

Ethnic Afterschool Programs and Language Schools in Diverse Asian American Communities: Varying Resources, Opportunities, and Educational Experiences (Part 2: How They Differ)

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Abstract

Based on 135 ethnic afterschool programs and language schools, this descriptive study (Part 2 of 2 in this issue) revealed differences in the types of programs housed within East, South, and Southeast Asian coethnic communities (strong, weak, or dispersed) in the U.S. The article applies a combined cultural–structural framework to understand ethnic programs in distinctive communities. Cultural and structural factors converge tangibly within established ethnic programs, creating distinctive program characteristics (e.g., program goals, services, funding) which, in turn, influence their resources and opportunities (ethnic social capital). The findings showed ethnic programs were similar in strength to their respective communities, inevitably producing unequal resources and opportunities in higher and lower achieving communities. Weaker ethnic programs produced different and fewer resources in general. Ethnic programs in strong coethnic networks had more community support and resources. Ethnic programs emphasized the importance of education, leadership development, culture, language, ethnic identity, peer and community engagement, and other factors. Coethnic support, program expectations for parent involvement, and funding resources were not equal across programs. By understanding both higher and lower achieving Asian American communities, educators, researchers, and policymakers can better understand their resources,

opportunities, and educational experiences. Stakeholders must work together and develop partnerships, especially to better support struggling students.

Key Words: Asian American communities, ethnic afterschool programs, language schools, diverse, resources, opportunities, educational experiences, immigrants, families, parents

Introduction and Significance of the Topic

Asian Americans (AA) are the fastest growing racial population in the U.S. (Pew Research Center, 2012). There are over 34 Asian ethnic groups and easily over 300 languages that make up the AA demographic (Teranishi, Ceja, Antonio, Allen, & McDonough, 2004). East, South, and Southeast Asian groups differ in their culture, religion, education, and socioeconomic status (Paik, Rahman, Kula, Saito, & Witenstein, 2017; see Part 1 in this issue) as well as in their “coethnic communities,” a term describing ethnic communities as resource networks that are largely based on either professional, entrepreneurial, or working-class labor market skills (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 2001). AA subgroups are, respectively, concentrated or dispersed, and their resources and opportunities vary depending on their coethnic networks (Paik, Kula, Saito, Rahman, & Witenstein, 2014).

For decades, cultural theorists have used culture—cultural beliefs, traits, and behaviors—to explain the success for some ethnic groups (Ogbu, 1995; Ong, 1996), while structural theorists state that structure—income, class, education, and other factors—are the key determinants to success or failure (Steinberg, 1981; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). These well-known arguments have been used separately to explain educational and economic success; however, Zhou and Kim (2006) proposed a framework combining these two, observing that both culture and structure support each other within ethnic communities. Consequently, “community forces” (cultural beliefs and strategies) are formed and embedded within ethnic networks to help protect and sustain each community from any hostile outside forces (Ogbu, 1974). Within these communities, the formation of ethnic social capital (ethnic resources and opportunities) occurs from “ethnic social structures,” which are ethnic organizations such as educational programs, churches/houses of worship, businesses, or other institutions. Cultural and structural factors manifest in these tangible ethnic social structures, producing unique resources and opportunities for community members.

As an example, Zhou and Kim’s (2006) earlier study focused primarily on supplementary education in Chinese and Korean communities, illustrating how East Asian cultural factors (e.g., Confucianism, scholarship) interact with

structural factors (e.g., more education, higher income levels) in tangible ethnic social structures (e.g., afterschool and language programs) through which community forces are sustained. Since Confucianism and scholarship are embedded in their culture and history, supplementary education is practiced both in the U.S. as well as in their own homelands. These ethnic social structures help produce social capital that promotes social environments conducive to learning for both Chinese and Korean students.

Building on this work, the current study proposes a comprehensive look at coethnic communities, their ethnic social structures, and educational outcomes. Zhou and Kim (2006) developed their framework to specifically understand Chinese and Korean communities, but the question then remains, “How does culture and structure interact in other ethnic communities?” Specifically, what do ethnic social structures (byproducts of the cultural–structural interaction) look like in other AA communities? Are there distinctive characteristics of ethnic afterschool programs or language schools in East, South, and Southeast AA communities? Is ethnic social capital the same or different across higher and lower achieving AA communities? Because cultural and structural interactions are unique to each community, one would assume their characteristics would manifest differently, but how? While Zhou and Kim’s work gives us perspective on Chinese and Korean communities, little is generally known about coethnic communities or ethnic social structures in either high- or low-achieving AA communities (Paik et al., 2014).

Purpose and Research Questions

This study is Part 2 of two parts; Part 1 (Paik et al., 2017) presented an extensive review of literature and census data to help explain why AA communities differ. The purpose was to understand different types of coethnic communities, culture, structure, and educational outcomes. The “Cultural and Structural Coethnic Model” was presented as a new theoretical framework to understand different types of communities. Part 2 builds on the previous information and applies our theoretical lens to examine how culture and structure interact within ethnic social structures (i.e., ethnic programs) across diverse AA communities. The purpose of Part 2 is to examine ethnic social structures—specifically, ethnic afterschool and language school programs—within 11 AA communities and to understand how cultural and structural factors converge to produce distinctive resources, opportunities, and educational outcomes. In summary, Part 1 was theoretical in nature, while Part 2 applies this theory to examine tangible ethnic programs.

This article, Part 2, does the following: (1) offers a brief literature review to provide context on diverse AA communities (Paik et al., 2017; see Part 1 for a

more comprehensive review); (2) examines and compares 135 AA ethnic social structures (i.e., afterschool programs, language schools) in different types of coethnic communities; (3) discusses key similarities and differences across ethnic programs in diverse AA communities; and, (4) disaggregates the findings across ethnic programs and communities to better understand resources, opportunities, and educational experiences in diverse AA groups.

Specifically, the study asks the following questions:

1. In light of the type of coethnic community (where culture and structure converge), what are some examples of tangible ethnic social structures (e.g., afterschool programs, language programs)?
2. What key characteristics (and frequency), if any, exist regarding ethnic programs in higher and lower achieving AA communities?
3. What are key similarities and differences across ethnic programs in higher and lower achieving AA communities?
4. From these comparisons, what can we learn about the resources and opportunities (ethnic social capital) from ethnic programs in higher and lower achieving AA communities?

This study was largely descriptive and qualitative in nature. Building on our previous review of literature and census data (Part 1; Paik et al., 2017), this study surveyed characteristics of ethnic afterschool and language programs in AA communities. Ethnic programs help illustrate how they serve their community's needs, producing important but unequal ethnic social capital in high- and low-achieving AA communities. The article concludes with recommendations for researchers and practitioners who work with diverse AA students and their families.

