English as a foreign language and cultural capital in South Korea: a mixed methods study

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ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL CAPITAL
IN SOUTH KOREA: A MIXED METHODS STUDY

By
Eun Hi Seo

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English as a Foreign Language and Cultural Capital in South Korea: A Mixed Methods Study

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Eun Hi Seo

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Abstract

Relying on Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory, this mixed methods study examined the direct and indirect trajectories of social and economic benefits in the home in improving ninth and college-track twelfth graders English language performance, focusing on their participation in cultural capital activities.

Employing the nationally representative secondary panel data from the Korean Education and Employment Panel Survey in 2004, I examined the relationship between cultural capital and self-rated English performance. Then, I conducted interviews with Korean participants who had learned English as a foreign language until high school, recruiting four Korean young adults in the U.S. and two in Korea to provide in-depth information on social symbolic meanings of the English language and its relevance to social upward mobility.

Quantitative results revealed: (a) Ninth graders and twelfth graders’ cultural capital participation has a significant effect on self-rated English performance, even though degree of cultural capital effect becomes weaker as students’ grade level increases. (b) For ninth graders, there is a significant difference in the degree of cultural capital consumption and in the kinds of cultural capital used among different income groups, suggesting that students of high-income families benefit more from the use of cultural capital than their counterpart peers in furthering English performance. Qualitative results offered further explanations on: (a) decreasing effects of cultural capital on EFL performance for twelfth graders; (b) cases of cultural capital resources and how they effect EFL learning; (c) social symbolic meanings of EFL performance
that strengthen social upward mobility and that confer prestigious social symbolic status; (d) social demands for EFL standardized test scores in current labor market.
Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been completed had it not been for the support of many people. Many people have offered helpful comments of my work as it progressed.

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Next, I wish to give thanks to Dr. Joseph Bowman Jr. and Dr. Kathryn Schiller for their academic support. I am very grateful to Becky Bale, Chris Ives, Susan Cole Perkins and Bita Behforooz for their helpful comments. My thanks also go to my school district, Seoul Gangnam-gu Office of Education, Seoul, Korea, for allowing me to study in the U.S.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

The English language in East Asian Countries is an influential means of communication in foreign trade, in business, and in politics (Ross, 2008; Sasaki, 2008). Particularly, the English language in Korea plays an important role in giving social and economic advantage to the people who have good knowledge of it. Koreans who invest time and effort to improve their English skills benefit from the opportunity to enter renowned colleges and qualify for well-paying jobs, despite the language’s low usage in real communication.

The importance of English has been underscored in public education policy because of its strategic needs: producing and reinforcing national wealth. Policy makers and researchers have focused on developing human workforces through education (Becker, 1975) to boost the national economy, because Korea has almost no natural resources (such as crude oil) and no other mineral resources to support its own economy (Korean Educational Development Institute [KEDI], 2007).

Korea has achieved a significant growth in social and economic sectors after the devastation of the Korean War in 1950. As illustrated, the Gross National Income index has increased from $67 in 1953 to $18, 372 in 2006 (KEDI, 2007). This economic development necessitates the further recruitment and hiring of skilled workforces that are competent in English as a form of global communication to gain profits from international trade, as well as diplomatic and political matters. That is, the strategic demands, reinforcing national wealth, for English has been shaped by the particular Korean social and economic circumstance. As a result, English has become the
standard for one’s “potential and qualification” in college entrance examinations and in job placement (Kim, 2005).

Symbolically, English knowledge is becoming cultural capital that is regarded as a socially and economically valuable quality (Sasaki, 2008; Choi, 2003). English competence confers to people a “symbolic capital-prestige and honor as well as economic capital-material wealth” (Earling, 2004, p. 23). Kim (2005) accounts for how the English language is symbolically regarded in Korean society:

The acclaim of English in Korea is not simply about its convenience for diplomacy, business, science, trade, media and tourism. It is also about the use of language for economic status and social privilege. “Grandeur,” “Dynasty,” “Prince,” “Enterprise,” and “Chairman” are the names of automobiles made by local corporations, and “best,” “super,” “superior,” “high,” “excellent,” “premium,” “nice,” and “absolute,” the most favored adjectives (“royal” battery)....[ ]. English is also used to deceive, to disguise local products as imported or licensed by foreign companies. “Absolute,” “Dominant” and “Imperial” are Korean milk and baby formulas, and many other products are born with English names, since presumably English names bring higher sales (Kim, 2005, p. 442)

Kim (2005) argues that the status and power of English in Korea is affected by globalization ideology, which is not a neutral value. Kim (2005) says that “while the English language acquired the status of a global language through particular histories of violence and exploitation, such as British and U.S. colonialism and imperialist adventures, the transnational movements of cultural products also facilitate the flow of
values and knowledge” (p. 442). Due to the power, potential and expectation that English performance can bring with social and economic profits (Phillipson, 1998; Park & Abelmann, 2004), many parents are interested in educating their children in English competence through schooling and private tutorial instruction.

As a result, while assuring the status and functions of English, the issue over educational inequality in relation to Korean EFL (English as a foreign language) has been raised (Park, 2008; Ross, 2008). The levels of parental financial support in English education are becoming more stratified and intensified. It is not unusual to see cases of middle or upper class parents letting their child (alone, or with the child’s mother) temporarily immigrate to an English country to acquire native-like fluency in English (Ly, 2008; Park, 2009). Some parents send their children to expensive English cram schools (e.g., immersion class) as a way to pass on their economic resources to their children (Kim, 2005; Park, 2009). Students from low income families, by contrast, have few options to obtain extra help and some of them only rely on public school education. English as cultural capital creates another dimension of social and educational inequality, which may contribute to restrict one’s access to social and economic advantages (Kim, 2005; Park & Abelmann, 2004; Park, 2009).

Problem Statement

As the social and economic rewards of knowing English increase, English performance in South Korea has become more important in college admission process and job placement. English performance on a college entrance examination is a decisive predictor for entering elite-level colleges. In a company recruitment process and at a
job interview, English-performance test scores (TOEIC, TOEFL score) are an important qualification to enter into a job market (Han, 2009; Choi, 2008).

Inequality issues are that students’ English performance is more likely to be influenced by family resources, such as family income, private tutorial instruction, or cultural capital, rather than by innate ability or individual effort. In a foreign language context, Korean students have to learn English either by direct instruction at school or at a tutoring institute where they learn from advanced language teachers (Chen et al., 2005). Conversely, anybody can acquire a first language without purposeful instruction, such as parent-to-child talk in the home. I limit my discussion of family resources to cultural capital and private tutorial instruction (which presuppose the parental financial resources) as predictors that contribute to Korean students’ EFL school performance, college admission, and subsequent social and economic advantage.

First, cultural capital is considered an important factor in academic achievement, as evidenced in many studies in the United States (DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002), the United Kingdom (Sullivan, 2002), and the Netherlands (DeGraaf, DeGraaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000). Many studies along this line have been carried out by measuring the concept of cultural capital. Particularly, achievement difference is significantly explained by cultural capital (Dumais, 2002), parental wealth (Orr, 2003), family-generated habits (Lareau & Weininger, 2003), reading habits in the home (DeGraaf et al., 2000), and parental educational values (Lareau & Horvat, 1999). Comparably, relatively few studies have examined this issue in South Korea, in which cultural currency, or prestigious cultural tastes (DiMaggio, 1982) are differently shaped and framed from other western countries. Moreover, few studies have dealt with foreign
language performance as an outcome variable in cultural capital research. It is still uncertain how strongly and how directly cultural capital predicts English performance and what domains of cultural capital can be of help in achieving the differences. This necessitates an examination into the cross-cultural applicability of notions and theories of cultural capital to South Korea.

Second, the excessive demand for and reliance on English private tutorial instruction has been a serious social problem in South Korea (Park, 2009). The amount spent on private tutorial instruction increases by income level (Choi, 2008). The excessive tutoring demand is caused by the exclusive social and economic advantage of elite-college graduates, Confucian-driven parental expectations for education (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2007), and the Korean K-12 education system, which screens students on standardized test scores (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development[OECD], 2006).

There is a continuous Korean government effort to quell the need for private tutorial instruction, such as providing online English tutoring programs by means of the government-run Educational Broadcasting Service; however, the demand for tutoring continues to increase. Unequal access to English tutoring practices by different social strata is a serious social concern in South Korea. Relatively few studies have been published in major journals in English-speaking countries about EFL private tutoring practices in Asian EFL countries and how such tutoring experience is helpful in achieving excellent school performance.

In sum, cultural capital resources in the home may account for EFL performance differences in Korea. Cultural capital reflects values and habitual practices
(Bourdieu, 1986) that determine how a family chooses to spend its available resources (e.g. English private tutorial instruction, purchasing English books), and how the family gets access to these valuable resources (K. Schiller, personal communication, September 8, 2008). Previous studies have focused on the relationship between SES and academic achievement, which serves to produce and reinforce educational inequalities; however, few studies have examined whether cultural capital resources in the home have an influence on EFL performance. Those research gaps necessitate further examination of what ways and to what extent cultural capital in the home is advantageous to some Korean students and disadvantageous to others.

Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework rests on Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Some scholarly definitions of cultural capital are: “linguistic and cultural competence, broad knowledge of culture that belongs to members of the upper classes and is found much less frequently among the lower classes” (Dumais, 2002, p. 44); “knowledge of, participation in, familiarity of in the dominant culture” (Sullivan, 2001, p. 896); “constant quantity in terms of accumulation and investment” (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997, p. 574); and “familiarity with the conceptual codes that underlie a specific culture with its major artistic and normative manifestations” (DeGraaf et al., 2000, p. 93). Cultural reproduction theory argues that cultural capital in the home shapes a child’s value system, education attitude, tastes and code of language in the home, which influences the child’s education path, school performance and expected levels of education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Cultural capital has a different symbolic value (high-brow, erudite, intelligent versus snobbish).
and economic value (easily exchangeable into economic capital versus non-exchangeable). The particular point of this theory is that students’ cultural capital resources in the home have an influence on school performance, advantaging higher class students, particularly females (Dumais, 2002; DiMaggio, 1982; Barone, 2006).

As discussed, English language performance in South Korea is valuable cultural capital. English is the highly-valued, profit-making and elite-status cultural capital (Choi, 2003). Capital refers to “accumulated labor which and when appropriated on a private, exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enabled them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241). It “takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being” (p. 241). It is “convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). That is, English language in South Korea has the social recognition and power to provide students with the potential to gain economic profits, requiring only that they be competent in the language.

Even though many researchers of the sociology of education have offered empirical support for cultural reproduction theory (Barone, 2006; Zimdars, Sullivan, & Heath, 2009) using quantitative research framework, few researchers in language studies have quantitatively examined the relationship between cultural capital and EFL performance. Due to the Korean education system (standardized-test based, not valuing teachers’ references), cultural reproduction theory may not have the predictive power that it has had in Western countries.
Research Goals

Personally, I was motivated to examine the particular EFL learning context (Agee, 2002; Maxwell, 2005) focusing on how participation in cultural capital activities and differences in cultural capital resources in the home play a role in producing social and economic inequalities. I was also interested in the relationship between social demographic factors and EFL learning practices.

The choice of research topic was guided by my personal experience as an EFL learner and as a public school teacher in Seoul. As an EFL learner while I was in high school, I found that – unlike subjects such as Korean, Math, or Science – it takes time, effort, and monetary resources to be competent in English to the extent that one is rewarded in school transitions. As a public school teacher, I saw that many students in a wealthy school district were acquiring and reinforcing English competency through expensive private cram schools and temporary studying overseas programs, while their poor peers could not afford such expenses and were forced to rely on public education. My experiences led me to take interest in the causes and effects of unequal access to English learning and subsequent college entrance process. I intend to transform what I have experienced, noted, and considered unfair into scholarly findings that have larger validity and reliability through mixed-methods research (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007).

Intellectually, I was motivated to examine how the concept of cultural capital works in the Korean K-12 setting. In general, intellectual goals of research refers to “gaining insight into what is going on and why this is happening” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 21) to provide insights that previous studies have not addressed. Many researchers in Western countries (DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Zimdars et al., 2009) take in-depth
interest in cultural reproduction theory; there have been many discussions of influence on cultural capital and school performance. While transplanting the conceptual framework of cultural capital theory into the Korean educational setting, it is unclear whether I could find similar empirical findings as these presented in sociology of education journals. Due to the different pedagogical assumptions from the Western countries and Korean educational policy, cultural capital theory might not work in the Korean K-12 situation. I can, however, offer empirical insights into the way in which Korean students utilize cultural capital in the home and how students’ participation in cultural capital is related to English performance.

Statement of the Question

This mixed-methods research examines the direct and indirect trajectories of social and economic benefits in the home in improving 9th and college-track 12th graders’ English language performance, focusing on their participation in cultural capital activities and how their cultural capital resources in the home affect EFL learning. Even though the English language is not a meaningful communication tool in the society, language performance exerts powerful influence over college admission and job placement boards. Language competence has become a symbolic marker of social status and class in the 21st century. By employing mixed-methods research, I explicate new forms of educational inequality through the English acquisition process in detail to provide social and educational context, particularly to K-12 education in this society.

The overarching question is:
How are cultural capital resources advantageous to some Korean students and thereby disadvantageous to other students who may not have those resources?

The sub questions are:

1. How does participation in cultural capital activities have an influence on 9th grade and college-track 12th grade students’ English performance in Korea?
2. How do the differences in cultural capital resources in the home affect the English learning process and subsequent opportunities for college and a career?

Definition of Terms

The following terms are presented to clarify the concepts and definitions for this research.

*Economic capital* is “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243).

*Social capital* consists of “social obligations (connections), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243).

*Symbolic capital* refers to the “capital in whatever form as it is represented apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge, or more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as socially constituted cognitive capacity” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 255).
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In Chapter Two, the major theoretical framework that guides this research is cultural reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1986). First, I will discuss how English performance in Korea is regarded as high social status cultural capital, as well as how English competence acts as a yardstick for academic ability and qualification. Recent globalization (Friedman, 2003) and the social and economic situation that Korea is facing have contributed to this phenomenon. Second, I will show that unequal access to family resources has an influence on a student’s English performance and their school transitions, with an emphasis on parental income, parental education, English private tutorial instruction, and cultural capital. Special attention will be paid to reviewing the empirical educational research on cultural capital and educational outcomes to show the relationship between social origins and English performance for Korean students. Finally, I will discuss how this research is helpful in strengthening the theory of and research into cultural capital and EFL learning practices.

Roles of English

Social Upward Mobility

A growing body of research examines the role of English performance in East Asian countries. Ross (2008) argues that English performance in East Asian countries works in two ways. First, English performance is used to fulfill meritocracy (Ross, 2008; Choi, 2008; Sasaki, 2008). Ross (2008) says all people, regardless of their social backgrounds get equal access to educational opportunity if they strive for it. Performance, therefore, is strictly measured by standardized tests rather than a teacher’s
evaluation. Second, English performance works as a yardstick to point out one’s academic capacity and qualification. That is, English performance can “control access to selective middle schools and high schools serving as feeders to more prestigious institutions and to choice employment beyond them” and finally to “screen school applicants” (Ross, 2008, p. 7). Likewise, in Korea, English plays a role in achieving social and economic upward mobility (Choi, 2008), mediated by opportunity to enter more selective colleges. English comprises large portions of the SATs, and the SAT cut-off scores exclusively determine selective college admission and subsequent social and economic privilege.

The role of English performance as a screening device is similar in four Asian countries: Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, and Thailand. English performance, often measured by standardized tests, is used for school transitions and subsequent job placement. In Hong Kong, English performance is still an important indicator for school transitions and to working for foreign businesses, even though the language policy emphasis has changed from English to Mandarin Chinese (Ross, 2008). Sasaki (2008) argues that in Japan, English performance affects students’ school transitions and subsequent social and economic advantages in the job market. In Thailand, Prapphal (2008) shows that English performance plays a role in allocating students to universities. Because of this, secondary students devote much time to test preparation and some of them resort to private tutorial instruction. Choi (2008) states that in Korea, students start preparing for the college admission exam as early as upper elementary school. Public school English teachers put more emphasis on preparing for the entrance exam rather than heightening communicative competence. Some students get extra help
from private tutorial instruction to gain an advantage in test preparation. In short, English performance is a widely employed screening device that mediates access to college and to attendant social and economic gains.

*Stratified universities and English as a screening device.* It is particularly important to be admitted to elite colleges to achieve social and economic upward mobility in Korea. English plays a central role in screening students in the college admission process. Unlike the U.S. and other Western countries, universities in East Asian countries are hierarchically stratified (Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Sakamoto & Powers, 1995), divided into elite universities and non-elite universities. Selective universities screen students exclusively by their standardized SAT scores. Graduates from prestigious universities receive social and economic rewards in the form of social recognition as a highly qualified person (Collins, 1971), incentives in well-paid job placement, and in a strong and solid alumni network (Lin, 1999; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Korea is no exception to this rule. Universities in Korea are clearly stratified by the number of years, school locations (Seoul versus provincial colleges), and college prestige (elite colleges, 3rd tier colleges and others).

Oh’s (2005) research provides some relevance to college stratification and economic rewards in the job market. Oh (2005) examines the impact of university prestige (by campus location) and wage differences. Oh classifies the university prestige ranking into campus locations, those in the Seoul metropolitan areas (more prestigious) and others in provincial areas (less prestigious). Findings suggest that wages of provincial university graduates are lower by 11.5% than their counterparts. Wage difference is explained by “difference in productivity among individual graduates”
rather than school effect. Oh’s research shows that prestigious college graduates who receive positive recognition are more able and productive in the labor market (Collins, 1971). Oh’s research also indicates a positive relationship between school prestige and economic benefits in the South Korean labor market.

More relevantly, Jeong’s (2003) report on Comprehensive measures to overcome academic sectarianism provides more relevant data on university prestige and job placement. Table 1 lists what percentage of cabinet positions are held by prestigious University graduates.

Table 1

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Cabinet Ministers and University Graduated in South Korea</th>
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<td>Administration</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chon, Doo-Whan Regime (1981-1987)</td>
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<td>Rho, Tae-Woo Regime (1988-1992)</td>
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<td>Kim, Young-Sam Regime (1993-1997)</td>
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<td>Kim, Dae-Jung Regime (1998-2002)</td>
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Note: From “Cabinet Ministers and University Graduated in South Korea,” by T. Jeong, 2003, Conference proceeding on comprehensive measures to overcome academic sectarianism, Seoul, Korea, p. 12.

