participate in activities for many reasons even as extracurricular activity programs are increasing in number and popularity in U.S. To illustrate, 15% of children currently participate in afterschool programs, a 4% increase from 2004 according to survey in 2005 by U.S. Department of Education. Children attend extracurricular activities in order to improve their personal skills, as well as their self-esteem (Bluehardt & Shephard, 1995; Broh, 2002; Grantham & Ford, 2003). There are various types of extracurricular activities. According to Child Trends Data Bank, 31% students who are doing activities participate in sports, 20 % do religious activities, 18% do arts, 10% do scouts, 8% do community services, 7% do academic activities, and 6% do school clubs. When engaging their children in activities, parents should consider class schedule, location, price, and juggling with schedules of other siblings, and safety (Eccles, 2005). Further, perceptions of extracurricular activities are varied. While some parents perceive that doing activities may making children take time from family ties, other parents perceive that doing activities brings multiple positive benefits for children's

development( Holland & Andre,1987). In this complicated and varied decision making process, parents of young children have to choose the best program for their children. In addition, even if children have expressed their interest in particular activities, parents need to regard all other factors such as location, schedule, price, and safety. Therefore, examining the process of choosing and maintaining extracurricular activities is a good way to learn how much parents' motivations are related, and what kind of roles they play.

### **Purpose of the study**

Parental involvement research suggested many potential benefits in education (Bandura, 1999; Elish-Piper, 2008; Hoover-Dempsey et al, 1997). Specifically, there are many studies on parental involvement and how it is related to the following motivational constructs: school engagement, intrinsic/extrinsic motivation, perceived competence, perceived control, self-regulation, mastery goal orientation, and motivation to read (Gonzalez-DeHass, 2005; Hoover-Demsey, 1995; Grolnick et al.1991; Grolnick & Slowiaczek 1994; Grolnick 2009). Also, there are studies on parent involvement across ethnicities (Chao, 2001; Choi et al., 1994; Taylor, Hinton & Wilson, 1995; Steinberg et al., 1992). There have been numerous studies of academic outcomes within the school system, but those are limited to explaining how differently parents from diverse ethnic culture get involved in children's development. English-learning and recent immigrant parents may feel low interest in researching extracurricular activities taking place outside of school activities. So, I chose extracurricular activities to examine how parents perceive their motivation and role for their children. In addition, the extant research suggested that one important developmental context is the after-school hours, as youth spend over 50% of their waking hours outside of school (Larson & Verma, 1999).

Extracurricular activities, including structured after-school programs and community-based programs, are an important part of these hours. In general, involvement in organized out-of-school contexts is associated with positive academic achievement, social development, and psychological functioning; participation in unsupervised and/or unstructured contexts in the after-school hours is related to higher risk behavior and poorer academic outcomes (Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Because of the potential benefits of involvement in organized contexts, it is important to examine how parents can get and keep their children engaged in these settings. In addition, the concepts of extracurricular activities are not clear for foreign-born parents. In some countries this concept is not developed and the concept in some countries differs from that of the United States. How do such parents perceive the concept of extracurricular activities? What kinds of activities are their children involved in? Are there differences between immigrant and American children? In terms of activities, what are parents' goals for them through extracurricular activities? What kinds of culture differences would influence their motivation?

Given those questions, I investigated views, beliefs, and values about extracurricular activities of two sets of parents, Korean immigrant parents and American parents who were born in the U.S, both groups of middle or higher class socioeconomic status with above college degree. The reason that my study is limited to middle or high class is that I would like to examine parents' motivation and their role when there are no structural obstacles such as family structure and SES as well as to obtain a clearer picture of the cultural differences between two ethnic groups. Many studies confound SES and culture by comparing cultural groups that are of different SES groups. Furthermore, with these findings, future studies should

then include parents of more modest SES levels to identify what distinctions exist between these parents' motivations and parental involvement.

Thus, in doing this study, I am hoping refine and expand the literature on parental involvement types beyond school to know more about parents' motivation for their children's education. Prior research has reported that perceived parental involvement predicted children's affect, their enjoyment and anxiety, experienced during their activities. In my study, I sought to build on these findings, extending them to a cross-cultural comparison of parents' views and perceptions.

### **Research Questions**

With these interests, I make the following assumptions: a) young children (6 to 8 years old) are growing in independence but still are under the control of their parents and other adults when it comes to many aspects of their lives; b) parents play an important role in not only signing up children for extracurricular activities but also encouraging the internalization and integration of values and behavior regulation that such activities foster, and c) parents with different cultural background may have different parenting style when it comes to their views and goals for their children's extracurricular activities. With these assumptions as backdrop, this study addressed the following research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of study participants about their children's extracurricular activities?
2. What are differences between American and Korean parents in terms of their goal for children's participation in extracurricular activities?

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

In this chapter, I present some of the existing literature that applies to my study. This chapter reviews relevant literature from past to present in four sections. The first section attends to parental involvement. More specifically, definitions of parental involvement are reviewed along with previous research. In addition, research findings on relationships between parental involvement and other variables are introduced. Second section reviews motivation theory. In this section, self determination theory is introduced as a guiding conceptual framework for the study. Thirdly, it covers immigrant parents' experiences. This section includes the experiences of Korean American families in the U.S. education, along with research findings pertaining to Korean American parental involvement. Factors contributing to Asian American parental involvement are also examined. In the last section, I review research on extracurricular activities.

### **Parental Involvement**

#### **Statistics of parental involvement.**

According to data come from the 1997 Child Development Supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, children aged 6 to 8 spend 32 out of a total of 168 hours per week at school. In other words, they spend 80% of their time with their parents at home or outside besides school hours (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001a). While some parents would play and help children's homework with children in direct ways, other parents would monitor what children do in less direct ways. It would have been changed through many decades as well.

Then, how has change in the family have affected parental time with children? Even though more single parenting and mother's employment rate have increased mean time, both mothers and fathers report spending greater amounts of time in child care activities in the late 1990s than in the "family-oriented" 1960s (Bianchi, 2000; Sayer et al., 2004).

Statistics showed that nearly all public elementary and middle schools in the United States encouraged parents to attend activities that were designed to foster parental involvement. According to the survey, 97 percent of schools invited parents to attend an open house or back-to-school night, 92 percent scheduled parent-teacher conferences, 96 percent hosted arts events, 85 percent sponsored athletic events, and 84 percent had science fairs (Carey et al. 1998).

Traditionally, parental involvement decreases during middle school (Baker 2000a, b; Davis & Rambie 2005; Downs 2001). Downs (2001) reported that parents of middle school students are only half as likely as the parents of elementary school students to attend student conferences. In a review of middle school literature investigating the possible contributors to decreased parental involvement during early adolescence, Davis and Lambie (2005) found that discouraging parental involvement from early adolescence because of developmental changes, family life-cycle issues, and potential systemic parental involvement in school activities and academics lower the participation of parents in their children's academic and social life at school. Overall, elementary schools provide more concrete roles for parents in students' education as compared to the middle school level (Brough & Irvin, 2001).

### **Definitions of parental involvement.**

There are many ways a parent can be involved in child education. Likewise, there are a large number of books, journal articles, and reports on the subject of parental involvement about children's education. These writings are not only including research reports, expert opinions, theory papers, but also include program descriptions, and guidelines for setting up programs. In other word, studies about how to get involved with children's education have been regarded as important issue for both practitioners and rhetoricians. The variety of definitions identified in the literature stem from the highly context specific nature of parental involvement and the complexity of its conceptualization and operationalization. Mostly, traditional definitions of parental involvement refer to parents' participation in their children's education such school-based activities as attending or volunteering school activities, helping homework (Greenwood, 1991; Rhine, 1981).

It is interesting to note that a more recent definition of parental involvement carries with it a different framework and consequence implications. Recent studies have extended its focus to outside of school, embracing a variety of parental involvement practices not only in schools but also in the home and the community (Pianta et al., 2001 ;Warren et al.,2009). There are three main concepts and additional recent works that are influential for parental involvement.

***Grolnick and Slowiaczek's definition.***

Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) conceptualized three dimensions of parental involvement based on how parent-child interactions affect students' schooling and motivation. Behavioral involvement refers to parents' public actions such as volunteering

and attending an open house. Cognitive/intellectual involvement refers to behaviors that promote children's skill development and knowledge, such as reading books and going to museums. Personal involvement designates conveying positive attitudes and values about education and learning to the child (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994). Parental involvement, according to this theory, affects student achievement because these interactions affect students' motivation, their sense of competence, and the belief that they have control over their success in school.

***Epstein's definition.***

Epstein (1995, 2001) argued that school, family, and community are important "spheres of influence" on children's development and that a child's educational development is enhanced when these three environments work collaboratively toward shared goals. Epstein encouraged schools to create greater "overlap" between the school, home, and community.

Epstein (1995, 2001) developed six types of involvement across schools, home, and community based on what role schools and teachers can play in creating parental involvement. The typology includes parenting, communication, volunteering, learning at home, collaboration with the community, and decision making. Epstein's taxonomy is unique in that it emphasizes the overlapping scopes of school, home, and community (Cristenson & Sheridan, 2001).

The first type, parenting, indicates providing children a positive home environment particularly by ensuring basic levels of support such as health, nutrition, and discipline. Parents are also expected to instill the importance of learning and education.



The second type, home-school communication, takes place in various forms, including parent-teacher conferences, school newsletters, report cards, and phone contact. For example, parent-teacher conferences allow parents and teachers to discuss student's progress and problems. Parents may also gain information about school programs through school newsletters.

The third type, volunteering, indicates parents' support and assistance of school programs through volunteering in classrooms and attending school events. Parents' participation in school activities not only enhances school programs, but also promotes communications between parents and school personnel, as to students' progress and schooling information.

The fourth type, learning at home, involves parents' providing supervision and helping with their child's schoolwork in the home environment. For instance, parents stimulate children's academic achievement at home by assisting with their homework, having conversations about their school learning, and giving reinforcement on their school performance.

The fifth type, decision-making, refers to a collaborative process where parents share their views and ideas about school programs with school 23 personnel by joining various school governing organizations, such as parent advisory councils and the Parent Teacher Association (PTA). Parents' involvement in these organizations encourages parents to learn about school policies and programs. Further, parents can develop their skills as advocates and leaders by sharing their opinions and making joint decisions with school personnel.

The sixth type, collaboration with the community, highlights that schools and parents work together with community organizations in order to identify and allocate resources necessary to facilitate students' educational success. For instance, parents benefit from services such as after-school programs, childcare, and summer tutoring programs to support their child's learning. By implementing activities across all six types of involvement, educators can help improve student achievement and experiences in school.

***Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's definition.***

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, and 2005) argue that involvement practices are shaped by parental beliefs about parenting roles in a child's school education, as well as opportunities for involvement provided by schools. According to Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, and 2005), the forms of parental involvement are greatly influenced by a) parents' construction of parenting roles in their child's life, b) parents' sense of efficacy to facilitate child's educational success, and c) general expectations and occasions for parental involvement that are ensured by the child and the child's school (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; 1997; 2005). In this theory, when parents get involved, children's schooling is influenced through their acquisition of knowledge, skills, and an increased sense of confidence that they can succeed in school.

***Recent works of definitions.***

Fan and Chen (2001) conducted a meta-analysis to synthesize the quantitative literature of parental involvement and found that there are four constructs of parental

involvement: (1) communication, (2) home supervision, (3) educational aspiration for children, and (4) school contact and participation. Communication refers to parents' frequent and systematic discussions with their children about schoolwork. Supervision includes monitoring when students return home from school and what they do after school, overseeing time spent on homework and the extent to which children watch television. School contact and participation includes volunteering and attending school events. As a result, they found that parental expectations are strongly associated with children's academic achievement.

Further, Kohl and her colleagues (2000) suggested six dimensions of parental involvement by considering factors such as parents' perceptions toward school and teachers' attitudes toward parents. Factors were drawn from questionnaires completed by parents and teachers of 387 children in low- to middle-income neighborhoods. Six "conceptually distinct factors" (p. 518) include parent-teacher contact, parental involvement at 24 Schools, quality of parent-teacher relationship, teacher's perception of the parent, parental involvement at home, and parent endorsement of school (Kohl et al., 2000). Based on an ecological framework (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994), Seginer (2006) shows that, although both home-based and school-based parental involvement are positively related to educational outcomes, their examination in the ecological framework brings up consideration of additional aspects of the micro- and mesosystems and their implantation in four exosystemic aspects (parents' networks and workplace, neighborhood, and educational policy) and two macrosystemic types (immigrant and ethnic groups). Similarly, El Nokali et al (2010) view parental involvement as bridges between two key factors of children's education such as home and school. They

supported the idea of an ecological framework (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994) that developmental outcomes are influenced by interactions within microsystems. The home and school contexts are characterized as autonomous microsystems and parental involvement is conceptualized as a mesosystem, which is made up of interactions between key microsystems. Although each setting can independently influence a child, together the home and school contexts interact to offer a unique influence.

Hill and Tyson (2009), after extensive review in the field of parental involvement research, suggested that the home-based and school-based scheme is a widely accepted and useful framework for conceptualizing the aspects of parental involvement (Hill & Tyson; Kohl et al., 2000; Seginer, 2006). Consistent with the extant approaches, the current study adopts a broad conceptualization of the dimensions of parental involvement: home-based and school-based parenting behaviors with the intention to promote their children's educational success. Furthermore, gender- and ethnicity-based differences in the relationship between parental involvement and performance were explored (Fan & Chen, 2001). Taken together, it is worth to examine ethnic difference in parents' motivation.