Theoretical Framework: Cultural and Structural Coethnic Model

This section highlights the key factors in the proposed “Cultural and Structural Coethnic Model”: coethnic communities, social structures, social capital, and educational outcomes. More information on the model can be found in Part 1 (Paik et al., 2017). The theoretical framework draws on the earlier works of Paik et al. (2014) on diverse AA coethnic communities, Portes and Rumbaut's (1990, 2001) modes of incorporation, Zhou and Kim's (2006) ethnic social structures and communities, and Coleman's (1990) theory as a basis for ethnic social capital. Figure 1 presents three circular sections: (1) types of coethnic communities (outer section); (2) ethnic social structures housed within diverse communities (middle section); and (3) ethnic social capital and educational outcomes (inner section) produced from cultural and structural factors (Coleman, 1990; Paik et al., 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 2001; Zhou & Kim,

2006). Cultural factors (e.g., values and behaviors) interact with structural factors (e.g., socioeconomic levels) in tangible social structures (ethnic programs).

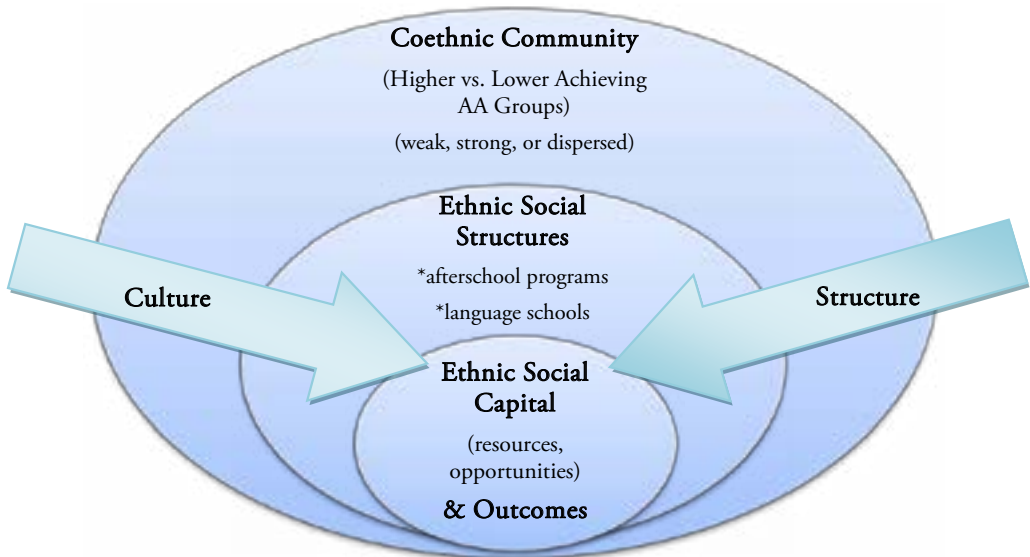


Figure 1. Cultural and Structural Coethnic Model.

Note: Developed by the authors, Figure 1 represents the key factors in this study. Within each type of coethnic community (strong, weak, or dispersed), cultural and structural characteristics converge into tangible and distinctive ethnic social structures (ethnic afterschool programs, language schools), producing varying ethnic social capital (resources, opportunities) and educational outcomes in diverse AA communities.

Types of Coethnic Communities

Since a *coethnic community* provides support for its community members, this is key in understanding resources and opportunities for Asian immigrant communities (Paik et al., 2014, 2017; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 2001). All AA groups generally share a strong sense of community; however, community members can only support each other within the limits of their own coethnic resources (Paik et al., 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 2001). Based on structural characteristics from U.S. census data and other key resources (Paik et al., 2014, 2017), coethnic networks are coded as “strong” (+), “dispersed” (0), or “weak” (-) (see Table 1).

- **“Strong” communities:** highly concentrated coethnic areas, highly skilled and entrepreneurial professions (e.g., Koreans, Chinese).
- **“Dispersed” communities:** less concentrated coethnic areas, highly skilled professions (e.g., Filipinos and Indians in health fields).
- **“Weak” communities:** highly concentrated coethnic areas, less skilled professions (e.g., Hmong, Cambodian, Laotian).

Table 1. Asian American Coethnic Communities, Ethnic Social Structures, and Educational Outcomes

AA Groups	Coethnic Community ^a <i>Strong (+)</i> <i>Weak (-)</i> <i>Dispersed (0)</i>	Ethnic Afterschool Programs ^b (n = 83)	Ethnic Language Schools ^b (n = 52)	Current Educational Outcomes ^c <i>High (+)</i> <i>Low (-)</i> <i>Mixed (+/-)</i>
EAST				
Chinese	+	12	11	K-12: + H.Ed: +
Korean	+	10	2	K-12: + H.Ed: +
Japanese	0	3	5	K-12: + H.Ed: +
SOUTH				
Indian	0	2	8	K-12: + H.Ed: +
Pakistani	0/-	1	1	K-12: + H.Ed: +
Bangladeshi	0/-	5	7	K-12: + H.Ed: +
SOUTHEAST				
Vietnamese	+	16	3	K-12: +/- H.Ed: +/-
Cambodian	-	12	6	K-12: - H.Ed: -
Hmong	-	9	3	K-12: - H.Ed: -
Laotian	-	5	5	K-12: - H.Ed: -
FILIPINO				
	0	8	1	K-12: +/- H.Ed: +

^aCoethnic community types were determined by the authors' (2014) previous work, literature review, and census data.

^bThe number of afterschool programs and language schools found in our study.

^cHigher education (H.Ed) outcomes were based on U.S. Census 2010 data. K-12 outcomes (K-12) were based on scholarly literature, performance reports (e.g., Ed. Trust-West, 2010), and organizations' reports (e.g., U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2007).

Strong communities provide the most coethnic resources to their members (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 2001). Based on their strong networks, skills, and education, they have access to more opportunities. Dispersed groups rely less on their coethnic community, because they have more skills, education, and professional access outside of their ethnic networks. Consequently, their resource pool is weaker than those in strong communities. Weak communities have the least resources and opportunities due to limited skills, education, and access.

Ethnic Social Structures and Ethnic Social Capital

Ethnic social structures can be a variety of programs, institutions, or organizations shared among members of an ethnic community for educational, social, cultural, religious, or civic goals. For this study, we focused on ethnic afterschool programs and language schools. They were selected because they are considered primary institutions that foster community development and support amongst children (Ecklund & Park, 2005; Zhou & Kim, 2006). These ethnic social structures are important school-aged physical sites where social capital is generated and culture is transmitted (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Their characteristics manifest into unique program goals, missions, services, funding, and collaborative efforts (described further in Methods section).