Table 1 shows that a greater number of Seoul National University graduates (elite colleges) have taken cabinet positions throughout the four regimes (1981-2002). The
cabinet members from Seoul National University, however, have comprised the highest percentage (57.1%) (Jeong, 2003).

The relationship between university prestige and lucrative career placement is evidenced by central government reports (Park, Kang, & Kim, 2003). In the business sector, according to the Korea Listed Companies Association (KLCA) in 2003, some university graduates are outnumbered in executive positions in corporations. KLCA examines the undergraduate origin schools of 4,281 executives working at the listed companies. In 2002, 19.7% were Seoul National University graduates, 10.7% were from Korea University and 9.4% were from Yonsei University. In the administrative sector, elite University graduates hold the higher official positions. According to central government report in 2003, 56.5% of the 1st-degree government officials are from Seoul National University, followed by Korea University (8.2%), Yonsei University (7.8%) and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (2.9%) (Park et al., 2003).

Lee and Briton (1996) indicate that the current higher education system benefits prestigious university graduates. The academic credentialism in Korea causes new forms of social stratification. Lee and Briton say that university background and subsequent alumni ties can affect job recruitment and the ensuing economic advantages as follows:

Furthermore, the hierarchical structure of the university system in South Korea, particularly the prestige rankings reflecting the different quality of human capital, suggests that the benefits bestowed by attending a prestigious institution may be cumulative. That is, those who have developed the human capital necessary to enter a prestigious university may accrue additional benefits in the
form of university specific social capital-access to job placement offices, professors, alumni, and classmates. The stratified nature of the higher education system implies that the usefulness or effectiveness of this social capital may vary by the specific institution attended. (Lee & Briton, 1996, p. 182).

All in all, graduates of selective universities in Korea are overrepresented in powerful sectors within politics, administration, and business (Jeong, 2003; Lee & Briton, 1996). Due to such social recognition and expected privilege in financial gains (Collins, 1971), many parents and students make great efforts to get into several selective Universities. Such academic credentialism and resulting privileges necessitate that K-12 students be engaged in extra tutoring. The problem with this is that students’ college admission is exclusively screened by standardized-SAT scores. Korean, English, and Math performance play a crucial role in discriminating students perceived to be academically able. English performance in particular works as a yard stick that measures academic qualifications and the cognitive abilities sought after by selective universities. This performance is substantially affected by social factors.

*English as Cultural Capital*

**Definition.** Cultural capital is the “instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed” (Bourdieu, 1973, p 73), such as “social roles,” “codes of language,” “general cultural background, knowledge, and skills” that pass on across generations (DeMarrais & LeCompte, 1999, p. 15). Cultural capital is “investments on the part of the dominant class in reproducing a set of symbols and meanings, which are misrecognised internalized by the dominated class as their own” (Lin, 1999, p. 29). The investment is
“in the pedagogical actions of the reproduction process, such as education, the purpose of which is to indoctrinate the masses to internalize the values of these symbols and meanings” (Lin, 1999, p. 29). Cultural capital has highly sought after symbolic value that translates into social prestige. The English language in Korean society has gained symbolic meaning and marketable value that are in high demand due to the recent neoliberal globalization trends and pedagogical trends in English learning.

The English learning process is comparable to the process of accumulating capital. Lareau and Weininger (2003) explain that the cultural capital, here English performance in Korea, “denote[s] knowledge of or competence with highbrow aesthetic culture” (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 568). It often measured by “skills, ability or achievement” (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 568). Here, capital is the source “that provides access to scarce rewards, is subject to monopolization, and, under certain conditions, may be transmitted from one generation to the next” (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 567). Lin (1999) posits that capital is “investment with certain expected returns” (p. 29). Lin (1999) explains cultural capital theory, arguing that “laborers (students) invest in the educational process and internalize the dominant class culture” (Lin, 1999, p.30) so that the laborers can be allowed “to enter the labor market...[..].. The capitalists, or the dominant class, gain cultural capital which supplement their economic capital and accumulate capital of both types in the circulation of the commodities (educated mass) and the domination of the means of production (the educational institution)” (Lin, 1999, p. 30). From Lin’s account, to gain capital (English performance), requires a person to invest time and effort to improve one’s knowledge, expecting certain types of rewards (a high English SAT score, communicative competence), such as producing
surplus values (academic credentials or qualification) or a build-up of economic capital (job placement). As noted, English performance as cultural capital is used to screen the students in school transitions and in job placement in South Korea, which eventually result in social and economic advantages. The English learning process is similar to the capital build-up process to achieve surplus value.

*Symbolic value.* English performance as cultural capital has symbolic values that are esteemed in Korean society. English performance has prevailing symbols and meanings that have social prestige due to the globalization trend (Friedman, 2003) and subsequent national EFL curriculum emphasis on English oral competence. English learning is symbolically equated with becoming a cosmopolitan citizen who is well-versed in the world’s lingua franca, English (Park & Abelmann, 2004; Bhatt, 2001). Bhatt (2001) argues that in the past, the English language was the” commercial lingua franca” (p, 532) in international business. As a result, people in South Asian countries who were previously colonized considered English as “the linguistic capital necessary for the accumulation of both economic and political powers” (Bhatt, 2001, p. 533). Even in the 21st century, the power and the status of English as a lingua franca (Kachru, 1990) still remains constant because the U.S. is still controlling the market in international trade and political matters (Bhatt, 2001). English learning is regarded as accumulating *surplus value* (Lin, 1999) which is more advantageous in the world’s competitive market (Chen et al., 2005; Bhatt, 2001).

The reason for the high regard for English performance, especially oral performance, is caused by English language pedagogy trends, i.e., communicative language competence (Park, 2009; Bhatt, 2001). Strengthening students’
Communicative competence is the primary national EFL curriculum goal, dictated by the Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development [MOE]. Communicative competence is “the ability to negotiate meaning to successfully combine knowledge of linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse rules in communicative interactions” (Savignon, 1987, p. 235). The Korean MOE has carried the communicative language teaching approach to primary and secondary EFL setting. The Korean MOE has expected that the Korean student can acquire the English language fluency through authentic language usage and a series of communicative activities. These activities allow the student to achieve the curriculum goals of enhancing confidence, interests and communicative performance in English. As a result, the English SAT test in Korea, began including listening test items in 1991 (Park, 2009). Due to this pedagogical trend, the emphasis on oral language performance increased. Native-like fluency is even more desired by some parents and students (Koo, 2007; Park, 2007). English teachers in public schools are encouraged to teach English using English as a medium for instruction. English-immersion classes in private tutorial instruction gained much attention among economically able parents.

Those who are communicatively competent in English in Korean societies have become the symbol of a globalized people with social prestige (Park & Abelmann, 2004) in a culture where native-like fluency is much admired.

*Intelligibility.* The symbolic images of English as cultural capital cause social and educational inequality. Issues of *intelligibility* (Bhatt, 2001) have created new social problems, especially between Korean-codified English communicative competence and native-like English proficiency. For example, Choi (2003) reveals that
a Korean who has native-like performance is regarded as more refined, high-brow and affluent, whereas a student with excellent performance but Korean-accented English is seen as a self-motivated and hardworking student. To be intelligible and communicatively competent requires the student be exposed to English input, English exposure, and English instruction, which assumes extra parental support, learning time, and extra help outside the classroom.

Two social issues have arisen. First, some economically able parents (middle to upper class) started to temporarily immigrate to English speaking countries (Ly, 2008; Park, 2009): U.S.A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, England, Ireland, Singapore, the Philippines, and other nations. It is not unusual to find some middle upper class parents participating in temporary emigration to English speaking countries to further their children’s English education (The Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008). They pay a high cost of living and endure physical separation from the family (Park, 2009). Influenced by the critical period hypothesis (Lenneberg, 1967), these parents believe that the younger a child starts to learn English, the better and faster the child will learn it. The parents also believe that their children can acquire native-like fluency, intelligibility, once the children stay in an English speaking country (Park, 2009). The following statement represents what motivates middle class parents who decide to emigrate to English speaking countries temporarily (The Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008).

We suggest that this phenomenon reflects a complex confluence of a multitude of factors, namely: the mobility desires of a Korean middle class jockeying for
global citizenship and the advantages it confers; the waning faith in the economic and social future of citizens whose lives remain "domestic"; the rejection of South Korea’s excellent but highly competitive schooling; and finally the global citizenship project of parents (foremost of the mothers who accompany their children abroad). Adapted from the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Conference

http://www.aasp.uiuc.edu/EducationExodus/background.html

The intent of the parents is to transmit their social and economic resources to their children by means of temporary immigration to English speaking countries. The expected result would be to mold their child into a globalized citizen, to confer intelligible and native-like fluency through exclusive financial support, and to subsequently have practical benefit in the school transition process.

The second social issue is that English cram schools have become a lucrative business. The private tutorial instruction industry has flourished more than ever before because the parents believe that children can systematically prepare for the prep high school exam (Park, 2009), as well as the college exam through private tutorial instruction which will improve their GPA and allow them to do better than their peers. The levels of parental financial support in English education are becoming more differentiated by social classes.

As discussed, upper middle class parents send their children to English speaking countries to improve their English as well as to have global citizenship through English (Park & Abelmann, 2004). The parents also expect immediate social and economic returns from improving English as capital that leads to social mobility
through education. Conversely, those students who do not belong to the middle class and have poor family resources have some challenges to accumulate such linguistic capital and to thereby achieve social mobility.