### **How do parents view their involvement?**

There are a variety of perceptions and expectations about what parental involvement means, and the range of roles and responsibilities that parents perceive. However, prior research has focused on the relationship between parental involvement and school system, so the few studies that have examined how parent perceive their parental involvement. In terms of parents' motivations from perspective of parents,

Hoover-Dempsey's studies (1995, 1997, 2005, and 2007) are unequalled because the Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler Model of the parental involvement process has accomplished deepening understanding of parents' role construction for involvement in their children's education. According to Hoover-Dempsey, parents tend to get involved more when they view their participation is required and when they believe that their actions will improve children's learning and academic performance. Deslandes and Berttand (2005) found that parental motivational beliefs based on Hoover Dempsey's studies was the driving force behind parents' involvement and improve children's achievements. Anderson and Minke (2007) explored parents decision making on the basis of Hoover Dempsey's studies using parents from three elementary schools, which students mainly consist of African-American and Latinos, in an urban district in the Southwest. In the study, perceptions of invitation from teachers had the largest effect on parental involvement among four parental variables. (role construction sense of efficacy, resources and perceptions of invitation from teachers). Similar to Hoover Dempsey, Grolnick (1994) has explored predictors in parental involvement. Interestingly, this study combined a multilevel model of parental context with a multidimensional conceptualization of parental involvement. This study examined parent and child characteristics, family context, and teacher behavior and attitudes and participants consisting of parents, teachers, and children reported on three types of involvement: school, cognitive, and personal. The result of this study revealed that efficacy, parents' role construct, and perceptions of children were the most influential factors and reported gender difference.

Before those studies, Bandura (1976, 1986) defined that parent efficacy is a parent's belief that he or she is capable of exerting a positive influence on children's school outcomes. Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler and Brissie (1992) examined the relationship between parent's efficacy and parental involvement and found parental involvement was significantly related to parent's efficacy. Ames and Archer's finding (1987) suggests that children of mothers with different achievement goals may be encouraged to pursue different types of achievement activities, may be evaluated on different aspects of their behavior, and may experience different types of expectations. Eccles (1993) mentioned the importance of parents' characteristic in parental involvement. Eccles suggested eight categories that most likely linked to parents characteristic for parental involvement, those are social and psychological resources that available to parents, parents efficacy beliefs, parents' ethnic identity, parents' attitude toward school, parents' perceptions of their child, parents' assumptions about both their role in their children's education and role of educational achievement for their child, parents' general socialization practices, and parents' history of involvement. Goldring (1993) has asserted that parental involvement is highly related to parents' satisfaction with their school of choice. Thus parents may be choosing schools of choice because it is assumed that they offer parents more of an opportunity for partnership in making decision.

In terms of parents' motivation, beliefs, and expectation, there also is research about different ethnic/racial differences. Goldenberg et al. (2001) studied Latino immigrant parents' aspirations and expectations to understand how parents' aspiration and expectation influence children's performance. According to them, Latino parents' aspirations were high and invariant but expectations are influenced by how children do

well at school. However, they recommended for educators that Latino parents willing to help their children despites low level of education. Besides, Reynolds (1992, 1994, 2000), found that parental expectations about their children's educational attainments are the most important predictors of children's academic achievement and social adjustment. Data for this finding were collected from the sixth year evaluation of the "Longitudinal Study of Children at Risk," a study of low-income, minority children in the Chicago public schools. Clark (1993) found parents who have high-achieving students set higher standards, using a sample of 1,141 high- and low-achieving third-graders from 71 elementary schools.

### **Outcomes of parental involvement.**

For many years, parental involvement has been viewed as an important contributor to children's education. Early studies have shown that a home environment encourages students' learning to improve achievement. Walberg (1984) focused on the improvement of productivity of American schools and concluded from an analysis of over 2,500 studies on learning that an academically stimulating home environment is one of the important variables of learning. Sattes (1985) found that parental involvement factors such as reading to children, having books available, taking trips, guiding TV watching, and providing stimulating experiences contribute to school achievement. Recent research has shown that even for students who have reached high school, when parents become involved in children's education at school and in the community, students improve their achievement.

In 1980's, Fehrmann, Keith and Reimers (1987)'s studies on effects of parental involvement on achievement examined the direct effects of parental involvement on grades, and the indirect effects for parental involvement on grades through homework and TV time. Conducting survey of 28,051 high school seniors, they found that parental involvement improves the children's grade through monitoring the children's daily activities, by keeping close track of how they are doing in school, and by working closely with the students concerning planning for college.

From 1990's, researchers have taken more various approaches to refine and extend parental involvement and tried to clarify variables that affect on parental involvement. By the same token, the results of studies are very mixed and varied. For example, Ho and Willms (1996) clarified that it is not true that parents with low socioeconomic status get less involved. In contrast, Mc Neal (1999) asserted that specific areas of involvement are more influential to White students based on empirical findings. Also, there were some mixed findings about cognitive and behavioral outcomes. Some literature says that cognitive outcomes are little related to parental involvement (Mc Neal, 1999; A. Reynolds, 1991) while Sénéchal and LeFevre (2002) found that parental involvement is associated with development of early literacy skills.

To evaluate the effects of parental involvement, the meta-analysis was often used. White et al.(1985,1986) used meta-analysis and found that parental involvement do not make difference in the early educational outcomes of children, contradicting Graue, Weinstein, and Walberg(1983)'s meta-analysis reporting the positive effects of school-based parental involvement programs. Fan and Chen (2001) included initially 2000 studies into their study and analyzed several hundred articles, papers, and reports more



than ten years to find the relationship between parental involvement and children's academic achievement. In their study, the overall relationship between parental involvement and students' academic achievement is positively associated. Also, they mentioned students' general grade point average (GPA) was most highly correlated with parental involvement, compared to other achievement indicators, such as test scores on reading or math. Jeynes (2003, 2005, and 2007) used meta-analyses to minority children's academic achievement, urban elementary school student academic achievement, and urban secondary school student academic achievement. For the minority student, the overall impact of parental involvement was significant. More specifically, the effect size was varied depending on race/ethnic groups. The effect size of grade point average (GPA) was smaller than that of standardized test. According to Jeynes, that was because GPA might reflect teacher's perceptions or ratings of students. By this study, African American students were the most benefit from parental involvement while Asian students were the least benefit because of cultural factor. In 2005, Jeynes examined 41 studies to see how parental involvement is related to academic achievement in urban elementary school. This study included general component and specific components (i.e., parental expectations, parental reading, checking homework, parental style, and specific parental involvement such as parental participation in school events, the expectations of the mother and father, family communication about school). The result revealed that the effect size of parental expectations was the largest following by specific parental involvement, parental style, parental reading, and homework checking as well as the overall relationship was significant. In addition, the results were not differed by gender and race. In 2007, Jeynes examined the impact of parental

involvement in urban secondary school, including 52 studies this time. In this study, overall the effect sizes were in the general range of about 0.5 for overall educational outcomes, grades, and academic achievement. Even for higher graders, parent involvement has impact on academic achievement across gender and race.

However, it is worth to note that meta-analysis might overlook individual cases as Fan & Chen (2001) points out. Also, some research has shown that how parental involvement is related to student motivation (Gonzalez-DeHass et al, 2005). According to this study, when parents are more likely to get involved, the children feel more security and connectedness and internalize educational value. This boosted children's competence and control ultimately increase parent involvement. Mc Neal (1999) provided framework for different level of parental involvement

On the other hand, recent research has shown that, even for higher grades, the type of parental involvement that has the most impact on student performance requires their direct participation in school activities.

### **Effects on parental involvement.**

Then, why are not parents as involved as they could and should do? Research has shown that to family income or structure affect levels of parental involvement. Mc Neal (1999) provided the framework higher levels of school engagement, where engagement was measured by how much students liked school and how much time they spent on homework. Sirin and Rogers-Sirin (2004) found students' performance was enhanced by behavioral and emotional engagement of students and was related to strong parent-student relationship, they ignored the links between parent-student relationship and students' school engagement. However, not all

studies have reported SES and engagement are positively related (Redd, Brooks, & McGarvey, 2001). Connell, Halpern-Felsher, Clifford, Crinchlow, and Usinger (1995) found an indirect negative relationship between family SES and parents' support and in turn, students' school engagement in a cross-sectional analysis using a sample of African American middle school boys. It is evident that the research findings are inconsistent and there is need for more empirical research to understand fully the relationship of parents' involvement to their children's development.

### **Self- Determination theory and Parent involvement**

Self Determination Theory (SDT) developed by Ryan and Deci (1985) can provide a conceptual framework for examining how differently parents are involved in their children's extracurricular activities. SDT set the start point as human have an active, grow-oriented propensity to develop an ever more elaborated and unified sense of self and defined intrinsic and varied extrinsic sources of motivation. According to the theory, intrinsic motivation refers to doing an activity for the inherent satisfaction. For example, a child likes to play videogames even there is no reward or praise from others. This case by SDT can be explained that he/she is motivated intrinsically. Extrinsic motivation refers to the performance of an activity in order to attain some separable outcome. For instance, even though the child who likes to play video games does not like to study, he or she would study when his/her parents told him to buy new video games if he/she studies for one hour. In general, self-determined (autonomous) behaviors are related to more enjoyment and higher quality of learning, whereas controlled behaviors are associated with decreased learning interest and lower performance. Importantly, the

motivation process is internalization that people transform regulation by external contingencies into regulation by internal process within SDT. In other words, they believe people are inherently motivated to internalize and integrate within themselves the regulation of interesting activities that are useful for functioning in the social world. More importantly, SDT propositions social contexts foster or undermine people's sense of volition and initiative, in addition to their well-being and the quality of their performance (Ryan, 1995).

### **The three psychological basic needs.**

This theory suggests satisfying three psychological needs in order to manifest intrinsic motivation, which are consist of autonomy, competence, and relatedness. For example, people who grew up in the social environment that satisfy three conditions accept social norms delivered by social agents such as parents and teacher, whereas people who are not satisfied with three conditions cannot develop well.

The most important need of all is autonomy that being self-initiating and self-regulating with other in one's social milieu (Deci & Ryan, 1991). Autonomy within SDT enable to maintain autonomous behaviors with reliance of parent's support and guidance because people can accept and behave autonomously even behaviors and values controlled by others (Soenens et al., 2007). Also, Reeve's (2005) study proposed a theoretical framework within SDT that explained the mutual influences of students' inner needs and the classroom environment. The result revealed that when people are free to choose among activities, positive affect does promote intrinsic motivation.

Competence means understanding how to attain various external and internal outcomes and being efficacious in performing the requisite actions (Ryan & Deci 2000). The need for competence makes one's ability and capacity increase through activities and leads to seek optimal challenge to maintain the capacity (Ryan & Deci, 2002). According to example made by them, when a student feels that a given task is too hard for him/her to succeed, he/she will stop trying. When the student feels that a given task is too easy, he/she will stop being interested in the material, because they know they are simply performing rote tasks.

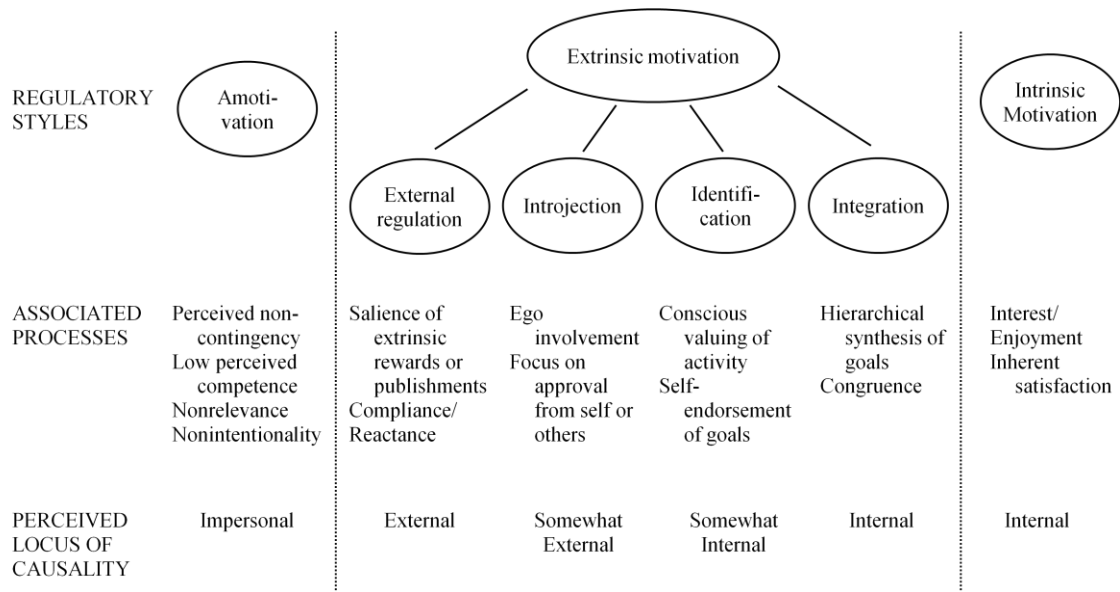
Relatedness refers to developing secure and satisfying connections with others in one's social milieu. Some studies with infants has improved that human experienced a general sense of satisfaction of the relatedness need, they were more likely to be intrinsically motivated (Frodi, Bridges and Grolnick, 1985) as the evidence of relationship between relatedness and intrinsic motivation. Nevertheless relatedness plays more distal role in encouraging intrinsic motivation than autonomy and competence in SDT. But still some interpersonal activities play a crucial role in maintaining intrinsic motivation.

### **Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.**

SDT consists of five mini-theories, each of which explains a set of motivationally phenomena and field research. Cognitive Evaluation Theory (CET) presented by Deci & Ryan (1985) concerns that the factors such as rewards, interpersonal events, and ego-involvements in social context produce variability in intrinsic motivation. For example, when children are doing some activities, those factors help children feel competence that later accompanied by autonomy and facilitate intrinsic motivation. Alternately, CET

emphasizes on the role of competence and autonomy supports as an integrating form in fostering intrinsic motivation, which is critical in education, arts, sport, and many other domains.

The second mini-theory, Organismic Integration Theory (OIT) introduced by Deci and Ryan (1985), addresses the topic of extrinsic motivation in its various forms, with their properties, determinants, and consequences. Figure 1 illustrates, the OIT taxonomy of types of motivation is arranged from left to right in terms of the extent to which the motivation for one's behavior stems from one's self. It details the distinct forms of extrinsic motivation, which include external regulation, introjection, identification, and integration. Those four subtypes of extrinsic motivation show the process of internalization, the process of taking in a value or regulation (Deci & Ryan, 1985), along with a continuum. From left to right, one can take steps to move it over the life span, but it is note that this is not a developmental scale. Ultimately, movement from any point on the spectrum requires a similar procedure-for example, a person can jump from external regulation to integration or identification to integration with the same motivating factor. In OIT, social contexts play a critical role in the process of internalization by fostering or thwarting the process. The context may lead people to reject idea, partially adopt, or deeply internalize values, goals, or belief systems. OIT particularly highlights supports for autonomy and relatedness as critical to internalization.