Social capital is defined as a network of relationships and cooperation among group members that leads to positive outcomes for individuals and the group (Coleman, 1990). *Ethnic social capital* involves cooperation among coethnic members where resources are generated within their communities (Coleman, 1990; Paik et al., 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 2001; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Social capital formation in ethnic social structures, in turn, creates benefits for its members and favorable environments. Ethnic social capital varies based on the types of coethnic communities, social structures, and demographics (i.e., ethnicity, class, etc.). Within these structures, community forces from coethnic resources and opportunities can support or hinder economic or educational outcomes.

Literature Review

Due to the dearth of literature on smaller AA subgroups, this article includes only the major AA groups: *East Asians* (Chinese, Korean, Japanese); *South Asians* (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi); *Southeast Asians* (Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian); and *Filipinos*. To provide context, some key factors are briefly discussed to help illustrate the diversity across AA populations. However, more information for each group can be found in Part 1 (Paik et al., 2017; see also Table 1).

East Asian Communities: Strong and Dispersed Coethnic Networks

All East AA groups have high educational attainment: Koreans are second highest (next to South Asians) followed by the Chinese, and Japanese trail behind (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Chinese Americans are the largest AA group (23%), and Korean Americans are rapidly growing (10%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Their *strong*, concentrated coethnic communities are comprised of mostly professionals and entrepreneurs with generally high levels of education and skills; these structural characteristics of Chinese and Korean communities help coethnics access a range of resources and opportunities, which is reflected in their own robust business and education directories (Zhou & Kim, 2006; Zhou & Lin, 2005). In comparison, Japanese American *dispersed* communities are smaller (7.5%) and stagnant in growth. They are highly educated, professionally skilled, and speak English, allowing them to navigate mainstream America (Kitano, 1993). Although they are more acculturated, their ethnic network remains connected through long-time established organizations that are passed down through generations.

Chinese and Korean coethnic communities are reinforced by their rapidly growing ethnic towns and “ethnoburbs,” a term coined by Wei Li (1998) to refer to suburban ethnic clusters of people and businesses in large metropolitan areas that are comprised mainly of wealthy, highly educated, and skilled immigrants. Within ethnic towns and ethnoburbs, afterschool programs and language schools are common ethnic structures that create effective learning spaces for children (Peyton & Gilson, 2012; Zhou, 2009; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Confucianism has played a role for all three cultures, but especially for Chinese and Korean families (Wu, 2008). As exemplified by the number of ethnic afterschool programs and language schools found in their communities, Confucian beliefs continue to reinforce the importance of education and learning. All East Asian groups believe in hard work and perseverance. Additionally, parental expectations and involvement are generally high for all three groups (Wu, 2008).

South Asian Communities: Dispersed and Weak Coethnic Networks

South AA educational attainment is higher than Whites, Asians altogether, and the general U.S. population, with immigrants from India taking the lead. This group shares common cultural values that support educational success. The *desi* (South Asian) community strongly values education and hard work. Their concepts of duty to parents, extended family support, and family honor by demonstration of educational and career success are prominent (Bhattacharya & Schoppelrey, 2004; Gupta & Tracey, 2005; Mathews, 2000). In addition, they have exceptionally high parental expectations and involvement in their children’s education (Asher, 2002; Hickey, 2006; Kao, 1995).

Indians represent about 18% of AAs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Most Indians arrived in the U.S. with high human capital (Asian American Center for Advancing Justice, 2011; Saran 2007). Their strong structural characteristics (e.g., high-paying professional jobs, strong educational background, English proficiency) make them more of a *dispersed* coethnic community as they rely less on ethnic enclaves (Purkayastha, 2005).

Pakistanis (2.4%) and Bangladeshis (about 1%) are significantly smaller groups among AAs. Their *dispersed* and *weaker* coethnic communities tend to be socioeconomically mixed. Although skilled professionals and students are still arriving, a subgroup of less professionally qualified and less English-proficient Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are immigrating. Bangladeshis, in particular, need attention as they have high poverty rates and limited English proficiency (Asian American Institute, 2011). Higher income Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are dispersed in suburban areas, while lower income immigrants settle in urban ethnic enclaves. Nevertheless, both groups generally have high educational attainment rates. They share many of the same cultural values as Indians that help them succeed in school.

Southeast Asian Communities: Strong and Weak Coethnic Networks

Southeast AAs have the lowest academic achievement and attainment rates of all AA groups (Niedzwiecki & Duong, 2011). The Vietnamese represent about 10% of AAs; however, Cambodian (1.6%), Hmong (1.5%), and Laotian (1.3%) are much smaller and *weaker* in their overall networks. For all these groups except Vietnamese Americans, their recent arrival with few resources and less English language knowledge limited the development of their coethnic communities, with few entrepreneurial and professional workers who could provide opportunity for social mobility to these groups (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Vietnamese Americans, whose first wave did have a significant number of more educated and business-minded individuals, established a *stronger* coethnic community that supported higher educational outcomes. However, college attainment rates for this group still lag behind those of other AA groups, and while many second-generation Vietnamese youth are high achievers with a strong connection to their coethnic community, a number do not engage with the community and may be negatively influenced by lower achieving peers (Niedzwiecki & Duong, 2011; Zhou & Bankston, 1994, 2006).

All Southeast Asian groups value their cultural traditions, including a belief in education as a means towards social mobility (Ngo & Lee, 2007). While these cultural traits promote success in schools, Hmong young women traditionally have married in their teens, and Cambodian traditions allow for early marriage as well, complicating achievement for some youth (Lee, 1997;

Smith-Hefner, 1993). Additionally, some scholars believe that the Laotian and Cambodian traditional religion of Theravada Buddhism lowers aspirations and parents' encouragement to succeed (Kim, 2002; Smith-Hefner, 1993), while other scholars disagree, arguing instead that these cultures, including their religions, promote academic success (Chhuon, Hudley, Brenner, & Macias, 2010; Shah, 2007). Making them unique to their Southeast Asian counterparts, the Vietnamese practice Confucianism, Mahayana Buddhism, and Catholicism (Moua & Lamborn, 2010).