English generates new dimensions of social and educational inequality because of unequal financial access to quality education. As a result, English performance is more affected by family resources, such as income and the provision of private tutorial instruction. Students with rich family resources are more likely to enter prestigious universities. Lower income students have few options to get extra help in their learning. Focusing on ninth graders and twelfth graders, there is a need to examine how differences in cultural capital in the home have an influence on English learning process and subsequent opportunities for college and a career

Factors That Contribute To EFL Performance Difference

Background

*Asian Financial Crisis in 1997.* The English learning boom creates new dimensions of social and educational inequality. Students’ performance is more influenced by family resources rather than by individual effort. In the past, educational equality has been the major focus in curriculum planning and education policies. The collectively high parental expectations towards education, aka ‘education fever’, also played a role in compensating for financial shortages and lack of family resource capital (Seth, 2002).

Before the 1990s, effected by the Confucian tradition of family-centered parental support, gendered parenting (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001), stratified university levels and the meritocracy ideal, a new form of collectivistic social psychology (the
Korean parental expectation) has generated and intensified “education fever”.

Education fever is mainly due to the total collapse of the previous social hierarchy, social caste-like differences at the end of World War II in 1945, and the Korean War in 1950. All prestigious social classes lost ground, funds, and power. Education in terms of years of schooling and the prestige of the University has been a major, legitimate gateway in achieving social mobility (KEDI, 2007). Due to standardized and centralized tests in college exams since the 1950s, without considering teachers’ references or other subjective admission criteria, most students, regardless of social standing, were able to get access to education opportunity once they had striven for it. During the period between the 1950s and the 1980s, it was not surprising to find a student from a poor background succeeding in school and gaining social upward mobility within a generation. Especially, during Chun Doo Hwan’s regime, 1981-1987, there were bans on all types of private tutorial instruction from private school students to high school students. Parental support and parental expectation have been almost the same across the social strata, expecting higher returns from the educational outcomes of their children. The gendered parental support (mother-centered) including psychological support, and financial sacrifice for their children across social classes (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001; Abelmann, 1997) played an important role in facilitating people’s social upward mobility. That is, the particular social psychologies, such as collective dispositions toward education (education fever), enabled common people to get access to education. Moreover, strong government-centralized control in curriculum planning and college admission helped maintain educational equality (Park & Abelmann, 2004).
Yet in the mid 1990s, educational inequality has become the issue of debate since the Asian Financial crisis attacked Korea in 1997 and subsequent propagation of neoliberal ideology in Korean society (Choi, 2004; Jo, 2005), which resulted in a movement in educational focus from egalitarian-centered policy to elite-entered, and from government-control of education to government deregulation (Lim, 2005).

Social polarization. After the IMF crisis, social polarization phenomena began and continued to intensify. Due to rapid economic development from the 1960s to the mid 1990s, the middle class emerged as a new group of people with purchasing power in the education market (Nam, 2007; Park & Abelmann, 2004). At the same time, some groups of parents became financially powerless in the educational market because of the International Monetary Financial (IMF) crisis in which massive layoffs were implemented (Park & Abelmann, 2004). The IMF crisis caused society to be polarized into two conflicting economic strata: upper and lower class (Kim, 2005; Nam, 2007; Jo, 2005). The parental financial supports for education also widened according to parental income level, even through overall parental expectation toward education remained constant. This marked the beginning of a society wherein students with affluent parents get rewarded, whereas students with poor family resources become disadvantaged.

Neoliberal globalization ideology. Furthermore, the IMF crisis caused the Korean government as well as other social sectors, to transplant the Neoliberal globalization ideology into Korean education, believing that this ideology was the only solution for tackling these social and economic dilemmas (Lim, 2005). The Korean MOE started to loosen its control on equalization policy. In the late 2000s, the new education reform proposed by President Lee Myung- Park’s administration (2008-
current) is characterized by deregulation and decentralization of government control in both K-12 & college education. Much emphasis from the reform is placed on elite-centered education and English-immersion in K-12 classroom. The neoliberal educational reform was gaining its power in education policy making and planning as the ultimate solution to increase national competitiveness in the global market, despite its continuous debates over meritocratic policy. The interesting point is that the Korean MOE builds the Korean K-12 education’s accountability according to the U.S. No Child Left Behind (NCLB) accountability paradigm (Hursh, 2007; Crawford, 2004). As the students of No Child Left Behind experienced in the U.S., Korean students have to take even more rigorous standardized tests more often in order to satisfy the guideline for accountability. Similarly, Korean pubic school educators have been blamed for their inefficiency in teaching and for their lack of capability to catch up with contemporary world trends, much like the U.S. government in 2001 initiated the NCLB act in response to overall education inefficiency (Hursh, 2007). As a result, the private tutorial instruction industry has flourished more than ever because parents believe that children can systematically prepare for the prep high school exam (Park, 2009) as well as the college exam through private tutorial instruction.

**Scope.** Nonetheless, there is a lack of precision over defining family resources and subsequent educational inequality focusing on Korean EFL education. There is a need to further examine the scope and the depth of family resources by reflecting on Korea’s unique cultural and social values. Family resources for this study are limited to income, parental education level, private tutorial instruction and cultural capital. Four
resources can directly and indirectly influence students’ English performance in South Korea.

Direct Factors

Income

Parental income has been underscored as an important predictor that determines students’ performance (Orr, 2003). Orr (2003) contends that economically able parents have purchasing power for their children in a variety of educational goods, such as private tutorial instruction and educational resources (books, computers). Such educational resources can facilitate students’ cognitive knowledge growth (Orr, 2003). Income also affects the college aspirations of the students. Orr (2003) argues that family income is “more liquid than others and can be more easily converted to a different form” (p. 282), such as cultural capital or social capital. This also means that a low income student would be unable to gain access to the appropriate educational activities/educational resources. This lack of access to educational opportunities put the children behind in academic achievements.

By contrast, Coleman (1988) argues that family income is not a significant factor in predicting students’ academic success (Coleman, 1988). Factors such as family atmosphere (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1986) or parental social capital (obligations, expectations, information channels and social norms) (Coleman, 1988) are most important in academic achievement. For example, the upper class student may not perform very well when his/her family does not stress the importance of education and does not provide enough support (Sternberg & Williams, 2002).

To achieve EFL competence, parental income is the foremost predictor in achieving competency for the test. Income level can determine the availability and
accessibility of private tutorial instruction both quantitatively and qualitatively. Income level is also responsible for controlling students’ educational resources, such as English books and educational software.

Parental Education

Parental education is an important predictor of students’ academic success (Sewell, Hauser, & Wolf, 1999; Orr, 2003; Bourdieu, 1986). Orr (2003) argues that educated parents have more knowledge of how their children’s educational levels can make a difference to future social status and social treatment (Orr, 2003). Educated parents may therefore invest their resources more effectively in their education. As evidenced by Sewell, Hauser and Wolf’s (1990) study, parental education affects students’ years of schooling as well. Conceptually, Coleman (1988) regards parental education level as human capital, arguing that educated parents have more of the knowledge and skills necessary to be productive. Human capital cannot be exchangeable like physical capital; it requires a longer period of time to form the capital. Human capital is gained by education and training, which can upgrade wage-levels (Becker, 1975; Coleman, 1988). By contrast, Bourdieu looks at parental education as cultural capital, rather than human capital, which is a socially recognized institutional capital such as academic credentials.

Educated parents in South Korea may be more cognizant of the importance of English as an important credential in gaining access to the best schools, and subsequent social and economic advantages that those schools confer. Educated parents may provide better and more feasible guidelines on how to improve English performance, either for SAT or for communicative ability enhancement. Educated parents may be
more up to speed with current social trends and educational policy changes. They can effectively invest in English education with their financial (or other) resources, such as purchasing educational materials, discerning quality private tutorial institutes, and identifying proficient English teachers.

Table 2

*Freshmen Demographics at SNY and their Father’s Occupations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Managerial positions</th>
<th>Professional positions</th>
<th>Office worker</th>
<th>Service sector workers</th>
<th>Agriculture/skilled worker</th>
<th>Mechanical/unskilled worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Center for Campus Life and Culture at Seoul National University, 2002*

*Note.*

1. Managerial positions: company owner, senior managers, administrative officer, executives, a first-grade officers and police officers
2. Professional positions: doctor, pharmacist, college faculty, lawyer, judge, district attorney, accountant, artists, entertainer, engineer, athletes, teacher and nurse.

Previous studies have identified the relationship between the father’s occupation and admission to an elite University. Table 2 explains the relationship between freshmen at Seoul National University (SNU) in 2001 and their father’s job categories. When we consider school districts, 77% of the freshmen are from Metropolitan areas; among them 47.3% of the freshmen are from Seoul Metropolitan Areas. Unlike the U.S. school districts, students benefit from school districts in Metropolitan or large-size cities because students can get access to diverse types of educational activities and resources. Among the freshmen from Seoul, 44.5% are from wealthy school districts, Gang-nam-gu, Seo-cho-gu and Songpa-gu and Dongjak-gu; the admission percentage is 10 times more than those in poor school districts. It shows that students may be more likely to be admitted to SNU if their social demographic origins include a father with a
white-collar occupation living in a wealthy school district, especially in the metropolitan areas (Jeong, 2003). Parental income, parental education, and other resources may all have an influence on students’ academic achievement and years of schoolings (Center for Campus Life and Culture at Seoul National University, 2002).