**Figure 1:** The OIT taxonomy of types of motivation

In addition, Causality Orientations Theory (COT), the third mini-theory, describes how we make behavioral and situational choices based on personality orientations towards the three psychological needs. Fourth, Basic Psychological Needs Theory (BPNT) shows how the concepts of the three psychological needs are related to psychological health and well-being. The fifth mini-theory, Goal Contents Theory (GCT), displays how intrinsic and extrinsic goals differently impact on motivation and wellness.

### **Asian Immigrant Parents' Involvement**

Despite the increase of the Korean population and the gradual dissemination of knowledge about its unique values, there have not been many studies dealing with affected factors to Korean immigrant parents' involvement practice, different from other

ethnic groups. In this chapter, I demonstrate East Asian parental involvement including Korea because there have not been many studies about only Korea itself.

### **Statistics of Korean immigrant parents.**

According to data from the American Community Survey 2007, the number of Korean immigrants in the United States, which increased 27-fold between 1970 and 2007 to over 1 million, is the seventh largest immigrant group in the U.S. Statistics have shown that 57% of Korean immigrants in 2007 had limited English proficiency, and more than half of foreign-born Korean adult immigrants had a bachelor's degrees or higher. In addition, Korean immigrants were less likely to participate in the civilian labor force than foreign-born people in overall. This reflects Korean cultures as it shows that Korean immigrants are highly educated compared to most of the immigrant groups, but still have language and culture barriers.

Koreans do not have the same time tested immigration practices as those of many other immigrant groups. It is theorized that immigrants may be confident about their education and hence may invest more in education. This could explain why Korean children are distinguishable in education. Korean immigrants are similar to the Indian immigrants in terms of population growth rate and education level, but there is a big difference in English proficiency between two groups according to 2000 Census and 2007 American Community Survey. The statistics indicate that over 50% of Korean immigrants are limited in English proficiency, while only one quarter of Indian immigrants hold the same statistics. (Campbell Gibson and Emily Lennon, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850 to 1990",



2000). In this sense, many Korean immigrant parents have high expectations of their children with high education levels, but they are not active participants in their communities. Many of them are keeping the home country culture and language at home.

### **Characters of Korean/Asian parents.**

Kim et al. (1982) contended that Korean immigrant parents have high expectations for their child's academic success and career success in the American job market. Despite the high academic expectations of Korean immigrant parents, Korean immigrant parents are seen often as inactive involvement. For example, Korean immigrant parents show lower contact rates of participating in volunteering activities. (Cho, 2000) Ryu and Vann (1992) showed that Korean immigrant parents are having difficulty in being involved in their children's education since there are differences between the Korean and American educational system. According to Ryu and Vann (1992), the Korean educational system is academic-highlighted and less participatory, whereas the American system emphasizes nonacademic area equally and stresses parental participation. The lacking of understanding of different educational system, coupled with language barriers of Korean parents, hinder Korean parents from active participation in their children's education even if they want to participate in (Ryu & Vann, 1992).

In addition, many studies pointed out that Korean/ Asian parents largely emphasize the importance of education for their children's future success and attempt to enhance their children's education by monitoring them with parental control and providing additional academic works (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Schneider & Lee, 1990).

Chao (1994, 2000) brought up another perspective to see Asian parents by comparing Chinese and European American mothers. Chao (1994) offered an alternative parenting conceptualizations because classical conceptualizations (i.e., Baumrind (1971)'s parenting styles) of parent style did not fit Asian immigrant parents. Chao (2000) categorized parental involvement as Structural type of involvement and Managerial type of involvement. While structural involvement refers to indirect parental practices by setting up the rules for children's afterschool activities and assigning practice opportunities, managerial involvement describes direct parental practices, such as participating in school functioning. According to Chao (2000), Asian immigrant parents tend to be involved in the form of structural involvement. These studies suggest that Asian American parental involvement needs to be understood within multiple contexts and forms of activities simultaneously (Kerbow & Bernhardt, 1993).

### **Social capital theory & Korean immigrant parents.**

#### ***Social capital theory.***

Social Capital Theory can also provide a conceptual foundation for examining how Korean parents' social and cultural contexts, including social network. In this study, SES will not examine as a factor because parents with middle or high SES were targeted. Social capital is generally defined as various forms of actual and potential resources transmitted through one's social relations (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Portes (1998) distinguishes social capital from other forms of capital, stating that 'whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads; social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships' (p.7).

At one end social capital can be seen as a notion that is based on the premise that social relations have potential to facilitate the accrual of economic or non-economic benefits to the individuals (White, 2002) and on the other end social capital can be seen to reside in the relations and not in the individuals themselves (Coleman, 1988b, p 98). Social capital is context dependent and takes many different interrelated forms, including obligations (within a group), trust, intergenerational closure, norms, and sanctions with underlying assumption that the relationships between individuals are durable and subjectively felt (Bourdieu, 1983, p 249). The relationships themselves form the complex web of interactions and communications (Fukuyama, 1995; Fukuyama, 1999; Lin, 1999b; Putnam, 1993; White, 2002). An example of social capital could be the voluntary participation of the members over the lunch break to discuss various social/organizational aspects which benefits all the participants.

Both Bourdieu(1986) and Coleman(1988,1990) emphasize the role of social relationships in one's achievement and educational attainment. More specifically, Coleman (1988) introduced two examples of the mechanism where social capital can promote the educational success of students: intergenerational closure and parent-child interactions. Parent-child interactions means that parents exert intellectual, emotional and normative influences on their child while helping with learning directly while the term, "intergenerational closure" denotes social capital outside the family context (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Hovart, Weininger & Lareau, 2003). Social capital embedded in intergenerational closure has been a most widely used indicator of social capital as applied to education issues (Carbonaro, 1998; McNeal, 1999). Research findings provide that parents' social networks are positively associated with the levels of parental

involvement (Sheldon, 2002, 2007). For instance, parents who maintained social networking with parents from their children's schools obtained more access to and exchanged more school-related information including school policies (Lareau & Shumar, 1996). In addition, parents reporting more social interactions with other parents from their children's schools showed higher levels of parental involvement at home and in school (Sheldon, 2002)

***Social capital theory and Korean immigrant parents.***

McNeal (1999) asserts that parent involvement can clearly be conceptualized as social capital. When thinking that parent involvement can be thought of as social capital, the many inconsistencies in previous studies become somewhat easier to understand.

Research has been focused on Asian immigrant children have a lower level of social capital and their parents have high academic expectations for them in terms of social capital theory (Goyette, & Xie, 1999; Kao & Rutherford, 2007; Lee, 1993; Sun, 1998). In particular, Sun (1998) found that East-Asian immigrant parents invested much less in outside family social capital, which was measured by the number of other parents known and whether the parent belongs to organizations with other parents at schools. In addition, research shows that ethnic community social ties, such as churches, and community organizations provide trust and reinforce values and norms that are conducive to students' educational success (Kao & Rutherford, 1997, Sun, 1998). Immigrant parents often rely on members in their ethnic community to compensate for their lack of human and material resources (Kao & Rutherford, 1997, Sun, 1998). For example, Korean American immigrant parents to gain access to important schooling information, as well as

to overcome their cultural and linguistic barriers to their educational involvement (Lew, 2006)

## **Extracurricular Activities and Parental Involvement**

### **Benefits and risks of extracurricular activities.**

According to Eccles and her colleagues (1999, 2003), research has focused on developmental consequences of extracurricular activities. Along with those concerns, other related studies are added.

### ***Benefits of extracurricular activities.***

Research on extracurricular activities mainly has concerned the linking that extracurricular activities promote school achievement and prevent delinquencies of youth. Osgood, Anderson and Shaffer (2005) identifies the simple reason why extracurricular activities are associated with positive outcomes is due to the care arrangement, which the children spend the after school hours in a home where a parent or another designated adult is responsible for overseeing the activities. In addition, Eccles and Barber (2003) shows the reason because children who spend their waking time in leisure activities are more related to positive development than the children who spend in either unstructured peer focused activities or in front of television set.

More specifically, youth' involvement in volunteer service or participation in church-sponsored activities is associated with better academic performance during high school and an increased likelihood of college attendance (Eccles & Barber, 1999). Student participation in organized sports has been linked with higher academic grades,

greater expressed liking of school during the high school years, and an increased likelihood of college attendance (Eccles & Barber, 1999). Involvement in school-based extracurricular activities during adolescence appears to serve as a protective factor against early school leaving (Mahoney & Cairns, 1997; McNeal, 1995). Participation in leadership activities and clubs and special interest groups is associated with students' achieving higher academic grades, and having greater school engagement and higher educational aspirations (Lamborn et al., 1992). Extracurricular activities cover a range of foci and structure (Huebner & Mancini, 2005). In addition, these activities can range from having a single focus, for example music, or can encompass a combination of program areas, such as academics and leadership development. In addition, many researchers suggest that participation in extracurricular activity is associated with fostering competencies that are relevant to the development of a successful career. Although studies on extracurricular activities show participation in extracurricular activities is associated with many positive outcomes, a few studies have accomplished with youth, especially in middle childhood (Posner & Vandell, 1999).

### ***Risks of extracurricular activities.***

The urban youth in poverty spent less time in extracurricular activities. The rate of extracurricular activity participation of urban, poor children is much lower than that of suburban, middle-class children (Larson et al, 2001). Larson et al explains that urban parents restrict their children's activities because many of the urban neighborhood have exposed to high rates of violent crime. Similarly, analyses of national data collected in 1972, 1980, and 1992 found that youth in low SES less participated in school –based

activities than those in higher SES. The data also shows that Latino and African American youth participate in those activities at relatively low rates. Those different participation rates reflect that the availability to extracurricular activity programs is limited to urban children in poverty as well as some particular ethnicities. Consequently, disparity of opportunity for extracurricular activities distributes continuing social class and ethnic group inequalities. Although literature demonstrates the benefits of engagement of extracurricular activity is limited to the particular ethnicity and social class, very little is known about the role of parents in different ethnic group may play in the kinds, types, or breadth of activities children choose in middle childhood.

#### **Parents and extracurricular activities.**

Not many cases are shown that children become interested in some types of activities without any adult input, most activities are related to the result of socialization on parents, teachers, or other adults. However, a few studies have focused on how parents motivate, encourage, and support their children's activities.

Jacobs, Vernon and Eccles (2005) show that the role of parents is important in choosing activity in middle childhood. They explain children are able to be involved in organized activities with mostly parents' assist, even though children are good at one field and want to learn one activity. Parents willingly pay for lessons, buy equipment, or encourage their children to participate in activities when they perceive the activity is appropriate for their children, including their expectations for the children's gender, age, and social class. The result of their research show that if mothers believe that particular activities are more important, then their children participate more in those activities and

more value on those activities. This result consistent with earlier findings (Jacobs & Eccles, 1992; Parson, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982). Also, they note that children may be affected by other adults, siblings, and friends.

### **Korean and extracurricular activities.**

As earlier noted, very little is known about how parents in different ethnicity perceive their involvement in their children's extracurricular activities. In addition, a few studies are known about how Korean children spend their after school time and what kind of cultural background are embedded in those behaviors. It is one of ways for examining how Korean children and parents spend out of school time to look at cultural background of Korean. In South Korea, a 1997 study showed that 72.9% of elementary students were receiving private tutoring after school. The proportion of middle-school students was 56.0%; and that of high school students was 32.0%.

Park and Abelmann (2004) describe actual state of Korean extracurricular activities for young children as mothers' management of their elementary schoolchildren's participation in South Korea's burgeoning private after-school education market. According them, the English private after-school education market for young children has been booming since the mid-1990s, especially after it was announced in 1995 that English would become an elementary school subject.

Also, Lee (2007)'s study on math tutoring noted that there is a critical difference between Korea and the United States. Tutoring in Korea serves primarily enrichment needs for higher achieving college-bound students, whereas tutoring in the United States is primarily for meeting remediation needs of lower achieving students.



It could be inferred that above examples show that Korean use structured, outside-school activities for improving students' academic achievement mainly managed by mothers in Korea.

## **Chapter 3: Method**

This chapter includes the study's method and design that were used to explore how parents perceive their own involvement in their children's extracurricular activities and how differently parents of recent immigration from Korea or of established European American descent are involved with their children's activities. In this study, I used a mixed-methods approach to investigate how parental involvement differed across culture and individual.

### **Part 1. Quantitative phase**

#### **Sample.**

I made the following assumptions: a) young children (6 to 8 years old) are growing in independence but still are under the control of their parents and other adults when it comes to many aspects of their lives; b) parents play an important role in not only signing up children for extracurricular activities but also encouraging the internalization and integration of values and behavior regulation that such activities foster; and c) parents with different cultural background may have different parenting style when it comes to their views and goals for their children's extracurricular activities. Therefore, participants in this study were selected from groups associated with three extracurricular activities for young children. All participants were selected with conditions that they were the parents of young children (6 to 8 years old). These activities are open for registration to parents and children in the greater Austin area.

Three subgroups were compared: one group of parents of children involved in a culturally-relevant activity(e.g., Korean language school), one group for an American activity (e.g., Cub Scouts), and a third group of parents of children involved in activities that are common to both Korean and American cultures (e.g., a martial arts club). I used simple descriptive statistics and correlation analyses of the parents' responses to a modified survey to answer my research questions. In addition, I used responses to the demographics questions asking the participants about their ethnic background, number of children they have, years of experience with the particular extracurricular activity, and as an optional item, their self-classification in terms of SES, to describe the sample (see Appendix B)

### **Participant characteristics.**

The SES of all participants (self-described) placed most in an upper-middle to high SES groups. Participants were the 31 parents who agreed to be in the study (either father or mother). The mean age of all parents was 42 ranging from 35 to 57. Among the 11 parents in the Cub Scouts, all of them were white, and none replied they had concerns about money (the median income for a family in this area was over \$200,000). The average age of Cub Scout parents was 51 ranging from 39 to 57.