Filipino Communities: Dispersed Networks

Although Filipinos are also Southeast Asian, they are described separately as their experiences are unique compared to Southeast Asian refugees. Filipino American achievement and attainment rates are generally higher than the overall U.S. population but mixed (Museus & Maramba, 2011; Ogilvie, 2008). Filipinos represent about 20% of the AA population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). As a *dispersed* coethnic community, they have strong structural characteristics (e.g., professional skills, educational levels, English proficiency) that help them to navigate the U.S. successfully, allowing them to be independent of their coethnic communities. Many are employed in science-related professions, such as nursing and engineering. In terms of culture and religion, Catholicism makes Filipinos unique compared to other AA groups, and it is extended into *compadrazgo* (godparent), a form of kinship that strengthens their ethnic communities (Salvador, Omizo, & Kim, 1997). These structural and cultural characteristics provide additional support for children's schooling (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994).

Methods

To reiterate our conceptual lens, cultural and structural factors converge and transpire into unique program characteristics of ethnic social structures (afterschool and language programs), producing ethnic social capital (resources and opportunities) within distinctive coethnic networks (strong, weak, dispersed; Coleman, 1990; Paik et al., 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 2001; Zhou & Kim, 2006).

Defining and Operationalizing Characteristics of Ethnic Social Structures

If ethnic programs are concrete social structures, their characteristics would be evident culturally and structurally (as described earlier) in the types of programs and services offered in diverse communities. Therefore, we

defined and operationalized *tangible characteristics* (a byproduct of culture and structure) as program mission, goals, services, funding support, resources, and students' needs. The importance of culture, language, community involvement, parent involvement, and other factors¹ also emerged as tangible program characteristics.

We examined these characteristics in the ethnic programs to look for patterns and themes across 11 communities in East Asian, Southeast Asian, South Asian, and Filipino groups. Organizations and programs exist to serve a community; *ethnic* programs exist to serve the cultural and structural needs of that ethnic community. From the literature, we know that ethnic programs will differ from one AA community to another, but we wanted to know *how* they would differ by examining their ethnic program characteristics. Diverse ethnic programs with different networks would inevitably produce unique resources and opportunities for their respective communities.

Sample

We selected ethnic afterschool programs and ethnic language schools as examples of ethnic social structures. Rather than selecting a few local ethnic afterschool programs or language schools, we included a larger, nationwide sample across the U.S. from web-based resources. We found a great range and number of programs in our online search; however, we applied purposive sampling and selected only those programs with specific characteristics that fit within our standardized criteria. Ethnic afterschool programs² included: weekday afterschool, weekend, and summer programs; place of worship or professional organizations; and K–12 programs. Ethnic language schools³ included: programs focused on ethnic language, not English; and K–12 programs. The breakdown of ethnic afterschool and language programs is as follows: East Asian ($n = 43$), South Asian ($n = 24$), Southeast Asian ($n = 50$), and Filipino ($n = 8$). Our final purposive sample consisted of a total of 135 ethnic programs in the U.S. (83 afterschool programs, 52 language schools; see Table 1).

Procedures and Content Analyses

We performed a content analysis of over 330 web-based pages and related resources providing information on various ethnic afterschool and language school programs. The characteristics of the programs were carefully examined and coded; any missing information was followed up by phone calls or emails. Patterns and themes emerged from the data; subsequently, key codes and categories were developed to organize the information (Creswell, 2014; Krathwohl, 2009; Weare & Lin, 2000). To ensure we were consistent in our findings, we

also followed up with existing literature and other resources to compare the presence and characteristics of these ethnic programs across AA populations.

Strengths and Limitations

While our search did provide a nationwide sample, our exploratory study has both strengths and limitations that deserve mention. First, younger generations (despite ethnicity) are more likely to seek web-based information (NTIA, 2000), while older generations may still resort to their internal coethnic networks (e.g., ethnic churches, cultural events, ethnic programs) to find resources. Therefore, not all ethnic programs may appear online. Some ethnic communities may be so tightly knit and strong enough that online information is unnecessary. Secondly, in efforts to ensure consistency across all procedures, the authors adopted strict standardization of key words⁴ (i.e., afterschool, language, ethnic, etc.), which may have limited additional findings. Finally, the use of nonprobability techniques found in purposive sampling naturally limits its overall generalizability, because it is nonrandom in its selection. However, this approach was necessary to find specific programs that fit the criteria of our study. For these reasons, it is important to note that the final pool of ethnic programs is not a conclusive listing. Generalizability should be approached with caution; however, taken together, there were a number of representative programs ($n = 135$) for East, South, Southeast, and Filipino communities. From our sample, we were able to develop common themes that emerged from program characteristics across all groups. While there were some similarities, many programs were distinctive in East, South, Southeast, and Filipino communities (discussed in the following sections).

In this study, the use of technology served as a strength in helping to find existing ethnic programs across the U.S. First, web-based resources are invaluable for information sharing, and its usage has been recognized as critical for community participation by all racial and ethnic groups (NTIA, 2000). Second, social science researchers have begun to more frequently use these resources as a qualitative research tool, including content analyses of social networks, blogs, discussion forums, and webpages (Markham, 2004, 2011; Weare & Lin, 2000). Since the mid-20th century, content analysis has been adopted by a wide range of academic disciplines and used to examine a wide variety of media content including newspaper articles, television programs, one-on-one conversations, and advertising images (Weare & Lin, 2000). Third, the use of web-based tools and resources helped increase our sampling frame and pool in the following ways: (a) It allowed greater access to ethnic programs that may not have been available otherwise (Markham, 2004; Weare & Lin, 2000). For example, we were able to find ethnic programs for smaller communities (i.e.,

Hmong, Cambodian) and even larger communities (i.e., Chinese, Korean) that may have been limited to only coethnic members (before the Internet). In the past (and now), many programs might be advertised only in ethnic newspapers or at churches or social events that serve their own coethnic communities. (b) Web-based resources provide readily available information once found only in traditional paper brochures or annual program reports. Most programs now have websites with key information about their program, resources, funders, and services to the community. (c) Despite using purposive sampling, this study was able to ascertain more samples across the U.S. than being limited to a few local programs, thereby enabling our ability to compare and contrast diverse AA programs and communities—one of the objectives of our study (Markham, 2004). In this case, we found 135 programs in several cities across the U.S. (d) Finally, web-based resources provided access to large listings of ethnic programs and educational directories, indicating types and frequencies of such programs for specific ethnic groups.

Given the total number of programs, the patterns that emerged, cultural and structural factors, supporting literature, and census data, the study does offer some generalizable findings for each of the groups. In summary, our study was able to illustrate some of the themes and patterns found across diverse ethnic programs and communities. Future studies might complement this work with in-depth case studies with multiple techniques. Despite some of the limitations, we were able to compile a rich resource for 11 AA populations, a unique contribution we have not seen in previous AA literature.