*Private Tutorial Instruction*

*Features.* Private tutorial instruction is made possible by family resources, particularly income, parental expectation and parental education level. In South Korea, the provision of extra tutoring has a considerable influence on students’ learning outcomes, especially English performance in school and English oral performance.

Relatively few studies have examined the nature of private tutoring in East Asian countries, particularly in Korea, and how such tutoring experience is helpful in making a difference. In the U.S., private tutoring is mainly used as remedial lessons, helping students to catch up with mainstream class instruction. Private tutorial education in Korea differs both in the target audience, ranging from low performing students to high performing students, and in the learning tactics employed by tutors.

In Japan, private tutoring education is known as *shadow education* and is defined as “educational activities outside formal schooling that are designed to improve a student’s chances of successfully moving through the allocation process” (Stevenson & Baker, 1992, p. 1640). Japanese secondary students are engaged in *juku* (private cram school that takes place before or after regular school hours), or *rodin* (full day college preparation school for those who failed the college entrance exam) to be more competitive in school allocation. Such engagement was found to be effective in achieving excellence and going on to elite colleges in Japan (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).
Similarly, in South Korea, private tutorial instruction denotes the learning tactics where students cover the content knowledge of the National curriculum in advance (before the semester) to improve their school performance (Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Students take part in various types of tutoring programs such as private tutorial cram schools (hagwon), one-on-one private tutoring (one-on-one type tutoring), and group-tutoring (one-on-one type tutoring), internet-based tutoring, self-guided tutorials, correspondence courses, or several afterschool programs.

What distinguishes tutoring in Korea from that in other nations is its strong focus on school-achievement instruction, rather than on extracurricular activities like music or sports. In summary, private tutorial education in South Korea is characterized by learning that is carried out outside the regular classroom through *shadowing* the school curriculum to improve school performance.

*Effectiveness.* Previous research on the impact of private tutorial instruction has not offered consistent conclusions (Dang, 2007), but some research has provided empirical support for the effectiveness of tutoring on a student’s achievement. In Japan, Stevenson and Baker’s (1992) study reveals that there is a significant difference in admission to different levels of college (2-year, 4-year colleges) as a result of private tutoring education. In Korea, Back (2007) investigated the effect of family human capital – parental education, social capital, parental networking, and students’ consumption of cultural capital – on those specific student achievements which were mediated by private tutorial instruction. Back (2007) reveals that the student achievement gap is explained by family background, especially parental human capital (education), and financial capital (income level). In Korea, Su’s (2005) dissertation
research shows that significant gains were found for English private tutoring groups of secondary students in reading, writing, and listening. Conversely, in Singapore, Cheo and Quah’s (2005) study reveals that private tutoring has a negative influence on secondary school students in terms of school grades.

From the empirical findings across Korea, Japan, and Singapore, the effectiveness of tutoring is somewhat confusing. There is a need to consider the nature of private tutoring practices as controlling factors that cause an academic gap in schools and that bring out social inequalities.

*EFL cram schools.* As discussed, English performance in Korea is directly applicable to school transitions, to job placement, and to upward social mobility in general, as well and the given ability to communicate in English. When Korean students have to take entrance examinations for prep-high schools or the SAT for college admission, they find that test-items are focused on measuring grammatical accuracy, vocabulary, reading comprehension, listening tests, and English composition. Students’ oral English performance (speaking) is rarely measured due to the measurement challenges of reliability (Choi, 2008). However, cram schools provide strategies tailored to Korean students to enhance their vocabularies and to improve reading comprehension skills.

Some cram schools have special strategies to boost English performance test scores. Most cram schools teach grammatical accuracy and test strategies. Online English tutorial instruction is widely available. The Korean MOE has also supported online English tutoring (providing English lectures) at reasonable prices in order to narrow the achievement gap between urban and rural test takers.
Some expensive English cram schools provide English immersion classes, targeting preschoolers and elementary school students. After regular classes are over, some elementary school students participate in these types of immersion programs to achieve the goal of intelligible native-speaker-like English. English performance entails “resources of grammar and expression, intelligibility, appropriateness, comprehension and fluency” (Iwashita, Brown, McNamara, & O'Hagan, 2008, p. 26). Affluent students can enhance their English performance in these areas by participating in English private tutorial instruction.

Even though private tutorial education is widely researched in East Asian countries (Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Lin; 1983; Bray & Kwok, 2003), English as a foreign language tutoring practices are not well researched. It may be that English as a foreign language tutoring practices may not be an attractive topic to researchers in English speaking countries. Such a lack of empirical findings suggests a need to advance this research by examining the characteristics of English private tutorial education. Furthermore, the effectiveness of tutoring also needs to be examined because of the inconsistent conclusions about outcomes of English private tutorial instruction.

Indirect Factor: Cultural Capital

**Characteristics**

Cultural capital and school success have attracted considerable attention from many educational researchers in Western countries. There has been much research on academic performance and cultural capital (DiMaggio, 1982; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990). Katsillis and Rubinson (1990) argue that to succeed in school, a student “must have the capacity to receive and decode cultural capital” (p. 270), such as codes of language and learning attitudes or habits. The “acquisition of
cultural capital, and consequent access to academic rewards, depends on the cultural capital transmitted by the family” (Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990, p. 270). Despite a plethora of research studies, cultural capital and education outcomes in East Asian countries are overlooked in the major journals, which necessitates an examination on how cultural capital can be conceptualized and measured.

Cultural capital may influence Korean students’ English performance in various ways. Cultural capital contributes to students’ school performance along with wealth and parental education. As previously discussed, cultural capital is described as symbols, knowledge, or skills that are highly valued in a society. Sullivan (2001) says that cultural capital presupposes “an analogy with economic capital, and therefore, a return. The return on cultural capital takes the form of educational credentials, and ultimately, occupational success” (p. 897). That is, English performance in South Korea is also a symbol of globalized citizen membership and of marketable knowledge and skills that can advantage people in school transitions and in the job market. Cultural capital in Korean society can directly or indirectly play a role in facilitating English performance.

Three Forms

Cultural capital takes three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47). The embodied state cultural capital is defined as individual properties, such as ways of talking or communication styles. The objectified state cultural capital is material goods or possessions, such as paintings. The institutionalized state cultural capital is socially accepted and recognized institutional capital, such as academic credentials (Bourdieu, 1986).
In Lee’s (1997) dissertation research, she investigates the different values of social and cultural capital that Korean college women make in their stratified higher education system. Lee (1997) indicates that the social, human capital (knowledge, skills) and cultural capital (academic credentials) of Korean college women are determined by the prestige of college attendance, whether or not women attended an elite University. Lee reports that such valuable capital for women is used more in the marriage market than in job placement.

Another important form of cultural capital is habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Habitus is subsumed to embodied cultural capital. Habitus refers to “the unconscious set of rules, ways of understanding, or set of ideas about how the world operates, what is to be valued and what one’s own place in society is, and which actions are correct” (DeMarrais & LeCompte, 1999, p. 208). Dumais’s (2001) study measured habitus as parental expected levels of education to their children.

To sum up, the English learning process can be a process of accumulating embodied cultural capital (knowledge or skills). Parental educational level falls into institutional cultural capital (academic credentials). The links between cultural capital and educational achievement have been widely researched showing that cultural capital plays a role in reproducing educational inequalities (Barone, 2006; Zimdars et al., 2009). More attention is needed to show how cultural capital comes into play in Korean students’ English outcomes.

Related Theories

Theoretically, there are two main models that explain the associations between cultural capital and educational outcomes. The first renowned model is Bourdieu’s
cultural reproduction model, which originated in France. The second model is DiMaggio’s cultural mobility model in the United States. Both models start with similar assumptions that cultural capital exerts positive influence on school success (DiMaggio, 1982).

Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory argues that it places its “importance of socialization into highbrow activities, like interest in art and classical music, theater and museum attendance and reading literature” (DeGraaf et al., 2000, p. 93). That is, the returns on cultural capital tend to be maximum for the students who have rich family resources, which play a role in reproducing social stratification.

By contrast, in the cultural mobility model, DiMaggio (1982) argues “the returns to cultural capital are highest for students who are least advantaged” (p. 190). For example, students using Ebonics benefit from schooling by picking up society-valued cultural capital at school, such as the standard form of the language, which bridges the gap between home cultural capital and school culture. Aschaffenburg and Maas’s (1997) study supports this model by examining the effect of highbrow cultural capital on educational transitions focusing on three different ages (before 12, 12-17, 18-24). It shows that cultural capital positively affects students’ school success, even though the degree of impact gets smaller when students’ ages increase. Dumais (2002) also supports the mobility model, reporting that the rewards are greater for female students than for males. Both models have provided a considerable body of empirical research on the relationship between cultural capital and students’ academic success.
Measurement

Cultural capital is measured in various ways (see Table 3). Some researchers examine cultural capital effects by using qualitative research paradigms, focusing on intricate complexities between people, such as different racial parental involvement styles. (Lareau & Horvat, 1999), differences in income-level (Lareau & Weininger, 2003), and digital literacy in the home as cultural capital (Sutherland-Smith, Snyder, & Angus, 2003).

Empirically, researchers assign operational definitions to cultural capital. Three forms of cultural capital are widely used as direct or proxy indicators: 1) high-brow cultural capital activity participation; 2) a home environment that facilitates students’ cognitive development; and 3) technology familiarity and use in the home. Table 3 represents renowned studies on how cultural capital is measured and how each study falls into one of three categories.