Among the 10 parents in the Taekwondo group, two were Hispanic, two were Asian, and six were White. Three of them replied they did have concerns about money, and one of them replied it depended on which activity. However, the income for a household in the area where the Taekwondo studio is located was over \$120,000, and less than .5% of the population was living below the poverty line (2000 Census, U.S. Census

bureau) Note that in academic research, various definitions of the middle class are used. Economists generally use income as the determinant. Using census data, they break the American middle class into quintiles — groups of twenty percent — and declare the middle sixty percent of Americans as the middle class. Based on 2010 census data, the middle class would be the sixty percent of Americans with household incomes from \$20,001 to \$100,065 a year. Thus, the participants in my study would be regarded as having middle or high economic status. The average age of the parents in the Taekwondo group was 40 ranging from 35 to 46.

Among the 10 parents of children at the Korean School, all had been born in Korea and were very fluent in speaking Korean. Only one parent replied he/she had concerns about money. In previous demographic surveys that the Korean school had administrated, all parents replied they had at least a college degree or higher. Most parents, especially fathers of children at the Korean School, were engineers in one of the locally-based Korean company, or they were international students studying for advanced degrees. In my study, most of the fathers worked at Korean leading companies. The average age of these parents is 37.5 ranging from 35 to 40. Table 1 displays the demographic characteristics for the three activities subgroups.

**Table 1:** Demographic Variables for the Three Activities Subgroups

Demographic Variables	Korean School	Cub Scouts	Taekwondo	Total
Mean Age of Parent (Years) / Range of Age	37.5 / 35 to 40	51 / 39 to 57	40 / 35 to 46	42 / 35 to 57
Number of Parents	10	11	10	31

**Table 1 (continued)**

Educational Attainment / Social Status	High / High	High / High	High / High	High / High
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**Measures.**

***Parental support/parental pressure.***

According to Anderson et al (2003), PIAS is a measure of children’s perceptions of their parents’ involvement in their extracurricular activity participation. For my study, I modified the scale to measure the parents’ self- perceptions of their involvement in their children’s extracurricular activities. Originally, two different response formats were used in the PIAS, both employing a 4-point (1–4) interval scale. Eight items measured frequency or intensity of parent behaviors, anchored with “never,” “sometimes,” “usually,” and “always.” Eight items assessed the participant’s agreement with statements about parent behavior and attitudes, anchored with “strongly disagree,” “disagree,” “agree,” and “strongly agree.” All items on the original scale contained the general wording “my mom or dad.” For my study, I changed questions to ask about the intensity or frequency of parents’ behaviors and attitudes using a 5-point (1-5) interval scale to make clear comparisons between cultural groups, and I changed the general wording “my mom or dad” to “I”.

When Anderson et al. (2003) analyzed items, based on responses of all participants, using a principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation, the analysis yielded two factors. As a result, the first factor (6 items; Cronbach’s alpha = .70) labeled “support” was comprised of items that reflected perceptions that parents facilitate the child’s extracurricular participation and afford the child choices in this area

(“My mom or dad try to make sure that I get to my games, practices, lessons, or performances,” “My mom or dad let me decide which activities or lessons to sign up for”). The second factor (10 items; Cronbach’s alpha = .71) was labeled “pressure” and was comprised of items that denote the child’s perceptions that his/her parents control activity participation and impose standards of performance (“My mom or dad push me to sign up for activities or lessons that I’m not sure I want to,” “My mom or dad get upset when I don’t do as well as they would like me to in my activities”). I followed the result of their factor analysis and assigned my modified items to the same two factors. Table 2 shows factor loadings and communalities for items on the modified PIAS.

**Table 2:** Factor Loadings and Communalities for Items on the Modified PIAS

Questions	Measure	Anderson et al’s Factor loadings		Comm- unali- ties
		Support	Pressure	
1. I encourage my child to sign up for activities outside of school, like sports or clubs	N	.40	.19	.19
2. When my child tell me that he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson, I think it’s a good idea	S	.51	.07	.27
3. I push my child to sign up for activities or lessons that he or she is not sure he or she wants to.	P	.08	.48	.24
4. I give my child special gifts or money as a reward for signing up for an activity or lesson.	N	.03	.23	.05
5. I ask my child if he or she wants to be in an activity or take lessons before signing my child up.	N	.29	-.11	.09

**Table 2 (continued)**

6. I try to talk my child out of signing up for activities or lessons.	N	-.26	.29	.15
7. I try to make sure that my child gets to his or her meetings, games, practices, lessons, or performances.	S	.70	.03	.49
8. I listen to my child when my child says he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson.	S	.69	-.16	.50
9. I let my child decide which activities or lessons to sign up for.	S	.43	-.24	.24
10. If I won't let my child sign up for an activity or lesson, I get my child a toy or something special.	N	.17	.23	.08
11. I get upset when my child doesn't do as well as I would like in his or her activities	P	.05	.61	.38
12. I try to make sure my child gets what he or she needs to be in activities or take lessons, like a uniform or an instrument.	S	.66	-.04	.43
13. I sign my child up for activities or lessons without asking my child if it's okay.	P	-.16	.45	.23
14. I ignore my child when he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson.	N	-.23	.36	.18
15. I care about all of my child's activities.	S	.66	-.12	.45
16. I want my child to be in as many activities as he or she can.	P	-.16	.45	.23

**Table 2 (continued)**

17. I become annoyed or angry if my child doesn't sign up for certain activities or lessons.	P	-.06	.70	.50
18. I only consider some of my child's activities important.	P	-.36	.47	.35
19. I would be upset if my child dropped out of an activity.	P	.12	.44	.20
20. When it comes to extracurricular activities, I expect too much of my child.	P	-.09	.57	.33
21. It is important to me that my child does well in his or her activities.	N	.32	.34	.22

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*Note. S = Support; P = Pressure; N = Not Related*

### **Procedure.**

Participants were first contacted informally, and several provided initial expressions of interest. I then used the following recruitment script with potential participants: "We spoke previously about a study I was planning to conduct, and I wanted to let you know that the study was approved by Institutional Review Board. Are you still interested in participating? If so, here is a consent form that explains your rights as a research participant. The survey is attached to this clipboard and should take no more than 20 minutes to complete."

Then, I approached the parents in-person while they are waiting for their children to finish the activity or while they were watching their child perform. Each participant



was given a consent form and asked to sign it before filling out the survey or before the interview discussion (see part 2) began. This survey took about 20 minutes to complete. Participants filled out the survey in private corners of the waiting areas of the activities.

### **Data analysis.**

The first step in analyzing the survey was to determine how parents perceived their involvement based on parental support or pressure, using the two factors from Anderson et al. (2003), the degree of parental support or pressure participants reported. Next, whether cultural differences affected perceived support or pressure was determined. Two one-way analyses of variances were conducted on the parental support and pressure sub-scores with type of activity group (Korean School, Cub Scouts, and Taekwondo) as the independent variable. Third, I conducted one-way analyses of variance, question by question to investigate cultural differences more specifically. Prior to conducting the formal analysis of variance procedures, I examined the data to ensure that the ANOVA assumptions seemed plausible. In addition, inspection of the study data did not indicate any serious violations of the normality assumption. Further, the independence assumption seemed reasonable, as participation in different activity groups were individually administered.

### **Part 2. Qualitative Phase**

The second part of this study made use of a qualitative approach to explore further parents' motivation for their children's involvement in extracurricular activities. Kvale (1983, p.174) defined the qualitative research interview as "an interview, whose purpose

is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena.” In this study, I used one-on-one interviews, which enable communication with interviewees synchronously in time and place. Due to this synchronous communication, I could catch extra information such as voice, intonation, body language, etc. The aim of the qualitative investigation was to understand better parent involvement, including individual differences. Given the findings in the quantitative analysis, a special focus was on the developmental pathways that differed between Korean immigrants and European American children. I used semi-structured face-to-face interviews (see Appendix C) to elicit in-depth information from three parents for each activity, selecting them based on their responses to the survey.

### **Participants.**

I selected participants for interviews based on a need to include a maximum of variety of perspectives as indicated from their survey responses. For the Cub Scout group, the first interviewee was selected because he is actively involved in his son’s extracurricular activity as a den leader of the Cub Scout troop and coach of his son’s baseball team. The second parent was selected because she commented on survey that she wants her children to be in just one activity at a time. The third parent volunteered for the interview, and she had been observed as actively involved. Also, she had a doctoral degree.

Among the parents of children at the Korean school, parents who seemed deeply connected to keep Korean culture were selected. The first Korean interviewee’s husband had been dispatched from headquarters in Korea, and they anticipated having to return to

Korea some day. This made the parents want to keep the Korean culture alive even as they were learning American culture. The second Korean interviewee had been keeping Korean culture and communicating only with the Korean community even though she had been living in the U.S for over 15 years. The third interviewee was selected as he had been observed to be an actively involved parent. Some studies have showed Asian fathers to be less involved in children’s education (Chao, 1994; Kim, 2001), and thus he was particularly interesting to me. All of the participants were selected to understand Korean immigrant parents’ belief, attitude and values toward extracurricular activities.

Finally, the reason that I chose some parents in the Taekwondo club was to provide a sort of baseline comparison. Even though Taekwondo is a Korean originated martial art, the program used in this study was chosen because it is located in the same area as the Cub Scout troop and draws from families in the same area. Interviewees from the Taekwondo group volunteered for the interviews. One was a European American father of three sons and the second was a Korean mother married to a European-American man. I then analyzed the answers and select some participants who represent interesting views of their child’s participation in extracurricular activities. In Table 3, I list pseudonyms of each parent along with some demographic information.

**Table 3:** Interviewed Parents Demographics

Name	Age/Sex	Ethnicity	Education Level/SES	Gender/Age	Participating Activities
Ted	46/M	White	M.A./High	Boy/8	Piano, Cub Scouts

**Table 3 (continued)**

Rena	48/F	White	J.D./High	Boy/8	Cub Scouts, Religious Education, Martial Arts, Guitar
				Boy/10	Cub Scouts, Religious Education, Soccer
Lily	49/F	White	Ph.D./High	Boy/8	Martial Arts, Piano, Cub Scout
				Girl/11	Following school curriculum
Carl	39/M	White	M.D./High	Boy/2	Swimming
				Boy/4	Piano, Martial Art, Swimming
				Boy/7	Martial Art, Seasonal Sports, Piano
Min-jung	38/F	Korean	B.A./High	Boy/8	Martial Arts, Piano, Golf, and Math Academy
Ji-eun	35/F	Korean	B.A./High	Girl/4	None
				Boy/7	Korean School, Piano, Martial Arts, Cello
Min-ho	40/M	Korean	M.A./High	Girl/6	Piano, Ballet, Swimming, Korean School
				Boy/8	Puzzle, Piano, Swimming, Korean School
Hyun-joo	39/F	Korean	B.A./High	Girl/8	Violin, Korean School
				Girl/10	Writing, Violin, Swimming, Korean School

**Procedure.**

Semi-structured one-on-one interviews were used to elicit in-depth information from the participants. I scheduled the interviews by contacting the parents either by phone or by email, asking for a time and place that was convenient for them. The participants were informed verbally and in writing about the purpose of the interview and how the data would be used. I used the following recruitment script for interview participants:

“Thank you so much for filling out the survey. At this point, I am interested in whether you would be interested in allowing me to interview you to follow up on some questions about what encouraged you to sign up your child for this activity. If you are interested, I will schedule a good time that would work for the both of us. I expect that the full interview would take no more than 30 minutes.”

All interviews were audio recorded because using a tape recorder has the advantage that the interview report is more accurate than writing out notes. The parents were asked to talk about their decision process in selecting their child’s activities, such as who had initiated the process and why wanted to sign up for this activity was the one chosen. Except for the first question, all questions were almost general attitudes and beliefs about extracurricular activities of their children. They were asked the list of extracurricular activities in which their children were engaged, the amount of time they invested in extracurricular activities, the way they managed those activities, the main reason they had for signing up. They were also asked to report the ways they supported their children and the types of involvement. A semi-structured interview protocol was used when conducting interviews (see Appendix C). Utilizing a semi-structured interview protocol allowed me to probe further the parents’ responses for clarity and examples, and

to obtain rich qualitative data from the interviews. In addition, after each interview, I wrote down observation notes and thoughts generated from the conversation. These field notes provided important contextual information about the home environment and atmosphere that they were not specified by the parents.

The interview with each parent lasted approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder. Before the interview began, the parents were asked whether they felt comfortable with the conversation being recorded. All Korean parents spoke Korean and all European American parents spoke English. Each parent's interview was transcribed in the language used during the interviews for further analysis.

Each interview and its transcript were assigned a code number and the names of the parents and related individuals mentioned in the interview were changed to protect the participants' privacy. A code sheet listing the parents' names with their corresponding code numbers was created. This file was saved as a locked file on my computer for the duration of the study.

### **Data analysis.**

I applied grounded theory methodology to generate findings in the analysis of the qualitative data based on Strauss and Corbin's (1998) guidelines. The primary method of analysis in grounded theory is a continuous coding process. Analysis began with *open coding* with the data are examined line by line to define actions or events within data. This coding analysis led to "refining and specifying any borrowed extant concepts" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Next was the analysis of *axial coding*, which refers to the

development and linking of concepts into conceptual families- coding paradigm. Then, concepts and sub-concepts were further defined by *selective coding*, "an integrative process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships by searching for confirming and disconfirming examples, and filling in categories that needed further refinement and development" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Codes and categories were sorted, compared, and contrasted until all the data recognized the core categories of the grounded theory paradigm model, and no new codes or categories arose, what is called *saturation*. As Strauss and Corbin mentioned, the results derived from qualitative data are more likely to provide enhanced insights, and reflect the reality in the social context.

For my study, the process included reading through transcripts of interviews and observation notes, coding the data for any mention of motivational issues as well as related emergent themes, and noting contextual factors associated with these issues. Once I had an initial coding of the data, I created categories. Table 4 demonstrates some examples of open, axial, and selective that emerged from the data. The codes across the transcripts were compared for similarities and differences to develop possible categories and subcategories. The transcripts were also coded by analyzing a whole sentences or paragraphs to obtain major ideas in the whole section.