Results

East Asians

Afterschool Programs

Our study found 25 East Asian afterschool programs: 12 Chinese, 10 Korean, and 3 Japanese. Supported by local coethnic businesses and organizations (especially Korean programs), private donors, and sponsorships, these community-based programs (largely nonprofit and fee-based, except one for-profit Korean program⁵) served students from diverse socioeconomic levels.

Programs were stand-alone or combined: academic, cultural (e.g., art, heritage, traditional dance), and other elements (e.g., leadership development, child care, family services, volunteer/internships, community outreach). Academic components included both remedial and enrichment services. Most community-based programs charged fees, but many provided financial support. Directories were easily found for East Asian afterschool programs (not found in other groups).

The overall numbers, however, did not reflect the reported popularity of afterschool programs, especially for Koreans and Chinese (Zhou, 2008, 2009). Consistent with the literature, Chinese afterschool programs were academic (Zhou & Li, 2003), and free Korean programs were housed in churches irrespective of social class (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Information on Japanese programs was lacking in the literature.

Language Schools

We found 18 nonprofit, fee-based language schools: 11 Chinese, 2 Korean, and 5 Japanese. Many language schools were supported partly by Chinese, Japanese, and Korean governments and ministries of education, respectively (not found for any other group).

Other funding sources included private/corporate donors, sponsorships, and coethnic businesses and organizations (especially for Chinese and Koreans). The literature review found that many Korean and Chinese for-profit programs charged fees, while Korean church programs were mostly free (Zhou, 2008; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Funded by the Chinese government, Chinese classes were even incorporated into some public schools. For many Chinese schools, parents were required to volunteer.

Japanese language schools have been established for a long time (35–111 years); the lack of newer language schools indicates this group's integration into mainstream society. The overall numbers did not reflect the popularity of East Asian language schools as reported in the literature (Zhou & Li, 2003). Language school directories were easily found for East Asian programs, especially Korean and Chinese, unlike other groups discussed below.

South Asians

Afterschool Programs

We found 8 programs: 2 Indian, 1 Pakistani, and 5 Bangladeshi, most offering a combination of academic, cultural, and other components (e.g., leadership, sports, art, dance, community service, games). Academic programs were mostly enrichment-based (e.g., homework support, math/reading, PSAT/SAT prep, mentoring), except for one remedial Bangladeshi program.

While both Indian programs were free, the Pakistani and some Bangladeshi programs charged fees. Most funding came from private donations and membership fees. Most community-based programs were managed by volunteers and parents to support cultural enrichment and solidarity.

The literature finds Indian religious organizations often host afterschool programs to promote culture and religion (Brettell, 2005), while mosques host weekend schools for Muslim children in the U.S. (Bagby, Perl, & Froehle,

2001). Islamic schools are a typical education option in Bangladesh (Ahmad, 2004); one Islamic program from this study was offered in a mosque. Although we only found a few examples, the literature review indicates it is common for religious institutions to host programs.

Language Schools

Sixteen language schools (largely fee-based and nonprofit, except one Indian for-profit program) were found: 8 Indian/Hindi, 1 Pakistani/Urdu, and 7 Bangladeshi/Bengali. Many Indian and Bangladeshi programs infused cultural enrichment with language. Information on Pakistani programs was unavailable.

Hosted at community and national associations, the programs were funded by private donations, membership fees, and fundraising. All programs emphasized parent participation; some were hosted at religious institutions. Brettel (2005) and Khandelwal (2002) report many South Asian cultural and religious institutions host language classes.

Southeast Asians

Afterschool Programs

We found 42 youth programs: 16 Vietnamese, 12 Cambodian, 9 Hmong, and 5 Laotian. Most academic programs were combined with culture (e.g., cultural arts, music, dance) or other components (e.g., leadership training, career counseling/job training, sports/recreation). Some programs only offered cultural studies, academics, or sports.

Of the 32 academic programs (alone or combined), 30 provided remedial education, tutoring, or homework help; 19 offered college-prep instruction. Supported by volunteers, all community-based programs were cost-free (not the case for most other groups). Government funding, private grants, and donations subsidized these programs.

Many programs had an anti-gang mission offering alternatives “to keep kids off the streets.” While our search only found one Cambodian program that targeted academic and career counseling for teen parents, program components addressing teenage pregnancy do exist, particularly for Cambodian and Hmong youth (not seen in any other group). Lee and Hawkins (2008) and Chhuon et al. (2010) found such programs to be supportive of Cambodian students.

Language Schools

Seventeen language schools were found: 3 Vietnamese, 6 Cambodian/Khmer, 3 Hmong, and 5 Laotians/Lao. Managed by volunteers at nonprofit community organizations, most were funded by private/business grants, donations, and government assistance. No fees were charged except in one Hmong language school.

A noteworthy finding, 17 Hmong and 3 Vietnamese charter schools were established to preserve their language. Wright (2007) described similar Cambodian/Khmer programs provided by public schools. Results indicate Southeast Asian communities are finding ways to support language through schools (Maloof, Rubin, & Miller, 2006).

Filipinos

Afterschool Programs

We found eight community-based and school-based programs; most were free. Companies, individual donations, and government grants were funding sources. All programs had an academic component combined with cultural or other elements (e.g., leadership development). Of the academic programs, seven offered enrichment, while half provided remedial education. Although little research exists, two of the youth programs were included in Nadal's 2009 study.

Language Schools

We found only one Filipino/Tagalog language school; it included a cultural component and was operating through tuition and fees. Since the literature on Filipino language schools is devoid and Filipinos are mainly English-speaking (Paik, Choe, & Witenstein, 2016; Wolf, 1997), it is not surprising to have netted very little in our search.

Key Findings and Discussion

Because of the different types of networks (strong, weak, dispersed) and ethnic social structures (ethnic programs), access and forms of ethnic social capital (opportunities, resources, services) varied. This section discusses some distinctive characteristics that we found between higher and lower achieving AA communities. Given the abundance and richness of our findings across 11 AA groups, for the ease of the reader, this section highlights key findings for each of the groups. All key findings were derived from our study and supported by literature, census data, and other resources.

Higher Achieving AA Communities: Strong and Dispersed Networks

East Asian (EA) Programs (Chinese, Japanese, Korean)

- EAs have *strong* coethnic communities due to their *strong* structural characteristics and tightly knit cultures. Both structural and cultural factors appear to reinforce their high achievement.
- EA programs are clearly considered important as confirmed by the number of educational web-based directories (not found for other groups).