First, highbrow cultural capital activity participation such as going to movies, galleries, cinemas, and concerts is measured as cultural capital indicators (DiMaggio, 1982; DeGraaf et al, 2000; Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990). Such cultural capital activities or life styles are based on parental financial resources.

Second, cognitive domains of cultural capital, such as reading to children, are used to represent cultural capital (De Graaf et al, 2000; Sullivan, 2001). De Graaf et al. (2000) argue that cultural capital in the home, or reading climate, in the Netherlands can partially explain the students achievement gap, irrespective of family income level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lareau and Horvat(1999)</td>
<td>Cultural knowledge and resources (p. 39)</td>
<td>Parental involvement pattern by race (Qualitative Research)</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Sociology of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lareau and Weininger(2003)</td>
<td>knowledge of or facility with &quot;highbrow&quot; aesthetic culture Analytically and causally distinct from other important forms of knowledge or competence(p. 567)</td>
<td>Different patterns of cultural capital owned and activated between middle class African American family and poor African American Family (Qualitative Research)</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Theory and Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutherland-Smith, Snyder and Angus(2003)</td>
<td>All the credentials, including education, literacy, and social graces, with which an individual members of a favored culture of class is endowed (p. 15) The desire of some of the parents for their children to attain excellence in education(p. 15)</td>
<td>Digital literacy Family’s use of the internet chat, email correspondence, Computer as a tool to accessing information that can be processed into knowledge(p. 16) (Qualitative Research)</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Educational Studies in Language and Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aschaffenburg and Maas(1997)</td>
<td>Constant quantity in terms of accumulation and investment(p. 574)</td>
<td>Aesthetic classes(music, art, performance and others) Attendance at concerts, galleries, plays (Quantitative Research)</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>American Sociological Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmijn and Kraaykamp(1996)</td>
<td>Socialization into high-brow cultural activities, and this concept includes a variety of tastes and behaviors, such as interest in art and classical music, attendance at theaters and museums, and reading literature(p. 23)</td>
<td>Attendance at concerts, galleries, plays (Quantitative Research)</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Sociology of Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 (continued)

*Cultural Capital and Measurement*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Concept (Direct quote)</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Katsillis and Rubinson (1990)</td>
<td>Competence in a society’s high status culture, its behavior, habits, and attitudes. Vehicle through which background inequalities are translated into differential academic rewards (p. 270)</td>
<td>Students participation in high culture activity</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>American Sociological Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Graaf, De Draaf and Kraatkamp (2000)</td>
<td>Familiarity with the conceptual codes that underlie a specific culture with its major artistic and normative manifestations. (p. 93)</td>
<td>Participation in beaux arts Reading behaviors (Quantitative Research)</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Sociology of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumais (2002)</td>
<td>Linguistic and cultural competence, broad knowledge of culture that belongs to members of the upper classes and is found much less frequently among the lower classes (p. 44)</td>
<td>Students occupational aspirations -Taking classes on art, music, dance, -Attending concerts, art museums (Quantitative Research)</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Sociology of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaufman and Gabler (2004)</td>
<td>the interactional skills students stand to gain from certain cultural activities (p. 147)</td>
<td>Participation in extracurricular cultural activities (Quantitative Research)</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Poetics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third, technology familiarity in the home, such as TV watching, computer ownership and Internet access in the home (Sullivan, 2001; Sutherland-Smith et al., 2003; Vryonides, 2007) is cultural capital in contemporary society. In Sutherland-Smith et al.’s (2003) study, differences in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) resources and usability between in the home and at school suggest academic differences.

From the measurement schemes, it is not clear how the three indicators of cultural capital are connected to EFL performance. Few researchers have given sufficient attention to this area of study using quantitative research paradigms. For this dissertation research, I employ three cultural capital indicators that contribute to a
Korean EFL ninth grader and twelfth grader’s performance: 1) highbrow cultural participation, 2) cognitive cultural capital in the home (reading habits), and 3) technology uses and familiarity in the home.

_Empirical Findings_

Cultural capital in the home and at school account for why and how students’ demographic factors matter for their school achievement in Western countries. DiMaggio’s (1982) study on cultural capital and students’ academic achievement provides a thorough analysis of features of cultural capital and subsequent high school students’ grades. Measuring cultural capital as participation in high-brow cultural activities and knowledge such as interests in and information about arts or music, DiMaggio found that cultural capital plays a significant role in high school students’ grades, and that it works differently by gender and SES.

_Cultural reproduction model and cultural mobility model._ Empirical studies support the cultural reproduction model and cultural mobility model in various cultural and national contexts. In China, Wu (2008) explored the role of cultural capital on students’ attainment from 1949 to 1996. Wu finds the cultural capital positively affects students’ academic performance, even controlling the variable of SES, concluding that both Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction model and DiMaggio’s cultural mobility model work in a limited way. In Germany, Maaz, Watermann, and Baumert (2007) research the impact of family background on decisions to go to college, confirming that family social background strongly affects such decisions. Even though the researchers find that cultural capital takes different forms across countries, they confirm that cultural capital affects students’ educational outcomes, or educational decisions.
The effect of parental habitus was also examined focusing on expected levels of education. Dumais (2002) examines the dimensions of cultural capital and the roles of habitus on students’ performance based on separate genders. Findings reveal that returns on capital are highest for female high SES students who took part in cultural activities, whereas male students are not as much affected. In the Netherlands, De Graaf et al. (2000) also examined parental cultural capital, including reading behavior at home, on their children’s educational attainment. They find that parental reading habits benefit the lower SES children’s educational outcomes, confirming the cultural mobility model.

College admission. In the college admission process, certain researchers examine the relationship between cultural capital and the odds of entering certain types of colleges (Kaufaufman & Gabler, 2004; Zimdars et al., 2009). Kaufaufman and Gabler (2004) examine the relationship between non-academic extra curricula activities (cultural capital) and the college attainment process. Their findings show that students’ participation in cultural capital activities is not always counted in elite level university admissions. Parents’ cultural capital, however, has more of an impact. Zimdars et al. (2009) investigate the relationship between cultural capital consumption by college applicants and entry into the University of Oxford in England. The result shows that admission decisions are more associated with cultural knowledge than highbrow cultural capital. Those empirical studies suggest some relationship between cultural capital and college entry.

Qualitative research findings. There is some qualitative research that provides supportive evidence for cultural reproduction theory (Lareau & Horvat, 1999;
Sutherland-Smith, Snyder, & Angus, 2003). Lareau and Horvat’s (1999) research shows how the researcher views and understands the concept of cultural capital, focusing on human interaction patterns. Lareau and Horvat’s (1999) study examined how African American parents of third graders with different income levels interact with their schools and school teachers. Sutherland-Smith, Snyder and Angus (2003) provide methodological insights on technology familiarity as a cultural capital instrument, having investigated the family literacy practices and ICT learning practices with four low SES families in Australia by employing a qualitative research inquiry. Referring ICT access and use skills as important cultural capital for the families, Sutherland-Smith et al. captured the intricacies of how families gain their knowledge by the continual development of ICT skills.

Language studies. Cultural capital research has been discussed in relation to language studies (Bernstein, 1977, Rickford, 1997; Labov, 2008; Hicks, 2001). In the U.K., Bernstein (1977) presented a code theory by making a comparison of language use between low SES students and middle class students. Bernstein (1977) finds that low SES students use “restricted code language,” whereas middle class students use more complicated, and “elaborate code” language. There is a class difference in communication styles. Restricted codes are used by lower class people, which is less elaborate, present focused, less descriptive and context dependent. By contrast, codes used by the middle class are more elaborate, context independent and complex (Bernstein, 1977). Bernstein’s code theory was criticized by some language researchers due to the fact that he regarded working class codes as deficient, however his code
theory reflects social reproduction theory. Bernstein sees linguistic performance and knowledge as cultural capital.

Likewise, some other language scholars have examined asymmetrical values of the varieties of English in a nation. Examples are the systematic values of Ebonics (Rickford, 1997), some socially stigmatized language varieties (Labov, 2008), and working class language variation (Hicks, 2001). Mertz (1989) reported parents in the island of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia in Canada did not speak Gaelic (home language) on purpose and asked their children to acquire Standard English instead for social mobility. Many language scholars systemically report unequal values of the English variety, as part of cultural capital, that are poorly regarded in a society.

Empirical research findings suggest the effect of habitus varies across countries and that class-distinctive habitus exists in literacy studies. Dumais (2006) examines the effect of cultural capital and habitus on children’s early literacy development. Dumais (2006) argues that even though parental habitus affects teachers’ evaluation of lower class students’ math and literacy skills, cultural capital theory is not directly applicable to U.S. educational settings.

Nonetheless, some research findings show the effect of cultural capital on a student’s achievement is negligible (Katsillis & Robinson, 1990). In Greece, Katsillis and Robinson (1990) researched the relationship between cultural capital, SES and twelfth grade performance. Katsillis and Robinson (1990) could not find any causal relationships that students’ achievement is caused by different access to cultural capital, even though cultural capital is controlled by parental social and economic status.
Katsillis and Robinson infer that students’ individual ability and effort is the most significant predictor in SAT achievements.