These categories were then grouped under larger categories. Using these categories, I then reviewed the data for each parent to determine the nature of the preponderance of each person's concerns. In this recoding process, I examined preliminary relationships among the categories focusing first on each parent and then on the group as a whole. The categories and relationships relevant to each parent were then

combined to create a general picture of the process by which self and motivation issues were related in the context of parent involvement in extracurricular activities.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) posited that there are four criteria that they believe should be considered by qualitative researchers in pursuit of a trustworthy study. More specifically, trustworthiness involves establishing credibility (establishing confidence in the “truth” of the findings), transferability (the finding have applicability to other contexts), dependability (showing that findings are consistent and could be repeated), and conformability (maintaining a degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that ensuring credibility is one of most important factors in establishing trustworthiness. I conducted interviews and observations, and constructed the initial and initial data analysis phase. For credibility, I used the technique of frequent debriefing sessions with my advisor. Through discussion, I could widen my visions as my advisor brings to bear her experiences and perceptions. The meetings also helped me test my developing ideas and interpretations, and probing from others helped me to recognize my own biases and preferences. Credibility also came from triangulation, the use of different data sources to confirm or question initial conclusions that I drew from the data coding. In determining the trustworthiness of qualitative studies, I considered the data collection, analysis, and interpretation methods used. Questions asked involve the extent to which the study accurately captures the perceptions of the participants. When writing the storyline, I reviewed the interview transcripts, field notes, and research memos to recognize the main issues and the implicit meanings underlying the information provided by the parents.



**Table 4:** Samples of the Open, Axial, and Selective Coding

Passage	Concepts	Categories	Main Categories
<p>It would depend on how strong he objected. If I found like he didn't want sign up for baseball again, because at the moment he would find interested in something else, I would try to make determine. You know...If he didn't like baseball I wouldn't like to play it. But I felt like he still wanted to play baseball, and maybe would be interested in others; I would still try to encourage him to play. If he continues to refuse play baseball, ultimately I would let him just say no. We had to take a different approach. For sports, we encourage him to find how much it is fun and try to make him to determinate. With music, because he is not enjoying as much as sports, we have to be more coercive. We wish he could have done more as a child. We tried to get him to do it. We signed up for lessons, we going to hope that he doesn't make it (I: Does he practice piano at home?) He did little bit. Not so much. He was ok with it. Me: Have you ever forced him to practice piano?</p> <p>Yes /no. He would be ok for a few minute long. We have to remind him to go do it more. He might object, but he might go over it quickly do it. Learning instrument is difficult. It's natural. It is higher level of coercion.</p>	<p>Objection</p> <p>Sports</p> <p>Interest</p> <p>Encourage-ment</p> <p>Music</p> <p>Practice</p> <p>Coercive</p> <p>Natural tendency</p>	<p>Maintaining</p> <p>Activities</p> <p>Intrinsically motivated</p> <p>Extrinsically</p> <p>Motivated Interest</p>	<p>Differences between intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation in maintainin g activities</p>

**Table 4 (continued)**

<p>I will listen to them. It happened to me. Sam didn't want to do basketball. I told him, "I paid money and you promised to team to play so they are relying on you. I will not allow you to quit. You don't have to attend every practice and game, but sit on the bench. You shouldn't stay at home. You just keep being supportive for your team." He didn't quit. Plus, I wanted to teach him it s ok to quit. "You need give something proper amount as I paid. You have duty for the team at least until the season". When season is finished, I said, "You don't have to sign up again. (Why did you think learning one instrument and sport is important?) Sport is important to build strong body to grow and be outside and for sunshine. Socially, I don't think it is so important. At school, they get the social and are stimulated for strong body and fresh air, and sunshine. For instrument, it is to appreciate music. I learned piano. I hated to practice. But I am so glad that my mom forced to me to do it. So now I love to play the piano. So it's gift giving them for the rest of life. So they can appreciate music forever. So they can be proud of themselves one day. They will "I know how to play".</p>	<p>Introjected value Basketball Refusing Parents' value Practice Force values</p>	<p>Introjection Extrinsic motivation Internalization Support for the three basic needs (Relatedness, Competence)</p>	<p>The process of internalization Extrinsic motivation</p>
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## Chapter 4: Results

In this chapter, I report on the findings of this study in two parts. In the first part, the quantitative data related to general parental support and pressure as key variables and cultural differences between the two ethnic groups are presented. In the second part, the qualitative phase, report with eight parents (four Korean and four European-American) of children enrolled in one of the three activities on the main themes that emerged from the interviews.

### Part 1. Quantitative Phase

Parental support and pressure were measured by a survey asking for parents' general perceptions of extracurricular activities. Table 5 reports the participants' the general perceptions of parents about extracurricular activities by question. Generally, parents reported that they respect their children's opinion when making decisions to start and maintain an activity. (Parental support mean=4.46 out of 5, S.D=0.66, parental pressure mean=3.26, S.D=1.01)

As a next step, I divided participants by activity groups with parents of the children enrolled in the Korean School representing Korean immigrants and those of Cub Scouts representing European American parents. Parents of the Taekwondo group represented a control group in this study.

Table 6 shows the perceptions by parents in each group of extracurricular activities differed Korean immigrant parents and Non-Korean parents. Comparing means showed that parents of children in the Taekwondo club had the highest mean, followed

by parents of children at Korean School and in the Cub Scout troop on parental support. On parental pressure, the mean score of parents of children at Korean School was higher than those of the other two activity groups.

Next, I used a one-way ANOVA to determine if differences in perceptions of parental support and pressure for different extracurricular activities indicate cultural group difference. Different activity groups (Korean School, Cub Scouts, and Taekwondo) were considered to represent one independent variable. Prior to undertaking the formal analysis of variance procedure, I examined the data to ensure that there were no outlier observations and that ANOVA assumptions seemed plausible. Table 6 shows the means and standard deviations on the parental pressure and support measures. Results of the ANOVA are also shown in Table 6. Result of group comparisons showed no effect of group on parental support for extracurricular activities, ( $F(2, 15) = .033, n.s$ ) and no effect on parental pressure ( $F(2, 27) = 1.819, n.s$ ).

In addition, I compared the parents' response from the Korean school and Cub Scout troop only. Result demonstrated that there was no significant difference statistically between these two cultural activity groups on either parental support ( $F(1, 10) = .138, P > .001$ ) or parental pressure ( $F(1, 18) = 3.39, p > .001$ ).

Next, I conducted one-way ANOVAs comparing the groups on each separately. Result was that there was a statistically significant difference at the .05 level,  $F(2, 28) = 18.734, p = 0.000$ , only on one item question #18: I only consider some of my child's activities important, which question is associated with parent pressure. Korean parents scored higher points than other two groups associated with extracurricular activities did.

Taken together, the results revealed two things. First, parents in this study perceived that they were providing as much support as they can but not trying to control their children's extracurricular activities at the same time. More specifically, most parents in this study believed that when their children express interest in some activities, they listen carefully and once their children start an activity, they support child to maintain their participation. Also, parents in this study did not consider themselves as pushing their children to sign up for activities or as expressing disappointment with their children's poor performance or as showing too much of an expectation for success. Secondly, when this study about parents' perception about extracurricular activities is integrated with Anderson et al.'s study about children's perceptions about similar activities, there seems to be a gap between parents and children in their perceptions about the activities. According to Anderson et al.'s study, children perceived that there is some degree of parental pressure in parental involvement in extracurricular activities, whereas parents reported low level of parental pressure in my study. According to Anderson et al.'s study, parental support was a significant predictor of children's total number of activities, but parental pressure was not for the entire sample. However, there were different effects between parental pressure and parental support. Anderson et al. categorized activities in three groups –sports, performing arts, and groups/clubs. While perceived parental support was significantly related to sports enjoyment for the entire sample and when boys were considered alone, parental pressure negatively predicted sports enjoyment for the entire sample and when boys were examined alone. Therefore, parental pressure was considered as a negative or as a neutral effect on the children's enjoyment of sporting activities. For my study, I expected Korean immigrant parents to

influence Korean immigrant children's enjoyment more negatively as Korean parents reported higher ratings on questions related to parental pressure.

**Table 5:** Descriptive Statistics: Parental Support and Pressure

Questions	Measure	Korean School	Cub Scouts	Tae-kwon-do	Total
		Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
2. When my child tells me that he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson, I think it's a good idea.	S	4.80 (0.42)	4.55 (0.52)	4.10 (0.88)	4.48 (0.68)
7. I try to make sure that my child gets to his or her meetings, games, practices, lessons, or performances.	S	4.40 (0.70)	4.91 (0.30)	5.00 (0.00)	4.77 (0.50)
8. I listen to my child when my child says he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson.	S	4.70 (0.48)	4.91 (0.30)	5.00 (0.00)	4.87 (0.34)
9. I let my child decide which activities or lessons to sign up for.	S	4.30 (0.95)	4.00 (0.63)	3.60 (0.84)	3.97 (0.84)
12. I try to make sure my child gets what he or she needs to be in activities or take lessons, like a uniform or an instrument.	S	4.40 (0.52)	4.45 (1.04)	4.90 (0.32)	4.58 (0.72)
15. I care about all of my child's activities.	S	4.50 (0.71)	4.64 (0.50)	4.70 (0.48)	4.61 (0.56)
13. I sign my child up for activities or lessons without asking my child if it's okay.	P	1.90 (1.20)	1.73 (1.01)	1.80 (0.79)	1.81 (0.98)
3. I push my child to sign up for activities or lessons that he or she is not sure he or she wants to.	P	2.50 (0.97)	2.45 (0.93)	2.10 (1.37)	2.35 (1.08)

**Table 5 (continued)**

11. I get upset when my child doesn't do as well as I would like in his or her activities	P	3.00 (1.25)	2.09 (1.04)	2.00 (1.25)	2.35 (1.23)
16. I want my child to be in as many activities as he or she can.	P	3.70 (1.06)	2.09 (1.14)	2.40 (1.43)	2.71 (1.37)
17. I become annoyed or angry if my child doesn't sign up for certain activities or lessons.	P	1.80 (1.03)	1.55 (0.69)	1.70 (1.06)	1.68 (0.91)
18. I only consider some of my child's activities important.	P	3.60 (1.17)	1.73 (0.79)	1.40 (0.70)	2.23 (1.31)
19. I would be upset if my child dropped out of an activity.	P	2.80 (1.23)	2.27 (1.42)	3.10 (1.29)	2.71 (1.32)
20. When it comes to extracurricular activities, I expect too much of my child.	P	2.40 (0.70)	1.82 (0.87)	2.20 (1.32)	2.13 (0.99)
22. When it comes to my child's activities, I think that the most important thing is to have fun.	P	4.70 (0.48)	4.36 (0.67)	4.50 (0.71)	4.52 (0.63)
23. I want my child to spend as much time as possible in activities outside of school.	P	3.00 (0.47)	2.36 (1.12)	2.70 (1.57)	2.68 (1.14)

*Note. S = Support; P = Pressure; N = Not Related*

**Table 6: Mean and Standard Deviation for Parental Support and Pressure**

Measure	Korean	Cub Scout	Taekwondo	Total
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Support	4.33 (0.76)	4.39 (0.79)	4.68 (0.40)	4.46 (0.66)

**Table 6 (continued)**

Pressure	3.65 (0.56)	2.86 (0.94)	3.31 (1.21)	3.26 (1.01)
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**Part 2. Qualitative phase**

In this part of study, I sought to explore further the quantitative results. Ryan and Deci (2000) asserted that their concern is with how teachers, parents, and other important adults can lead to students/children to internalize and sense the value of extrinsic goals, or alternatively, how they can foster the more typically depicted “alienated” type of extrinsic motivation that is associated with low student persistence, interest, and involvement. Therefore, by asking and interviewing parents about what they think and perceive about their involvement in their children’s activities, I hoped to understand better how parents support their children’s activities to internalize a degree of motivation for the activity. Overall, the results revealed that interviewed parents showed an ambivalent attitude toward extracurricular activities. They distinguished between two types of activities, these that their children want to do and these that their children need to do. This attitude was found when they replied to questions such as types of activities, efforts to maintain the activities, and their decision process. These were associated with self determination theory and the three basic psychological needs that make up self determination, competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Thus, I present the results of my analysis of the interview using Deci and Ryan’s ideas about intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation and the three basic psychological needs for intrinsic motivation as a lens for



analysis. Also, there were themes related to social capital theory that emerged from my analysis of the interviews with parents, and these are presented in a last section.

**What their children want (intrinsic motivation) versus need (extrinsic motivation).**

*Decision process.*

When parents were asked who had the idea to sign up for a particular activity, their answers showed a clear division between activities that were the parent's on the child's idea. When parents were the ones to think first of an activity, it was because they saw their children as needing those skills for their future so that parents asked their children to be involved in the activities, and pursued signing up their children when their child accepted without resistance or showed interest. Most parents with children in the Cub Scout troop and at Korean school answered they had the idea first. Two of the three parents with children in the Cub Scout troop answered they had the idea first because Cub Scout activities are a family tradition, and all parents with children at the Korean school answered they signed up for Korean school because they wanted their children to learn the Korean language and culture for communicating with other Korean family and friends so as to prevent loss of using Korean. Among activities for which parents had the idea first, there were some activities in which children were interested. Parents explained the reason why they had had the idea first is because their children are young and could not realize fully what they would enjoy.

The second type of activities involved three for which children expressed their interest and then, parents agreed with their children's ideas. As an example, Carl, father of Nick, said that his son first suggested learning Taekwondo after he talked to his friend. In this case, his son initiated an interest in Taekwondo and asked to be enrolled and his parents agreed with their son's idea.

For both types of activities, parents expressed their concern that the children might feel overwhelmed for the first type and lose their initial interest for the second type.

### ***How were parents involved in maintaining children's activities?***

Parents replied they use several strategies to keep children interested in the activities such as talking with their children, setting regular practice times, and reminding the children's of their initial interest so as not to lose their interest. In the next two sections, I first discuss parents' responses that showed what they did to maintain their children's interest when they were intrinsically motivated and secondly, when the children were more extrinsically motivated to pursue an activity.

#### *Activities that were intrinsically motivated.*

When children were intrinsically motivated, parents replied that they did not need to put much effort to get their children to agree to sign up for or maintain activities.