- Japanese are also high-achieving, but their communities are dispersed in nature due to their high structural characteristics and English language skills. They rely less on their coethnic networks, which may explain why Japanese ethnic programs were harder to find both in our results and in the literature.
- Interestingly, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean national governments and ministries of education support some of the U.S. programs (not found in other groups).
- Chinese and Korean churches are seen as important ethnic social structures in their communities.

South Asian (SA) Programs (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi)

- Similar to the Japanese, SAs generally have a dispersed community. Indians are more dispersed than Pakistanis and Bangladeshis due to their high structural characteristics; the latter have weaker coethnic networks due to their varying socioeconomic status and skills.
- For SAs, there were a number of programs housed in religious centers, offering more enrichment and cultural activities.
- Community involvement, parent volunteers, and fundraising (generally more than other groups) were highly emphasized for this group.
- SA parents were found to be valuable resources. Both SA and EA parents are highly involved based on the literature and our results.
- The fact that SA and EA parents are also largely required to pay fees indicates their level of awareness and involvement in their children's activities (not found in other groups).

Lower Achieving AA Communities: Weaker Networks

Southeast Asian (SEA) Programs (Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian)

- Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotian groups generally have weaker coethnic networks with limited resources, education, and skills; inevitably, their ethnic programs cannot operate without public funding.
- Unlike higher achieving communities, our examples did not show support from coethnic businesses or home countries.
- Parent involvement in programs was also not as emphasized as other groups in our results and as confirmed in the literature.
- Since parents do not pay for services (all largely free programs), they may be less aware of what children are learning from these programs as compared to South or East Asian parents.
- Program characteristics in these communities differed in their mission and services. For example, teen pregnancy programs, early job training,

counseling, and other types of programs were offered to “keep kids off the streets” (not found for other groups).

- Some academic enrichment was offered, but most programs were remedial-based. All programs infused the importance of culture in some capacity.

Mixed Achievement in AA Communities: Strong and Dispersed Networks

Filipino and Japanese Programs

- Both Filipinos and Japanese have mixed achievement. Educational outcomes vary for these groups.
- Although Japanese achievement is relatively high, research shows that their generational status has some bearing on their achievement; educational trends appear to worsen over time.
- The same is true for Filipinos. Both Filipinos and Japanese are dispersed, speak English, and have job access in mainstream America.
- Unlike the Chinese or Koreans, Filipinos and Japanese rely less on their coethnic communities for educational and economic opportunities.
- They also rely less on educational programs, which was confirmed in our results and in the literature.
- Cultural enrichment was integrated in both Filipino and Japanese programs.
- Filipinos and Japanese generally have high structural characteristics and rely less on ethnic programs.

Vietnamese Programs

- Although characterized as a strong coethnic community, the Vietnamese also have mixed educational outcomes, which is reflected in their diverse programs.
- Many programs provide both academic enrichment and remedial-based support; culture is also integrated in most programs.
- Their largely Confucian background also makes them more collectivistic similar to East Asians.
- The Vietnamese community has more opportunities than their Southeast Asian counterparts largely due to their coethnic skills, resources, and business backing (not found in other SEA programs).
- Partnership with the Catholic Church⁶ is a key ethnic resource for this group (not found for most other Southeast Asian groups, except for Filipinos).

Key Similarities and Differences Across Ethnic Programs

Common Program Goals and Characteristics Shared by All AA Groups

The following program characteristics (a byproduct of culture and structure) were shared by both higher and lower achieving AA groups: the importance of education (advanced or remedial) and leadership skills, preservation of culture and language, and community involvement.

Education as Key to Success

All AA groups addressed the importance of education on some level in their programs. Depending on their target population, remedial, enrichment, or advanced studies were offered. Most academic programs were enrichment-based, but there were a number of remedial services for low-income students across both higher and lower achieving communities—a finding that does not fit the model minority stereotype, and a reminder that achievement variation does exist in every ethnic group. Although lower achieving communities had more remedial-type programs and services in general, the importance of education was emphasized in their mission. Higher achieving communities focused more on enrichment or advancement; getting ahead was a key part of their mission.

Leadership Development for Youth

All AA groups offered some form of leadership development to children and youth, a finding that may be surprising as Asians are often seen as the “middleman minority” (E. F. Wong, 1985) who are often not in prominent leadership roles (Fugita & O’Brien, 1991; Kitano, 1993; Liang, Lee, & Ting, 2002; Min, 2006). As immigrant children transition into new generations, leadership development is a critical component in sustaining their ethnic communities. Leadership components were used as a form of community outreach and support, especially for lower income youth.

The Role of Culture in Developing Ethnic Social Capital: Cultural Enrichment, Ethnic Identity, and Coethnic Peers

Cultural enrichment varied across ethnic social structures, but the importance of culture was emphasized across all AA groups. Culture was integrated through music, dance, arts, cooking, language, history, or engagement with coethnic peers. Based on the literature and our results, many parents and community members are deliberate about children learning their ethnic language, history, and cultural traditions. The programs reinforced the importance of ethnic identity and provided an opportunity for coethnic support and cultural solidarity. Coethnic peers provide a different social outlet outside of school, reinforcing the importance of ethnic identity and cultural pride—another form of ethnic social capital that was shared by all groups.

Community Involvement as Critical for Growth

The level of community involvement varied for all groups, but it was a necessary component for all programs to get started or be maintained despite the level of funding. Community members included parents, elders, leaders, peers, or other members who were supportive in some capacity. Although religious institutions were not specifically analyzed in this study, they may provide additional forms of ethnic social capital. For example, Korean Christian churches, Filipino and Vietnamese Catholic churches, Islamic mosques, and Hindu temples often host or partner with afterschool programs and language schools. Religious affiliations were helpful resources for all communities studied. For example, the Catholic Church and Protestant affiliations were important ethnic social structures providing social capital for Vietnamese, Chinese, and Koreans.

Community-Based Programs: Academic, Cultural, and Other Goals

All community-based programs were started by coethnic members and housed in their communities. While some stand-alone programs were found, most afterschool programs had a combination of academic, cultural, or other components. Depending on their target population, other components included martial arts, yoga, job training, teen pregnancy counseling, and recreation. All groups offered nonprofit programs. For-profit programs do exist, more often for Korean, Chinese, and Indian populations (all high-achieving), but nonprofit programs are generally more available and accessible to diverse socioeconomic levels. All programs relied on private and/or public funding.