In Korea, few dissertation studies have addressed the issues of cultural capital and its impact on academic achievement. Byun’s (2007) dissertation research is one of the few that examines the role of cultural capital on academic performance. Based on DeGraaf et al.’s (2000) cultural capital measurement framework, he tested the reproduction theory using the Korean Education Employment Panel (KEEP) dataset. By using structural equation modeling, Byun found that reading habits affect Korean and English, yet highbrow cultural capital negatively affects 12th grade students’ academic performance due to the Korean K-12 setting. The dataset he used is the same as the dataset that I am using for this research. Conceptually, the difference from Byun’s research is that I measured cultural capital by adding technology familiarity to a concept of cultural capital, whereas he did not. The outcome variable I use is English performance only.

From the literature presented, few studies have dealt with foreign language performance as an outcome variable in cultural capital research. It remains unknown: 1) how strongly and how directly students’ participation in cultural capital activities predicts English performance and what domains of cultural capital can be of help in achieving the differences, and 2) how the differences in cultural capital resources in the home affect English learning processes and subsequent opportunities for college and career. There is a need to examine this.

Potential Contributions of the Study

*Theoretical and Conceptual Insights*
Theoretically, my investigation sheds light on the cross-cultural applicability of Bourdieu’s notions of cultural capital to the sociology of education in South Korea, providing hidden trajectories of social reproduction focusing on English performance differences by cultural capital resources. Previous empirical studies on cultural reproduction have not fully recognized the importance of context, i.e., whether or not the theory can be applicable to different social and cultural settings.

Conceptually, as the theory was developed in the 1960s in France, there is a huge temporal and cultural gap to test it. It is problematic to apply the theory carried out in France several decades ago to the current Korean K-12 setting. Culturally, people share Confucian ethics on education and rapid social and economic changes after the Korean War. Even though reading to children (bedtime stories) is a commonplace middle-class parental practice in the U.S., in England (Sullivan, 2001), or in the Netherlands, it is not common in Korea. This difference necessitates further examination of Korean practices, reflecting the current standard of knowledge and skills.

*Methodological Insights*

Methodologically, this study employs mixed methods research.

Quantitatively, this research contributes to enhance in-depth understanding of cultural capital resources in South Korea with larger validity and reliability due to the quality of the data. I employ the nationally-representative secondary panel data from the KEEP (Korean Education and Employment Panel Survey) in 2004 to assess the relationship between cultural capital resources and English performance. This longitudinal panel data is up-to-date. The choice of KEEP allows for a deep
understanding of the characteristics of Korean cultural capital resources, as well as revealing how they are helpful in achieving the self-rated English performance difference.

Qualitatively, this research contributes a more comprehensive understanding of Korean EFL settings, which is foreign to English speaking countries. Agee (2002) defines setting as a “bounded environment in which particular situations, interactions, and behaviors accrue to it as normal by virtue of history, cultural values, and beliefs” (p, 570). Setting is “construed as micro-and macro-levels of a particular culture” (Agee, 2002, p. 570). Agee provides an analytic framework when a qualitative researcher observes, reports, and interprets an occurrence or a situation. The framework, called multiple lenses on settings in qualitative educational research, is relevant to this cross-cultural educational research. Agee’s multiple lenses on settings not only have the explanatory power of identifying cultural capital resources related EFL learning, but also have the analytic power in depicting English hegemony in the labor market that are salient to outsiders.

Particularly, among the setting framework, “Histories of settings” (Agee, 2002, p, 578) is highly relevant. The lens for “Histories of settings” can provide in-depth analysis on current practices of EFL in South Korea such as family resource types and the power of English. In brief, it refers to “history as well as related settings that have an impact on the behaviors, feelings, and discourses of its participants” (p, 578). In this research, I examine how the importance of English has been shaped, developed and reinforced in K-12 in South Korea by employing qualitative interview methods. As discussed, English performance in South Korea plays a role in representing one’s
academic qualification and ability in the school transition process, ownership of valuable cultural capital (language performance), and globalized citizenship. The current English learning boom and subsequent social and educational inequality can be illuminated clearly by listening to past event narratives and the experiences of Korean adults who completed primary and secondary education in South Korea.

Both quantitative and qualitative research frameworks employed can contribute to building up the knowledge base in cultural capital theory and research by promoting cross-cultural understanding of current English roles, status, and hegemonic power in South Korea.

Summary

In Chapter Two, I reviewed the role of English in K-12 education in South Korea. The primary role of English is the screening of students in the college admission process by means of standardized SAT tests. Because colleges are stratified by years of schooling and college prestige rankings, and because there is a social and economic advantage to be a graduate from select universities, the importance of English has been highlighted.

The other role of English is to confer symbolic meaning and social recognition on those who are good at English performance. I argue that English is a new form of cultural capital that is sought after, which has market value in Korean society. The argument is supported by 1) the introduction and implementation of neoliberalism into Korean K-12 settings; 2) a national EFL pedagogy trend that focuses on communicative oral competence and 3) preference for intelligible English- native like fluency.
In summary, English performance in Korea is highbrow cultural capital and functions as an indicator that shows academic and cognitive ability, due to the influence of globalization and the economic situation with which Korea is faced.

The roles of English and the subsequent boom in English learning create new forms of social inequality. Parental supports become polarized into two extremes: 1) middle and upper class parents start to immigrate to an English speaking country temporarily or send their children to expensive English private tutorial institutes to improve their English skills; 2) lower class parents, by contrast, cannot afford such English learning experiences. Unequal access to family resources cause disadvantages to some students while giving the advantage to others. I reviewed previous literature focusing on parental income, parental education, private tutorial instruction practice, and cultural capital as critical factors that influence English performance.

The uniqueness of this research is that cultural capital theory is to be tested in a Korean K-12 setting, focusing on English performance as an outcome variable. First, conceptually, my attention is focused on three forms of cultural capital, including 1) high-brow cultural capital activity participation; 2) a home environment that facilitates students’ cognitive development; and 3) technological familiarity and use in the home. Second, methodologically, this study employs both quantitative secondary panel data and qualitative interviews to further examine in what ways and to what extent cultural capital resources contribute to English performance gains, college admissions and subsequent social and economic advantages.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In Chapter Three, I discuss my research design, procedure, and methods. Particularly, this chapter explains the mixed methods data collection procedure. The organization is: (1) research question, (2) mixed methods design, (3) data collection procedure, and (4) data analysis plan. The overarching research question is how cultural capital resources are advantageous to some Korean students and disadvantageous to others. Quantitatively, this research explores the effects of participation in cultural capital activities on 9th graders’ and 12th graders’ English performance. Qualitatively, I explore how differences in cultural capital in the home affect students’ English learning process and subsequent college and career opportunities.

Mixed Methods Design

Advantages

This study adopts a mixed methods research design to examine the cultural reproduction theory in English learning in the K-12 education in Korea. Mixed research methods are “a set of designs and procedure in which both quantitative and qualitative data are collected, analyzed, and mixed in a single study or series of studies” (Plano Clark et al., 2008, p. 1546). It has a series of advantages when I apply the social reproduction theory to a different social and cultural context. Plano Clark et al. (2008) argue that mixed methods research allows a researcher to confirm findings, “identify discrepancies between data sources” or “use one form of evidence to expand on the results of the other” (Plano Clark et al., 2008, p. 1551). In addition, the method can enable findings to “complement one another, making them suitable for use together”
(Plano Clark et al., 2008, p. 1544). As suggested, the purpose of this mixed research is 
1) to test a cultural reproduction theory, focusing on how cultural capital comes into 
play with English performance, and 2) to examine a Korean EFL setting on how 
differences in cultural capital resources in the home affect the English learning process, 
and subsequent opportunities for college admission and job placement. Therefore, my 
research question necessitated the use of mixed methods research paradigm.

The first reason for inclusion of qualitative inquiry to quantitative framework 
was that I wanted to elaborate the particular context (Maxwell, 2005) of Korean K-12 
setting with an emphasis on how differences in cultural capital resources have an 
influence on English performance. This allowed me to “understand how events, actions, 
and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which” they take place 
(Maxwell, 2005, p.22).

The second reason was that I needed to examine the cultural reproduction 
theory in a non-western nation. Even though I was using a nationally-representative 
dataset from the KEEP (Korean Education and Employment Panel) to test cultural 
capital theory, which was considered consequential to school performance differences 
in Western countries (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; DeGraaf et al., 2000; DiMaggio, 
1982), I needed to provide support for or disconfirmation against the applicability of 
the theory and to give further details about the results of the qualitative findings. What 
interests me is the social context, where certain cultural attributes may be defined and 
valued differently in the East Asian context than in the West.

Design Overview
Figure 1 represents the mixed methods design for this research. The research design consists of three phases: quantitative and qualitative data collection, data mixing, and interpretation. Influenced by Creswell’s (2007) mixed methods research design and Plano Clark et al.’s (2008) conceptual framework, I illustrate how I conducted my research. As suggested in Figure 1, in the first phase, I used the secondary nationally representative statistical dataset that was created in 2004. Qualitatively, I conducted interviews with those who were not in the sample in the KEEP study but who had learned English in public school in Korea. The interviewees were six Korean adults who received English education in primary and secondary schools in South Korea. Six interviewees accounted for what English learning practices took place while attending primary and secondary schools. In the second phase, I triangulated the data as presented by combining the statistical results of the KEEP with interview findings from six Korean young adults. In the third phase, I triangulated, analyzed and interpreted the results of the findings.

Figure 1. Mixed methods research design.

Phase 1: Quantitative Research Procedure

*Korean Education and Employment Panel*

The 2004 data from the KEEP (Korean Education and Employment Panel) survey database, a nationally-representative longitudinal panel study of 2,000 ninth graders and 2,000 twelfth graders (college-track high school students), was used in this study. The KEEP has carried out follow-ups every year since 2004.