For example, Ted, the father of David, was asked what would do if his son expressed that he did not want to continue some activities. He replied that it would depend on how strongly he objected. He stated he simply would encourage his son to find out how much fun he could have and to remind his son that he chose sports. However, with music, his

son was not enjoying the activity as much as sports, so he had to be more coercive. In addition, Ted said that one reason that he has been a coach for his son's baseball team is that he is enjoying himself playing sports. They are practicing because it is fun. As another example, Lily, who is the mother of Brian, said that even though she had the idea to sign up for Cub Scouts her son was excited and wanted to maintain the activity after one year. She described her son as self-sufficient and well-disciplined. So, she seemed to believe her son expressed his willingness and interest very well. According to Lily, her son expressed that he wanted to do martial art activity, and she agree to sign him up.

Also, Carl replied to the question about ways he tries to maintain his children's activities that having boys practice is easy. He commented, "We, I mean, my sons and I want to play sports all the time. I coach the baseball game team because I like to spend time with kids and play sports." Those answers show that when children and parents are intrinsically motivated for an activity, doing the activity simply for its own enjoyment (Deci & Ryan, 2000), they tend to engage without external pressure.

This is not limited to European American parents' cases. Min-ho, a Korean father, said his son did not need to put special effort to maintain activities related to math and science. However, for piano practice, he stated that his mother has to monitor his practice. In contrast, his daughter practices piano by herself but she had never expressed her interest in math. He explained that his daughter does math-related activities because her brother does.

*Activities that were extrinsically motivated.*

By contrast, there were activities for which the children were extrinsically motivated. SDT proposes that extrinsic motivation can vary greatly in the degree to which it is autonomous. For example, many students concern about their grades. A student who concerns because of desire to continue on in school, while other student who concerns due to pressure from his/her parents. Both examples involve extrinsic motivation, but the latter case seemed to be more related to external control, showing that extrinsic motivation vary in their relative autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 2000). As Deci and Ryan (2000) commented that given that many of the educational activities in schools are not designed to be intrinsically interesting, extracurricular activities may be designed similarly, requiring students to be self-regulated as the level of difficulty of the lesson get higher.

Interviewed parents reported a variety of extrinsic motivations well as intrinsic motivations for choosing particular activities for their children. There were no cultural differences found in the content of extrinsic motivations between the two ethnic parents. Carl, a European American father, said his three sons practice Taekwondo in order to get their black belts, the highest ranked belt in martial arts. Ji-eun, a Korean mother, stated that her son kept expressing much interest in enrolling in Taekwondo after he saw his peers wearing Taekwondo uniforms and black belts. Ji-eun remembered that her son seemed very impressed by the uniform and belt. She added that her son expressed that he wanted to enroll in some activity observed some inspiring performance in that activity and/or noted some “cool-looking” special gear for an activity. Another European American mother, Lily described her son as putting all his efforts and concentrating on activities in order to collect trophies and awards. There were some events with awards

among Cub Scout activities, such as pinewood derby races and airplane kit building. Her son found his interest drawn to crafting cars and planes for those activities in order to win the competition. These examples may represent external regulations, but parents described how sometimes the forms of regulation change into intrinsic motivation through introjections, identifications, and internalizations (Ryan & Deci, 1981, 2000). Thus, Ji-eun's son and Carl's sons started to learn Taekwondo because of peer influence, but they found that they could be motivated to practice intrinsically once started. Also, Lily's son started his Cub Scout activities followed by his mother's idea but found his intrinsic motivation with crafting.

Other parents reported that they had failed in encouraging such identification or internalization. Min-ho, Jun-young's father, said that he found a good promotion period to take violin lessons, so he and his wife enrolled their son in that activity. However, for three months, his son repeatedly expressed that he did not want to continue to learn and wanted to quit. As another example, Rena reported her first son, Eric did not want to do basketball after she signed him up, and he had played only for a few days. She described that she said to him, "I paid money and you promised the team to play, so they are relying on you. I will not allow you to quit. You do not have to attend every practice and game, but sit on the bench. You should not stay at home. You have to keep being supportive for your team. And for me, you need to give something because I paid." She explained the situation that she wanted to teach him his duty to his team. In her case, she tried to introject the value of duty, and a lesson in accordance with two developmental issues developed by SDT theorists. According to SDT, even though there is no necessary "sequence" when orientations move, developmental issues are obvious in two ways (1)

the types of behaviors and values that can be assimilated to the self increase with growing cognitive and ego capacities and (2) it appears that individuals' general regulatory style has a tendency to become more "internal" over time (e.g., Chandler & Connell, 1987), in accord with the general organismic tendencies toward autonomy and self-regulation (Ryan, 1995).

In sum, I found that parents expressed that their children were differently motivated depending on activities that affected the ways that they and their children maintained their participation in activities and the amount of enjoyment their children expressed. There were no differences between Korean parents and European American parents.

***The goal for extracurricular activities from parents' view.***

According to Deci and Ryan (1991), needs are defined as essential for one's integrity, growth, and health. Conditions supporting the individual's experience of autonomy, competence, and relatedness are said to foster intrinsic motivation and engagement for activities, including enhanced performance, persistence, and creativity (Deci & Ryan, 1991). In addition, in terms of thwarting these three psychological needs, a social context has an impact on wellness. More importantly, SDT asserts that understanding the functioning of these three needs is important for parents, teachers, managers, or physicians because such understanding will enable one to evaluate what aspects of a social context will significantly foster or undermine individuals' engagement and effectiveness within the context. Under conditions contributing to autonomy, competence, and relatedness, individuals will be likely to express their inherent tendency

to learn, to do, and to grow. Individuals are engaged and motivated in fields where their basic psychological needs can be and sporadically are satisfied. Thus, I present the interview results by discussing each of the three psychological needs, addressing whether I saw any difference between the two ethnic groups in terms of what these parents perceived about the extracurricular activities, they has chosen for their sons.

*The need for autonomy.*

As earlier noted, the need for autonomy refers to perceiving that an individual's activities are endorsed by or congruent with self. Studies on autonomy (Deci, Schwartz et al., 1981; Ryan & Grolnick, 1986) have shown that providing autonomy support instead of controlling a child's actions was associated with more positive outcomes, including greater intrinsic motivation, increased satisfaction, and enhanced well-being.

In interviews, some European American parents seemed to be confused with the concept of independence. Rosanne, introducing herself as a single mother and emphasizing the rules she gives to her children, stated that she is satisfied with her amount and quality of involvement in her children's activities because she believes it is enough, as her children will recognize ownership of their future success. She added that she wants her sons to feel responsible for those activities, not because they are satisfying their mother. She said, "When they kick the ball, I want them to feel as if it is their work."

When she was asked why she teaches in her sons' religious class, she answered that she did so because she wanted to contribute her talent as a member of her church not because her sons are students in the class. She said she believes that her sons are under

her control right now and need her help but one day they will want her help. So, she said the main reason she wants her sons to learn extracurricular activities is to learn life skills such that how to take care of their bodies and enjoy music. She stated, “One day they will be independent.” Her views could be interpreted that she perceives herself and her sons as separate individuals. Even more, one European American parent noted, “They [activities] are for his benefit, not mine.”

By contrast, some Korean parents seemed to be confused the concept of autonomy with the concept of separation. For example, Hyun-joo, a Korean mother replied that she hopes her daughters have better social status than she had so they can enjoy their lives better because she regards them as her other selves. Differently stated, she seemed to believe her daughters’ happiness in the future would equate to her happiness. Whereas Rena and other European American parents expressed that they and their children are separate individuals, Hyun-joo seemed to have a tendency to equate herself to her children, even though both Rena and Hyun-joo made decisions for their children because their children were so young. These different perspectives would affect not only the parent involvement style but also support for children’s autonomy. Surely, within SDT, being autonomous does not mean being entirely independent from others, rather it means feeling volitional will (Chirkov et al., 2003). However, it does not mean autonomy cannot come from identification of parent and children per se. It is important to understand the meaning of autonomy as the opposite of heteronomy, or having one’s behavior controlled or regulated by forces outside the self. Grolnick, Ryan, and Deci (1991) found that parental autonomy support was related to children’s perceived competence and autonomy at school, which in turn was related to academic performance.



Williams, Cox, Hedberg, and Deci (2000) found that when high school students perceived their parents as being low in autonomy support (and thus were not need supportive of them autonomy needs) the students placed more importance on extrinsic relative to intrinsic aspirations.

According to SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985), the need for autonomy plays a crucial role in the maintenance of intrinsic motivation, furthering the process of internalization. Hyun-joo stated she was involved with her daughters' education to help them get good jobs. She was now "forcing" her daughters to go to Korean school so as not to forget Korean. She added that children are too young to prepare by themselves for their future, so parents have to push and control them. She replied that she usually monitors her children's homework and think she needs more involvement to monitor her children's study in terms of time. Also, she described her role model as a mother who gives rewards and punishments to children punctually. These facts stimulate associations with studies that have shown that placing strong value on the extrinsic goals led to less well-being, including low self-actualization and self-esteem, and greater ill-being including greater anxiety, depression, and narcissism (Kasser & Ryan 1993, 1996).

Not all Korean mothers answered like Hyun-joo, Ji-eun stated that she has learned the piano when she was a child and now feels it was a good experience. Because she thought she could enjoy the music thanks to piano lessons she wants her son know that feeling. However, she said she does not want his son to push to learn to play a piano. She said she wanted to encourage him to experience a variety of activities because she does not know what her son's own interest is, which might be different from her interest. Also, Jun-young's father, Min-ho stated, "I think the most important thing as a parent is to help

my children to find their own interest that they really enjoy. They are too young to find themselves, so parents' role is to encourage them to find interests through observation and conversation.” Ji-eun and Min-ho, comparing to Hyun-joo's value, placed value on intrinsic goals.

*The need for relatedness.*

Relatedness refers to the desire to cohere with one's group, to feel connection and caring, to internalize group needs and values in order to coordinate with others.

Relatedness needs appear to be evolutionary selected for when coordination of activity and specialization of labor become highly advantageous for groups' on hunting and foraging for sustenance (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bowlby, 1958; Harlow, 1958; Ryan, 1993). Especially, attachment theorists (e.g., Bowlby, 1958) have suggested that intrinsic motivation during infancy is more robust when infants are securely attached to a parent. Relatedness also is facilitated by autonomy (Bretherton, 1987).

In other words, relatedness can be defined as the emotional and personal connections between individuals. It reflects our strivings for contact, support, and community with others. Even though SDT suggests that relatedness plays a more distal role in maintenance of intrinsic motivation, relatedness would play an important role in internalization of extrinsic motivation and in making positive parent involvement. In other words, when need for relatedness is met, tendencies toward growth, development, and integration, autonomy are optimized (Ryan, 1995).

Through my interviews of these parents, I found that the need for relatedness was not only discussed as relevant during the decision process, ways of maintaining interest,

and providing, support but seemed to implicate throughout their comments. More specifically, Rena and Lily answered that their second child accepted to learn some activities naturally because siblings or relatives had already experienced these activities. Even though they expressed that participating in some activities were family tradition. Rena and Lily recalled they had no remarkable, neither positive nor negative answers. It is consistent with a definition of relatedness within SDT that an individual is part of something and belongs to a larger community. Parents explained that some reason to involve their children because they are part of the family simply, which could be interpreted to mean children accepted parents' offers because of parents' sincere caring about them and having others sincerely care about their children. Simply speaking, their children agreed to engage activities because of relatedness. The reason that Rena encouraged her son to have responsibility in the previous example might be from relatedness. However, this is not the end of the story. Relatedness seems to moderate autonomy but in this example, Lily's son chose a second year activity with his volitional will. In other words, it showed that when need for relatedness is met, tendencies toward growth, development, and integration, autonomy seemed optimized (Ryan, 1995).

As another example, Min-ho commented that his son said he wanted to learn to play the guitar because his father often played the guitar in front of his children. For early adolescents, feeling related to parents has been found to be with self-esteem and adaptive functioning in school (Ryan, Stiller,& Lynch, 1994) In this sense, because Min-ho's son may regard his father as his role model, finding interest in his father's interest and developing high self-esteem about learning to play the guitar. In addition, Carl called himself his sons' friend and helped his children practice Taekwondo at home. The warm

relationship with his sons can bring more practice with family members. This could be observed at Taekwondo studies. Most times he took his sons to Taekwondo and gave his son some encouraging words. This result coincides with suggestions of SDT that relatedness is a centrally important factor for internalization (Deci & Ryan, 2000). According to SDT, extrinsically motivated behaviors can be prompted, modeled, or valued by significant others to whom an individual feels related. So, the child who feels more securely attached to parents is more likely to be fully internalized. In this sense, Min-ho's son and Carl's sons would be expected to easily internalize the value of the activity.

*The need for competence.*

Competence concerns the sense of accomplishment and “effectence”-being a tendency to explore and influence the environment that is derived from the exercise of one's capacities under conditions of optimal challenge. Organismic theory within SDT reveals that people have a natural inclination to pursue tasks that are just beyond their current ability to force themselves to grow (El kind, 1971), and then from these activities they gain confidence and self-esteem (Harter, 1983; White, 1960). An important point here is that competence needs make possible in contexts that support autonomy without external control. Competence is important both because it facilitates people's goal attainment and also provides them with a sense of need satisfaction from engaging in an activity at which they feel effective. Thus, perceived competence has been assessed in various studies along with perceived autonomy to predict maintained behavior change, effective performance, and internalization of ambient values.

Most parents I interviewed replied that the most important reason they had signed up for extracurricular activities was for their children's competence. Also, the reason and the kind of other activities parents wanted for their children also revolved around developing their children's competence. There were no distinct cultural differences between the two ethnic groups but individual differences. Specifically, most parents stated that they expected their children to acquire competence through having new experiences in extracurricular activities, and they added some additional expectations such as enjoyment and sociability. For example, Ted and Ji-eun wanted their sons to enjoy activities in addition to developing competence. As another example, Min-jung wanted his son to learn social skills through team sports. In addition, most parents answered that the types of activities are not important. They stated that they thought activity itself was not important but what was learned from activities is important. That might be expected to mean competence. Only Hyun-joo, a Korean mother, answered that art school is not important for her child's academic career, so her daughter would not be signed up for art activity even though her daughter still wanted to learn art. Her answer coincided with the results of the survey that Korean parents differed the fact that they thought some activities are more important than other activities. As SDT suggests supports for competence facilitate internalization (Vallerand, 1997), parents expected that extracurricular activities could be opportunities for their children to gain competence.