Key Program Differences and Distinctive Findings of Unique AA Populations

Cultural and Structural Factors Matter: More Differences Found Across Ethnic Programs and AA Communities

We found a range of 135 ethnic afterschool programs and language schools housed in 11 coethnic communities across the U.S. While there were some similarities, more differences existed when comparing communities, programs, resources, and educational outcomes.

Culturally, all groups vary in terms of their religion, language, traditions, and practices. Structurally, socioeconomic status, income levels, educational backgrounds, job access, and skills also vary across all communities. Taken together, in applying our cultural–structural framework, these interactions converge and tangibly manifest into distinctive ethnic programs with varying goals, resources, and services for each community’s needs. The overall findings were also consistent with the literature for each of the groups.

No Two Programs Are Alike: Program Goals and Students' Needs Varied Across All AA Groups

There were clear differences in program goals, missions, services, and students' needs across all AA groups. For example, East Asian programs had more enrichment or advanced programs in general, whereas Southeast Asian programs had more remedial-based programs. Classes also differed with programs offering martial arts, yoga, job training, recreation, or other services. "Keeping kids off the streets" was more commonly found as a goal in Southeast Asian programs, offering job training, teen pregnancy counseling, or recreation. While these programs could exist for other groups, we did not find them for any other group in our search.

Coethnic Support Matters: Internal Versus External Funding

Most ethnic programs were nonprofit⁷ with private and/or public funding; however, funding type and amount varied across all programs. Southeast Asian nonprofits (cost-free) were mostly supported by U.S. government funding, while South and East Asian nonprofits (which charged fees) had mostly private funding. The level of support found in programs for East Asian communities (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) as well as for the Vietnamese community revealed a compelling difference compared to other groups. Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese programs each received some funding from their respective coethnic businesses, churches, and other organizations; however, East Asians were the only group to receive funding from their foreign national governments and ministries of education. Chinese and Korean communities appeared to have the most coethnic support followed by the Vietnamese; all three groups have *strong* coethnic communities. For lower achieving groups, coethnic support was much weaker and program sustainability was contingent on public funding.

Coethnic Networks and Ethnic Social Capital: Ethnic Programs Mirrored the Strength of Their Communities

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, ethnic social structures were similar in strength to their respective coethnic communities. In most cases, the nature of the coethnic community often reflected access to different forms of ethnic social capital. For example, *strong* communities (Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese) had more access to educational resources and opportunities related to getting ahead. *Dispersed* communities (Japanese, Filipino, South Asian) appeared to have fewer resources in general since they rely less on ethnic social structures. The literature confirmed less usage and frequency of such programs for these groups. Because *weaker* communities (Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian) had more remedial programs, their youth had different resources, services, and opportunities to stay on track or develop academic and life skills.

Southeast Asian programs were also contingent on outside funding, while East Asian programs garnered internal coethnic support. Each ethnic social structure had different characteristics depending on community needs, inevitably affecting access and forms of ethnic social capital across groups. The overall findings were also consistent with the literature we found for each of the groups.

Parents Matter: Program Expectations for Parent Involvement Are Not Equal

Based on the literature, parents are a tremendous resource for all AA groups, but what we found is that program expectations for parental involvement and participation were not equal across all groups. While South and East Asian programs emphasized and required parent involvement, Southeast Asian and Filipino programs generally required little to no parent involvement. This, in itself, is interesting. In considering extracurricular programs in the U.S., many nonethnic programs do not request or require active parent involvement. Of course, parents are encouraged to attend events and support their children, but many programs outside of schools do not require parents to get involved in extracurricular activities. Most schools try to engage parents through partnerships or events, but even that is largely voluntary. We found that many of our East Asian and, overwhelmingly, South Asian programs expected and required parents to take an active role (e.g., speaking, teaching, cooking, monitoring attendance, collecting dues, fundraising, providing community support). Further, South Asian programs expected the most from their parents compared to any other group, and South Asian parents expected the most from their children compared to any other group. Interestingly, U.S. Census Bureau data (2010) and the literature on this topic has found that South Asians (largely Indian) have had the highest educational and economic outcomes; the literature also confirmed differences in parent involvement and expectations for other AA groups (Asher, 2002; Chao, 2000; Hickey, 2006; Schneider & Lee, 1990; Suizzo & Soon, 2006). Related research has shown that East Asian parents are also highly invested, followed by Vietnamese parents (Goyette & Xie, 1999; Leung, Boehnlein, & Kinzie, 1997; Pew Research Center, 2012; Y. J. Wong et al., 2011; Wu, 2008).

Conclusion and Implications

This study proposes a new cultural–structural framework by examining characteristics of ethnic programs (social structures) in distinctive coethnic communities (strong, weak, dispersed), which inevitably produce unequal resources and opportunities (ethnic social capital) in higher and lower achieving AA communities. So, what have we learned about AA ethnic programs and

their communities? Why is this important, and how can we support diverse AA populations?

First, many educators and other practitioners are not aware that AA populations are complex. There are over 34 Asian ethnic groups with multiple languages in the U.S. (Teranishi et al., 2004). While higher and lower achieving communities do share some similarities, there are more differences across all groups. Culturally and structurally, all AA groups vary. Languages and English proficiency also vary across these groups. Although it is impossible to develop an in-depth examination of all groups within the scope of this article, these findings help to disaggregate AA data.

Second, ethnic social structures vary in their form and function; they exist to strengthen coethnic networks and serve the community's needs. Ethnic afterschool and language programs are generally positive influences providing opportunities and resources, though these varied across all communities. While *strong* communities (e.g., Korean, Chinese) rely heavily on afterschool programs and language schools, *dispersed* communities (e.g., Indians, Filipinos) might rely on other ethnic social structures or nonethnic resources (e.g., Kaplan college prep program). For *weaker* communities (e.g., Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian), they are much smaller and may have fewer ethnic social structures and resources in general. Although it is outside the scope of this article, the authors acknowledge other types of ethnic social structures (i.e., civic, social, cultural, religious, other) may also be influential. For example, religious institutions—such as churches, temples, or mosques—emerged as significant influences across all groups. Many AA ethnic afterschool and language programs have partnered with faith-based institutions for more support. Since resources and opportunities vary per community, more research should be conducted on various types of ethnic social structures.

Third, because ethnic social structures vary, different forms of ethnic social capital are generated through afterschool and language programs. Research findings indicate ethnic peer support and ethnic identity are also positive resources found in these programs (He, 2010; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Many peers find camaraderie and cultural solidarity in meeting with their coethnic peers. Eating the same foods, sharing the same cultural traditions, and learning their ethnic language reinforces their cultural pride and community. These forms of ethnic social capital may not be easily found in their schooling experiences. These ethnic spaces allow and reinforce the importance of culture and ethnic identity for children and youth.