***Benefits and risks of social capital.***

Cultural background could not explain entirely parents' values, attitudes, and motivation about extracurricular activities. The concept of social capital was used to understand parents' perceptions further.

Social capital is defined as the ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structure (Portes, 1998). According to Portes, a person must be related to others and there are two sources as consummatory and instrumental motivations to do so. A review (Portes, 1998) of the literature suggested three basic functions of social capital, applicable in a variety of contexts: (a) as a source of social control; (b) as a source of family support and (c) as a source of benefits through extrafamilial networks. In this study, the parents I interviewed expected to increase their child's social capital in a variety of context of extracurricular activities.

*Bounded solidarity and extracurricular activities.*

Many of the Korean school and Cub Scout parents replied that they sent their children to these activities in keeping with family tradition. They expected these activities to reinforce feelings of solidarity to family. For instance, Rena reported saying to her children, "you are doing this because our family boys do Cub Scouts. It is our family's tradition," and added, "my sister's and brother's children did Cub Scouts and became Eagle Scouts. Until they are 16 years old, they are going to do scout." Lily said that she had enrolled her son in Cub Scouts because she had herself been a Girl Scout and wanted her first daughter to do the same. As she illustrated, her son was very excited the fact that his sister was doing Scouts. The literature I reviewed indicated that this solidarity is one of the benefits of social capital (Kwon, 1997).

*Ethnicity, social capital theory and extracurricular activities.*

Korean parents had similar reasons to send their children to Korean School as Rena and Lily had for having their sons do Cub Scouts, to reinforce culture. However, they reported that they felt the need of additional involvement because they did not know American educational system or felt they were not included as members of the “inner circle” of American society. For instance, Min-ho replied when asked if he felt he needed additional involvement and what level of self-satisfaction he had about his current involvement, “Overall, I am satisfied except for one thing. I am not an American parent. In terms of volunteering, I am still hesitating to do that because I do not know what to do. I hope I can volunteer someday. Like American parents, I would like to sign up for season sports activities. As far as I know, American kids are doing seasonal sports such as football in the fall and swimming in the summer. I think that is why American kids are not afraid of challenging new experiences. I would like to be a coach someday like American parents. Even though I am participating in almost every school event and extracurricular activity, I do not think I have enough confidence to be a homeroom parent. But I would like to do it someday.” This coincides with that Gold (1995) reported finding that nonworking immigrant Israeli mothers in the United States dedicated themselves to their children, thus leading to intimate mother-child relations that constitute a form of investment in children. In addition to that, Fernandez-Kelly (1995) observed that dense social networks among inner-city Black families isolated family members from the outside world and reinforced disadvantageous cultural style, Hyun-joo showed typical Korean cultural style, including Asian American’s high academic expectations for

their children (Goyette, & Xie, 1999; Kao & Rutherford, 2007; Lee, 1993 Sun, 1998). Furthermore, she replied that she regarded some particular activities as more important than others, which was the only difference between European American parents and Korean immigrant parents in my qualitative study. Other parents did not express higher academic expectations or needing to focus on only some activities. Hyun-joo explained that even though she has been living the United States over 15 years, she has lived in an inner Korean town as a life zone. Her case could be an example of negative social capital. According to the literature on social capital theory, the same strong ties that bring benefits to member of a group enable it to bar others from access. Taken together, except for Hyun-joo's case, Korean parents recognized that strong ethnic social ties could be a benefit as well as a risk. Therefore, they hoped their children to have an ambilaterality toward bi-culture even though they expressed still some fear of American culture.

*Family structure and extracurricular activities.*

The extant literature I reviewed indicated that single parent family structure is associated with fewer links between parents and social circles of children. Looking at the case of Rena, a single mother, we can see that Rena's children also joined religious education, and she herself was a teacher of religious education as a member of church, which would bring solidarity to her family. She often expressed that she stated basic rules to her children and has them choose what they want within her rules. Thinking deeply about her case, as she expressed, she tried not to let her marital status influence her children. Rena seemed aware that social capital tends to be lower for children in single-parent families because of their lacking the benefit of a second parent and changing



residences more often, leading to fewer ties to other adults in the community (Coleman, 1990a, 1990b, Portes, 2000). Therefore, it could be inferred that her intellectual resource were used to form other types of social capital, in line with Parcel and Menaghan' (1994a, b) conclusion that parental intellectual and other resources contribute to the forms of family capital useful in facilitating positive children outcomes and concluded that single parent could overcome narrow social network.

In terms of working mothers, the extant literature has shown mixed results. According to Coleman (1990 a, b), stay at home mothers support greater intergenerational network closure than working mothers do. Contrary to Coleman, Bankston and Min Zhou (2002) showed that families with nonworking mothers do not show more intergenerational closure of this sort. In fact, there was only one mother, working among the interviewees (Carl reported that his wife is working as a doctor). In my study, all interviewees were highly educated. For example, Rena had a J.D degree and worked as a volunteer attorney and Lily stated that she had a doctoral degree and ran a medicine research company before she became a stay-at-home mother. Lily explained that the reason she had closed her company is because she wanted to focus on rearing children. The only working mother I interviewed was Min-jung, who replied that she thought her involvement in her son's education was sufficient because she could manage her time in advance so as not to interfere with her son's extracurricular activities' schedule. It can be inferred that she was aware of the point that her working time may result in insufficient support for her child, and thus put more efforts to compensate the insufficiency, just as Rena did for her children.

*Sharing information and extracurricular activities.*

In addition, the literature has shown that knowing one's neighbors is associated with sharing information with them, and parents who live in neighborhoods for long time tend to report themselves more likely to exchange information than more mobile parents are. I expected that ways of sharing information would have changed with the development of the Internet. However, the parents I interviewed replied that they share information with their relatives, their children's friends, and neighbors, or they depend on the memories from their own childhood. As examples, Carl reported that his son, Nick, suggested learning Taekwondo after he talked to his friends, and Lily recommended her children doing Scouts from remembering what she had one as a Girl Scouts. Likewise, Rena decided to have her children learn musical instruments from her personal experience. Not only was it that European American parents made decisions based on social networks to which they belonged to, but also Korean parents found information through their social network such as the Korean community. Parents collect such information as hours and locations of an activity by using Internet, but most parents make a decision with the help of their social network. Therefore, Korean immigrant parents were limited in finding information to using their own network, which seemed to influence their choice of. However, Korean parents put more effort to find good programs using internet or hearing from their children who are open to other social networks such a school.

*The number of children and extracurricular activities.*

Coleman (1988) also argued that the number of siblings in a family indicate something about the amount of social capital available, serving as another indicator of the time and energy that parents can devote to a child. If all else is equal, families with more children will have less time and energy available for a given child? The result of my study coincides with literature. Ted who has an only child replied, “I have much more time because I do not work so much, and he is an only child.” When parents have more than two children, they replied they were struggling with allocating time, especially for siblings with different gender or different interests. For example, Lily explained, given the question of illustrating how many extracurricular activities her children are doing, that she needed more energy because her son was consistent but her daughter changed her interests often. She illustrated how they are different several times during interview. She said, “If I give them the same task, but my son would be more self-sufficient on any task.” Also, Min-ho illustrated that his children did not need to put special effort to maintain what they are interested in, but they need special care in doing what they are not interested in. He added that the problems are that interests between his son and daughter are almost opposite. In contrast, those for siblings of the same gender or with same interests, they could easily share the time by doing same activities. For example, Carl’s three sons were all doing Taekwondo and practice together. Hyun-zoo’s case was interesting because she said she was struggling with time allocation because she had to focus on the eldest daughter’s academic performance as a priority. She said that she felt sorry for the second daughter because she could not invest her time to support the second daughter’s interest. As earlier noted, this showed that she focused on particular activities,

coinciding with the idea that Asian immigrant parents are more focused on Academic performance (Kao, 1995; Schneider & Lee, 1990; Sue & Okazaki 1990).

## **Conclusion**

In sum, according to SDT, the three basic human psychological needs can be fulfilled while engaging in a wide variety of behaviors that may differ among individuals and be differentially manifested in different cultures, but in any case their satisfaction is essential for the growth and well-being of all individuals regardless of culture (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Like this, the results from both the quantitative and qualitative analysis showed there is no difference in that parents want to support children's three basic need satisfaction while engaging in extracurricular activities. The results confirmed that the three psychological needs were common to both groups. There was a difference in that Korean parents focused on particular activities that they thought more academically important. Researchers have proposed that cultural beliefs about the connection between effort and educational success are manifested in Asian American parents' educational expectation (Xie & Goyotte, 1999). In addition, Asian immigrant parents may view academic attainment as an effective channel of upward mobility for their children and thus place a high instrumental value on educational attainment (Xie & Goyotte, 1999). In the same vein, Ogbu (1991) theorized that regardless of race, "voluntary minorities" are often optimistic about the connection between hard work and success. Because the parents in this study had high educational attainment and relatively high income, Korean parents in the study definitely belong to the "voluntary minorities." In addition, the findings from the qualitative data further indicated that the parents with higher

educational levels tended to encourage their children to have sufficient social structures or social networks through extracurricular activities. Specifically, according to social capital theory (Bankston et al, 1997), ethnicity acted as a source of social capital. The extant literature says claims that ethnic minorities' concentrated social networks can isolate family members from the outside world and reinforce disadvantageous cultural styles (Fernandez-Kelly, 1995). In this study, parents who perceived themselves as ethnic minorities showed that they, overall, recognized their narrow networks and thus tried not to reinforce disadvantageous cultural styles through participation in extracurricular activities, even though there was variation in Korean parents' responses.

This tendency occurred among parents who perceived themselves as needing to improve their children's social capital such as single parent families, working mother families, only child families, and more than two children families. According to extant research, social capital tends to be lower for children in single parent families because they lack the benefit of a second at home parent and thus this deficit plays an important role in bringing about less desirable educational and personal outcomes. Along the same line, parental SES also predicted children's participation in extracurricular activities. Enrolling children in extracurricular activities is restricted by financial condition. Mothers' employment status is also related to participation in extracurricular activities (Chen, 2009). However, parents with high SES in my study revealed that they wanted to enroll their children in limited number or amount of activities despite their sufficient financial condition. This might be because parents perceived that exposing to too many extracurricular activities hinder the children find their intrinsic motivation and enjoyment rather than encourage them. In addition, they showed that they attempt to improve their

children's social capital into positive consequences if their children's status might be expected to be less desirable by participating in extracurricular activities. This result is in accord with Parcel and Menghan (1994a, 1994b), who examined the effect of parental work on children's cognitive and social development. They concluded that parental intellectual and other recourses contribute to the forms of family capital useful in facilitating positive outcomes. My study emphasized and confirmed the importance of parents' role again.

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

The purpose of the study was to understand the general perceptions of parents of their children's extracurricular activities. Because the parents were of high SES and of different cultures, the study also investigated if there are cultural differences of goals, values, and attitudes between Korean immigrant parents and European American parents in their involvement in their children's extracurricular activities.

With both the quantitative and qualitative investigations, the results showed that these parents generally perceived their involvement style as respecting their children's opinions and encouraging them to find their own interests in doing activities, rather than pushing the parents' own values. Secondly, the results of my study revealed that there were not distinguishable differences between Korean immigrant parents and European American parents. The one difference was that Korean parents regard some particular activities as more important in both quantitative and qualitative ways. More specifically,

although previous research reflecting the self-determination theory and social capital theory showed a gap between individuals from these two ethnic groups, my study revealed that parents with high SES are more aware of such gaps and attempt to bridge them. As a result, the groups of parents showed less distinguishable cultural differences than the differences that have previously reported in the literature.

I present a summary of findings along with a discussion of the results of the research questions. I also describe implications for further research into how social educational status can impact parents' values that then impact children's education.

## **Relating Findings to the Existing Literature**

### **Research question 1: what are the perceptions of study participants about their children's extracurricular activities?**

The findings presented here suggest that parents want to support their children's extracurricular activities as much as they can. The result of the quantitative data analysis showed that parents encouraged their children to sign up for activities outside of school, asked their children if they want to be in activities, and supported their children to learn what the children wanted. This result accords with extant research that parents believe extracurricular activities are associated with various positive outcomes for their children.

The longitudinal study investigated by Mahoney et al (2003) showed consistent participation in extracurricular activities as a contributor to long-term educational success. Similarly, recent research has documented the positive benefits of involvement in extracurricular activities, linking activity involvement to positive social, emotional, and

academic outcomes (McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 2001; Posner & Vandell, 1999). Thus, parents' expected value and attitude toward extracurricular activities in quantitative study coincide with the existing literature.

There were, however, some concerns expressed by the parents about their children being exposed to too many activities, and these concerns seemed not supported by the extant literature. According to Larson and Varma (1999), more time in an activity context was related to a greater absorption of experiences associated with that environment. Fredricks and Eccles (2006) explained that the more activities the better, especially for older children. The study by Fredricks and Eccles explained more time in organized activities is likely linked to less time in either unsupervised risky activities or unproductive activities, both of which have been linked to less positive developmental outcomes during adolescence (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Osgood, Wilson, O'Malley, Bachman, & Johnston, 1996). However, risky activities or unproductive activities were unlikely in to my study because children's ages were from 5 to 8 in my study. Furthermore, parents in the interviews also commented they do not want to allow their children to participate in too many or too time-consuming activities. It is worth to study further the relation between the number of activities or the amount of activities, and positive outcome in extracurricular activities.

Secondly, parents who filled out the questionnaire answered not only that they listen to what their children tell them about signing up for activities but also they ask their children if the children want to enroll in these activities. According to their answers, they seemed to respect the children's opinion and to attempt to find activities fulfilling children's interests. These results show that parents basically regard the support of



autonomy to foster children's sense of volition and initiative, in addition to their well-being and the quality of their performance in Self determination theory as the best role for parents. Korean parents scored lower points than European American parents to questions related to foster autonomy. However, there was no significant difference between them. Within SDT, parental autonomy support is defined as characteristics of parents who are empathic to their children's perspective, who provide choices and options to their children whenever it is possible, and who help their offspring to explore and perform their personal values and interests (Grolnick, 2002; Ryan, Deci & Grolnick 1995). Research has shown that parental autonomy support is positively associated with various positive outcomes, including academic competence, school achievement, and growth (Allen et al., 1994; Grolnick et al., 1991).