We also found a range of how parents were involved (whether required or voluntary) in these programs; parent involvement does matter. Based on a cultural emphasis on the parents' role in AA families revealed in the literature,

they are key agents of ethnic social capital for all AA groups; however, parental involvement was not equal across higher and lower achieving groups. From the literature, South and East Asian parents have the highest expectations and involvement in their families. From our results, East Asian and particularly South Asian programs emphasized the importance of parent involvement and participation compared to Southeast Asian or Filipino programs.

As noted earlier, Southeast Asian programs are cost-free, but most East and South Asian programs charge nominal to costly fees. Not only are parents required to get involved, but the mere fact that many of the East and South Asian parents are required to pay fees for these programs and decidedly enroll their children indicates a calculated and invested level of awareness and involvement in their children's activities. East and South Asian parents decide in what program and how their children will get involved. What this says is that parents not only want academic enrichment, but also cultural and language enrichment for their children, which may explain why parental involvement was even more prominent in these programs. These ethnic programs and parents (particularly East and South Asian) know they play a key role in terms of cultural transmission; they are part of the ethnic social capital that reinforces the importance of culture and community forces.

The family unit, filial piety, and collectivism are all shared Asian cultural traits. However, cost-free Southeast Asian programs may be more indicative of the structural factors in place. Culturally, the role of parents matters for all groups (in varying degrees), but structural factors (e.g., socioeconomic class, education, skills) may also dictate how and if parents get involved (Lareau, 2011). For working class families in general, while parents may care about their children's education and activities, they may not have the time or resources to pay, or they may not know how to get involved. Southeast Asian ethnic programs were aligned with the strength of their coethnic communities. Without outside funding and support, from our findings, Southeast Asian programs and communities are generally limited in their resources and opportunities. To build stronger networks, ethnic programs in general can reach out to parents (and vice versa) through workshops, newsletters, English classes, and parent-student projects. Parent-community partnerships could also help strengthen coethnic networks.

Fourth, stakeholders need to work together and develop partnerships inside and outside of their community. Access to more resources, opportunities, and community-building can only happen with parents, community members, peers, leaders, and others partnering together, especially for weaker communities. The collaborative efforts of key players are critical to developing ethnic social capital within communities. One of the most interesting characteristics

found in East Asian programs was the level of collaboration and support from their own home countries, ministries of education, and coethnic businesses. Although we cannot copy this model wholesale, collaboration can take many forms. Working with more stakeholders can help stabilize efforts (e.g., schools and faith-based institutions or other ethnic social structures can partner together). External partners and funding sources can help train community members in struggling communities. In the case of Southeast Asians, their potential to grow seems to depend on outside resources and partnerships. Consequently, there are a growing number of ethnic programs in place with governmental and other support. Program sustainability can only happen with buy-in from parents, community members, leaders, and other stakeholders. Teachers and schools can also work with ethnic communities to provide more opportunities and support structures for their students and their families.

Fifth, to the authors' knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to compare communities, programs, resources, and educational outcomes within and across diverse AA populations. As an exploratory study, the findings indicate that great diversity exists among AA groups. Often, higher achieving AA groups get spotlighted for their achievements, reinforcing the model minority stereotype of AAs. However, cultural and structural factors create unique opportunities and resources for these communities. This study provides the breadth and depth necessary for systematic comparison. Because AA groups are complex, more research is needed to understand how to support these populations in schools and communities. Supported by the literature, we did find patterns in our research; however, generalizability should still be interpreted with caution. Although we studied 135 programs in 11 coethnic groups, a greater sample would have strengthened our work further. Since communities are constantly changing, future work might include larger sample sizes or in-depth case studies on diverse communities.

Research might also disaggregate generational status among diverse AA populations. Although it was beyond the scope of this paper, it is also an important factor in understanding how to serve immigrant children. Many immigrants are still in their first and second generations, while others have been here for several generations (e.g., Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese). Relatedly, acculturation rates and the ability to speak English are also influential in how one navigates outside one's own coethnic community. More often, the ability to speak more than one language serves as an advantage for the individual, but not necessarily for the coethnic community and its resources. For example, Indian, Filipino, and Japanese coethnics can often speak English fluently, allowing them greater access to mainstream resources, but becoming less reliant on their own ethnic community. While their structural factors are strong, their

dispersed communities may not provide as many resources as *stronger* communities for their members. These cultural advantages and disadvantages are part of the changes that occur with each generation. With this in mind, ethnic social structures need to adapt to evolving children's needs as well as play more supportive roles in the acculturation process. Schools and educators can also play a key role in supporting this process.

Finally, diverse AA communities continue to grow in the U.S., and it is important to support all AA students. This article examined diverse groups in one collective work to gain a holistic understanding. By understanding the characteristics of distinctive communities, educators and researchers can better understand access, resources, and opportunities of diverse AA communities. Stakeholders, parents, program staff, and community members need to work together to maximize their efforts. Coethnic communities and social structures need to be examined carefully as they provide important ethnic resources and opportunities for students and families.

Endnotes

¹*For afterschool programs:* Program type was classified as academic, cultural, other, or combined programs. If it was an academic studies program, it was recorded as advanced, enrichment, or remedial. *For both afterschool and language programs:* Type of organization was recorded as profit or nonprofit. Information on any fees or tuition was also coded. Leadership and support for the program included community members, government institutions, and religious organizations. Funding categories included private donors, government funding, institutional grants, and other funding sources.

²Childcare centers were excluded.

³Adult language courses, university language programs, ESL or related programs, and online language courses were excluded.

⁴More information regarding our procedures is available upon request.

⁵While this search yielded more nonprofit programs, the literature review revealed that for-profit programs can easily be found for East Asian groups, particularly for Korean and Chinese communities as reflected in their coethnic directories (Zhou, 2008; Zhou & Kim, 2006).

⁶The Catholic Church played a role for both Vietnamese and Filipino communities. While Catholicism is prevalent (and partnership is not uncommon) in the Filipino community, our findings and the literature showed that Catholic churches were more active in sponsoring language and afterschool programs in Vietnamese communities (Zhou & Bankston, 1996).

⁷*Nonprofit versus for-profit programs:* Nonprofit and for-profit organizations may also vary in terms of their educational goals and costs. For example, although limited in this search, many Chinese and Korean for-profit organizations do exist, and parents are often willing to pay lofty fees for advanced preparation to attend elite universities (Zhou, Tseng, & Kim, 2008).

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