The results of the qualitative portion of the study showed more deeply and in a more complicated way parents' values, attitude, and motivation toward extracurricular activities. More specifically, there seemed to be two types of decision making processes related to choosing particular extracurricular activity: 1) what their children want to learn and 2) what the parents think their children would need for life. Therefore, parents reported that they used different strategies to maintain children's commitment to activities based on what type of activities they chose. If their children were participating in activities for which the children were intrinsically motivated, then parents only had to sustain a minimal level of support such as cheering the children up and reminding them of interest. Otherwise, parents needed to put more effort into maintaining activities, and some of them reported that they failed in getting their child to finish the activity.

However, parents reported that they did not push their children to attend the activity again even though they thought the activity was really needed for life skills. They replied they wanted to find activities that fit their children's interest and enjoyment, not to control them. This showed that parents valued more fostering children's intrinsic motivation than external control. Also, this did not mean that parents only pursued children's enjoyment through extracurricular activities. Instead, they placed more emphasis on task endogeny, which is a crucial part of intrinsic motivation (Gottfried, Fleming et al., 1994). According Gottfried et al, task endogeny is closely related with a situational context, with each part feeding off the other and constantly developing. The effectiveness of intrinsic motivation is that it is self-contained and predictable. For example, if a child completes a task simply to get a reward, and the reward is not what he thought it should be, then he/she will be disappointed and put less effort next time. Whereas a child who completes a task to satisfy their curiosity and receives an average reward will give more effort next time so that the skill can be mastered and the child's curiosity is satisfied (Gottfried, Fleming, et al., 1994)). Since early motivational problems usually prompt later achievement problems (Dweck, 1986), the earlier children begin reform the more children are able to achieve in later years. According extant studies on intrinsic motivation ( Berlyne, 1971; Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Gottfried, 1985, 1990; Harter, 1981; Lepper, 1983; Nicholls, 1983; Pittman, Boggiano, & Ruble, 1983), intrinsic motivation for learning is related to enjoyment of school learning illustrated by a mastery orientation, curiosity, persistence, task endogeny, and the learning of challenging, difficult, and novel tasks .Therefore, task endogeny is an

important aspect of intrinsic motivation. To the extent that parents encourage task endogeneity, intrinsic motivation should be enhanced.

In their interviews, parents also reflected on their role in supporting the three basic needs within self-determination theory - autonomy, relatedness, and competence. When I examined the data using three basic needs within Self determination theory (Ryan& Deci, 1995), I found that most parents expressed that they signed up their child for extracurricular activities in order to children's competence. The choice of particular activity seemed to be based on relatedness. Although parents played a pivotal role in influencing activity choices, children may be influenced by other adults in their lives. In addition, siblings and friends are likely to influence children's decisions to participate in particular activities (Eccles, 2005). Parents wanted their children to build autonomy by maintaining engagement in activities even though some of them seemed confused about the meaning of autonomy. Studies supported the view that autonomy is essential to intrinsic motivation. (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1995, 1997; Grolnick, 1997)

Eccles (2005) suggested that task values, self perceptions of competence, gender, and parental encouragement are four main factors related to activity choice in middle childhood. The result of my study showed parents expected their children to learn life skill and build autonomy through having competence, and willing to support them with time and money. Thus, there is a thread of connection between perceptions of parents and children.

**Research question 2: what are differences between American and Korean parents in terms of their goal for children's participation in extracurricular activities?**

## **Differences in what motivated parents for their children's extracurricular activities.**

### ***Self determination theory.***

The results of the quantitative data analysis showed the only difference between Korean parents and American parents is that Korean parents considered only some of their children's activities important. This might reflect immigrant Korean parents' higher educational expectations, focusing on Academic Achievement (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Ryu & Vann, 1992).

Research has documented that children are more likely to participate in activities, as well as value the activities if parents believe that those particular activities are important. It is necessary to continue to explore the processes that the difference between ethnicity would bring to achievement in extracurricular activities. These findings were supported by the qualitative data as well. Overall, the results of analysis of the Korean parents' interviews were not totally different from those of European American parents. Out of four Korean parents, only one mother displayed the traditional mindset backed by previous research of Asian parents that Asian parents have higher academic expectations (Chang & Chang, 1998; Ryu & Vann, 1992). However, the other Korean parents interviewed did not show big differences from the American parents in terms of attitude, values and perceptions about extracurricular activities. The reason why two different ethnic groups did not show such a big gap could be explained by social capital theory.

### ***Social capital theory and extracurricular activities.***

The literature has shown that social capital stands for “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (Portes 1998, p. 6). This intangible social capital can be formed through value introjections, bounded solidarity, reciprocity exchanges, and enforceable trust. Therefore, Korean immigrant parents could not help have different social capital than did European American parents from this viewpoint. The research literature on social capital emphasizes its positive consequences in a variety of contexts: (a) social control; (b) family support; and (c) benefits through extrafamilial networks. Social capital can have negative consequences with the same mechanisms: (a) restricted access to opportunities; (b) restrictions on individual freedom; (c) excessive claims on group members; (d) downward leveling norms. Both positive and negative effects were found through my interview of parents. For example, Korean parents often seek extracurricular activity information from those in the Korean community, thus resulting in that instructors of activities are Korean as well. As the literature says, this may bring positive and negative effects. On the positive side, parents can communicate well with Korean instructors and maintain Korean traditional ways of thinking. On the negative side, however, Korean parents share information only with other Korean and their children because the immigrant community is small.

Many empirical and theoretical ethnic studies on social capital have proved this different formation processes. However, the uniqueness of my study is that the interviewed parents already recognized that they were in a different style of social network or social capital. In response, these parents tried their best to narrow the gap. As a first example, a single mother replied she thought they needed stronger ties because of

absence of father and then found substitution ties in her religious community through active participation. A second example is found in Korean parents' attitudes. They knew they needed more interaction with mainstream society but could not access it because of lack of information and language skill. However, they said they tried to access other social networks by participating in events that did not need language skills and registering their children for extracurricular activities in mainstream communities.

I can conceptualize this as social capital resilience. In other words, I found that parents who recognized their lack of social capital put effort to compensate for their deficiencies. Especially, parents used extracurricular activities as tools for reinforcing agents or supplements for their weak social networks. The recognition may be from their higher social educational status. It is worth to study further.

### **Limitations of Study**

A number of limitations should be considered in interpreting the results of this study. The study was performed with only parents whose children were participating in extracurricular activities. Without parents whose children were not participating, I could not establish a comparison group, which would have added value to the results. In the same vein, my study only included parents with upper-middle to high SES. I saw this aspect as an advantage because I could compare cultural differences between ethnic groups without bias from any educational or economic disparity. However, if I had included participants with low SES, I might have been able to obtain more broadly applicable results. Insufficient sample size in both the quantitative and qualitative segments of the research can also be a disadvantage because of the bias of the researcher

on how findings are interpreted. My awareness of this limitation prompted me to maintain focus as objectively as possible within the confines of this problem in an attempt to overcome this limitation. To help validate this study and my findings, I analyzed the literature more deeply from diverse views and discussed my observations and my conclusions with my advisor to guard against bias in my conclusions.

Another limitation was that more sophisticated interview prompts were needed to recognize the differences or the changes between previous research and the actual results of this study based on social capital theory. For example, in order to find changes in perceptions of sharing information among social networks with the development of Internet, I should have asked how they collected information and evaluated extracurricular activities in more detail. Even though some questions covered those contents, it would have brought clearer results about how social capital can impact motivation, and vice versa, if my questions had been more pointed. In addition, the results of this study indicated that parents who aware of their potential lack of social capital put effort to overcome the shortcomings. In this sense, considering their awareness and effort from social capital and motivation theories, it would have been valuable if more systematic interview prompts had been prepared.

### **Implication for Future Study**

This study aimed to understand parents' values, attitudes, and motivation toward extracurricular activities. Results indicated that parents respected children's opinion and supported as much as possible. More importantly, parents expected their children to find their own interest, build competence, and ultimately have autonomy by engaging in

extracurricular activities. In terms of social capital, there should be differences between Korean immigrant parents and European American parents. However, the parents in these two ethnic groups perceived extracurricular activities similarly except that Korean parents focused somewhat more on some particular activities. This result could be explained as parents put more effort to narrow the gap if they perceive their deficiencies or differences in terms of social network. In this sense, extracurricular activities are used to compensate for the deficiencies or differences.

Further research on extracurricular activities is needed, including an examination of parents from low economic socio status as well as parents whose children do not participate in extracurricular activities in order to understand better parents' perceptions about extracurricular activities.



## Appendix (or Appendices)

### Appendix A

#### Parental Involvement in Activities Scale - Modified (PIAS-M)

The statements below are all meant to refer to organized out-of-school activities for your child. Please rate the degree to which each of the statements below is true for you. Choose a 1 if the statement is not at all true of you and choose a 5.

	Not true of me			Very true of me	
	1	2	3	4	5
1. I encourage my child to sign up for activities outside of school, like sports or clubs	1	2	3	4	5
2. When my child tell me that he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson, I think it's a good idea	1	2	3	4	5
3. I push my child to sign up for activities or lessons that he or she is not sure he or she wants to.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I give my child special gifts or money as a reward for signing up for an activity or lesson.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I ask my child if he or she wants to be in an activity or take lessons before signing my child up.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I try to talk my child out of signing up for activities or lessons.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I try to make sure that my child gets to his or her meetings, games, practices, lessons, or performances.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I listen to my child when my child says he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I let my child decide which activities or lessons to sign up for.	1	2	3	4	5

10. If I won't let my child sign up for an activity or lesson, I get my child a toy or something special.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I get upset when my child doesn't do as well as I would like in his or her activities	1	2	3	4	5
12. I try to make sure my child gets what he or she needs to be in activities or take lessons, like a uniform or an instrument.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I sign my child up for activities or lessons without asking my child if it's okay.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I ignore my child when he or she wants to sign up for an activity or lesson.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I care about all of my child's activities.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I want my child to be in as many activities as he or she can.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I become annoyed or angry if my child doesn't sign up for certain activities or lessons.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I only consider some of my child's activities important.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I would be upset if my child dropped out of an activity.	1	2	3	4	5
20. When it comes to extracurricular activities, I expect too much of my child.	1	2	3	4	5
21. It is important to me that my child does well in his or her activities.	1	2	3	4	5
22. When it comes to my child's activities, I think that the most important thing is to have fun.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I want my child to spend as much time as possible in activities outside of school.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Anything else you would like to comment on relative to your role in your child's activities: _____					

## Appendix B:

### Information about your background and experiences

1. How many children do you have, their ages, and gender:

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Are you the mother or father of the child in this activity: \_\_\_\_\_

3. What is your age (optional): \_\_\_\_\_

4. How do you describe your ethnicity or cultural background? Were you born in the U.S.?

5. How do you describe your child's ethnicity or cultural background? Was your child born in the U.S.?

6. Were the costs associated with this activity an important consideration when you were signing up? Did you have to choose this activity over others because of costs associated with this or other activities? (optional)

### Appendix C (Questions for Interview)

1. Who wanted to sign up for this activity the most? And why do you think so?  
(My child) 1- 2- 3- 4-5(Me)
  
2. How many extracurricular activities is your child attending? Would you make a list for each of your children of all the activities they are in?  
Child 1:  
Child 2:  
Child 3:  
Child 4:
  
3. How many hours per week do you spend for your children's extracurricular activities?
  
4. What special efforts do you do to maintain your children in these activities?
  
5. What was the most important reason you had for signing up your children in different activities? Can we discuss each of the activities of each of the children you listed above? Some possible reasons include:
  - 1) Sociability (social reasons)
  - 2) Learning a new skill
  - 3) So my child will have fun
  - 4) So my child can catch up with other children
  - 5) Other reasons \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. What if your child expresses that he/she does not want to continue this activity? What would you do and why?
  
7. What other activities would you want for your child? And Why?
  
8. Are you satisfied with your support for your child?

9. If you say no, why do you feel so? How do you want to support more?

10. In your opinion, if you support more, would your child do better in his/her activity?

11. What factor do you think the most important factor to support your child?

1) Money 2) Time 3) Participation 4) Scheduling 5) other  
reasons\_\_\_\_\_.

## Appendix D: Consent form

IRB Approval Number: **2011-11-0035**

### CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a study on parental involvement in extracurricular activities. The study is being conducted by Bomin Kim, graduate student, and Diane L. Schallert, Professor, Department of Educational Psychology of The University of Texas at Austin, 1 University Station, D5800 George Sanchez Bldg. 504 Austin, TX 78712-0383, (512) 232-4835, [kimbomin@utexas.edu](mailto:kimbomin@utexas.edu) , [dschallert@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:dschallert@mail.utexas.edu).

The purpose of this study is to explore parental involvement regarding parents' own motivation and different cultural background. Your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of parental involvement. You are free to contact us at the above email address and phone number to discuss the study or to ask any questions.

Your participation will consist of completing three questionnaires. We will ask you to reflect on your values, and speculate about parental involvement. Your participation will take no longer than half an hour. Your name will never be used in the research.

Risks to participants are considered minimal, no more than is true for parental involvement. There will be no cost for participating, nor will you benefit directly from participating. Only the members of our research team will have access to the data during data collection.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may decline to answer any question. You can refuse to participate or stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you wish to withdraw from the study, simply stop and let us know. Or, if you have any questions, contact any of the investigators listed above.

If you have any questions, please call or email [kimbomin@utexas.edu](mailto:kimbomin@utexas.edu) or Diane L. Schallert (232-4835) [dschallert@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:dschallert@mail.utexas.edu).

This study has been reviewed and approved by The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board. If you have questions about your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact - anonymously, if you wish - the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at [orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

If you agree to participate, please sign below.

*You will be given a copy of this form for your records*

***Statement of consent:***

I have read the above information and have sufficient information to make a decision about participating in this study. I consent to participate in the study.

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