The KEEP database fitted well in addressing my research questions. KEEP surveys students, households, school administrators, and homeroom teachers. As for the ninth graders, KEEP contains information on the students’ academic achievement, cultural life, parental annual income, and parental education. In addition, for the twelfth grade cohort, KEEP provided details regarding students’ academic achievement in various subjects, such as mock SAT scores, their relative academic ranks within a school, their self-rated performance in subject matters, and their SES for the year of 2004.

*Three-stage stratified clustering methods.* In order to have a representative sample of the population, three stage stratified clustering methods were used by the KEEP. In the first stage, the nation was divided into 15 administrative geographical locations. One hundred schools within an administrative were chosen based on the ratio of population. In the second stage, four classes within a selected school were chosen randomly. School administrators and homeroom teachers were selected at this stage. In the third stage, five students and their matched household within a school were chosen from clustering sampling method. The data was collected through PDA-based survey by trained interviewers. Through this stratified cluster sampling methods, 604,417 9th
grader- student populations in 2,249 middle schools in the nation were extracted to collect the sample of 2,000 9th grade students in 100 middle schools in 2004. As for the 12th graders, the population of 411,431 college-track 12th graders in 1,295 high schools across the nation was extracted to collect the sample of 2000 12th grade students in 100 high schools.

Dataset. The target dataset under study was the base-year of 2004: 9th grade students (N=2,000), college-track 12th grade students (N= 2000) and their family surveys across the country. The choice of the student sample of the 9th graders and 12th graders was influenced by the theoretical assumptions of cultural capital (Sullivan, 2001). Sullivan (2001) argues that research on cultural capital reproduction theory needs to satisfy the following assumptions: “(1) Parental cultural capital is inherited by children; (2) Children’s cultural capital is converted into educational credentials and (3) Educational credentials are a major mechanism of social reproduction in advanced capitalist societies” (Sullivan, 2001, p. 895). As presented in assumption two, twelfth graders’ English performance (as cultural capital) at the time can help transform into educational credentials and qualifications (entering different levels of college). In addition, English performance of the ninth graders is an embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1986, in the process of converting into educational qualification).

Theoretically, Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997) argue that students’ transition in school “parallels to educational credentials, where credentials are important for their symbolic value and educational credentials are legitimised signals of cultural capital and cultural proficiencies” (p. 579). Based on Aschaffenburg and Maas’ argument, the choice of the ninth grader and twelfth grade population was appropriate because those
students were allocated to upper level schools, which allowed me to make the
collection of this transition to converting into institutionalized cultural capital. As for
the ninth graders, they face a turning point about whether they will go on to college-
track high school or not. Investing time and effort to improve English performance is
like a capital accumulation process. As for the twelfth graders, English performance at
the time is the institutionalized cultural capital that is preparing them for going on to
different levels of colleges. Excellent performance in English can lead to more
prestigious colleges, which give social and economic returns in the job market. In sum,
I chose the ninth grade student sample and the twelfth grade sample to be aligned with
the conceptual assumptions of cultural reproduction framework, focusing on school
allocation as an indicator of acquiring symbolic cultural capital.

Data Analysis

Table 4 describes the variables and coding schemes for this study. The data
were analyzed by descriptive statistical analysis that portrays basic features of cultural
capital resources, including parental income level, students’ participation in cultural
capital activities, students English performance scales, and students’ gender.

Multiple regression analysis was used to answer these questions.

1. How does participation in cultural capital activities have an influence on 9th grade
and college-track 12th grade students’ English performance? I ran multiple
regression analysis to examine how students’ participation in cultural capital
related to students’ self-rated English performance and how each predictor
contributed to the performance. The statistical equations were:
• \( Y_i (\text{English performance by 9th graders/ by 12th graders}) = B_0 + B_1 (\text{gender}_{D1}) + B_2 (\text{movie}) + B_3 (\text{museum}) + B_4 (\text{T.V watching}) + B_5 (\text{literature}) + B_6 (\text{educational books}) + B_7 (\text{computer use hours}) + u_i \)

2. How do the differences in cultural capital resources in the home affect English learning process and subsequent opportunities for college and a career? I ran multiple regression analysis for the question two. The statistical equations were:

• \( Y_i (\text{English performance by ninth graders from the lowest 25% income family/ from lower 25-50 % income family/ from middle 50-75% income family/ from the lowest 25% income family}) = B_0 + B_1 (\text{movie}) + B_2 (\text{museum}) + B_3 (\text{T.V watching}) + B_4 (\text{literature}) + B_5 (\text{educational books}) + B_6 (\text{computer use hours}) + u_i \)

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Response Variable</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS11006 1. 9th graders’ English performance scale: Students were asked about how the students evaluate their own English performance. (1=poor, 2=below average, 3=average, 4=good, 5=excellent).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS11006 2. 12th grader’s English performance scale: Students were asked about how the students evaluate their own English performance. (1=poor, 2=below average, 3=average, 4=good, 5=excellent).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Variables</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS07026 1. High-brow cultural capital activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS07027 - Movies, or cinema going with five levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Museum, art gallery going with five levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS10001 2. Technology familiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS10005 - Hours of TV watching with five levels (reverse coding)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Hours of computer use with four levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS10002 3. Home atmosphere to enhance cognitive development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYS10004 - Literature with six levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Educational book reading with six levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Selection Variable</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYH20001 GENDER Male (1) Female (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYH20001 Monthly family income for the past one year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SPSS 12 (Korean version) software was used for the data recoding that includes data exploration, data merging, and variable translation. SPSS 15 (English version) was used to run the main statistical data analysis for the study.

Phase I-I: Qualitative Research Procedure

Qualitative Interview

With quantitative secondary data analysis, there was a limitation in arguing for English as cultural capital. Capital, as it is, takes a quite a long time (Lin, 1999) and also requires the cultural capital to be advantageous in school transitions and in the job market. Possession of capital causes people social and educational inequalities because a small number of people can obtain such valued capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). English as cultural capital requires the student to invest time and effort to gain surplus value (a social recognition, desired performance) (Lin, 1999). The quantitative data could not provide detailed information on capital accumulation processes, such as when the Korean students started to learn English, what motivated the students to learn English, what extra help the students received since their preschool days, and what effort the students make to be advantageous in their school transitions. In addition, there is no way to find out how directly or indirectly cultural capital types (high-brow cultural capital, cognitive development home atmosphere, and technology familiarity) can be related to students’ English performance enhancement.

There was a need to examine the particular Korean social and cultural contexts that were not discussed in the KEEP survey data analysis, focusing on the English learning process that advantages some Korean students and disadvantages some others.
It was equally important to examine collectivistic Korean parental expectations. Through semi-structured interviews with six Korean young adults, I investigated whether the English language in Korea has a high marketable, social and symbolic value from the perspective of these participants. I also offered in-depth analysis of ideologies and social forces that influence English learning and aggravate social stratification. Qualitative interviews provided insights on English as cultural capital and resulting educational inequalities occurring in Korean society.

Methods

*Purposeful sampling.* Research participants were selected through a purposeful sampling strategy (Creswell, 1998). The participants had to meet three criteria to elaborate on quantitative findings from the KEEP and to identify variations on cultural capital resources in the home in Korea. The first boundary was age. To be compatible with the KEEP data findings (created in 2004) and to provide a detailed educational context of that time, such as the use of computers for schooling in the KEEP, there was a need to control the age of the participants. Participants’ age ranged from 20s to early 30s. The second boundary was one’s intensive English learning experience as a foreign language for specific purposes, such as qualification examinations, entrance examinations, or studying overseas. Third, the participants needed to have spent their primary and secondary school days at regular schools in Korea and had learned English as a foreign language. Those selection criteria contributed to developing a theory that can answer how differences in cultural capital resources in the home are shaped and how such resources affect or mediate the English learning process.
Six research participants were recruited from two separate locations: in the U.S. and in Korea. First, four Korean interviewees were recruited in the U.S. Four interviewees went to colleges in Korea before but currently were enrolling in undergraduate or graduate programs at U.S. colleges. The Four Korean interviewees were staying in the U.S. for a short period, ranging from one semester to more than four years, to further their knowledge in their academic majors and to improve their English proficiency. As temporary visitors in the U.S., the Four Interviewees were supposed to return to Korea once they complete their scheduled courses of study. The Four interviewees had to prepare for TOEFL to be admitted to a program at a U.S. college while in Korea before leaving for the United States. This means that interviewees were highly motivated to learn and improve their English performance.

Second, two Korean adults who were studying English as a foreign language were recruited in Korea from an online EFL learning community. The Two Korean adults in Korea provided detailed information on the symbolic and screening roles of English in Korean society by narrating their experiences of cultural capital participation activities associated with English learning and job related experiences.

The six participants gave a full account of how they learned English, what motivated them, and what available sources of support they received from their families to reinforce their English competence. The narratives were of help in understanding hidden social and economic trajectories in learning English and in the school transition process.
Procedure. Participants’ recruitment process and interview protocols were fully reviewed by IRB at SUNY Albany. When I had full and official permission from IRB to do this qualitative research, I started the recruiting process.

Interviewees participated in the interview process on a volunteer basis. Four Korean exchange students were recruited at a university in Upstate New York. I placed a recruitment advertisement on SUNY Albany Korean Graduate Students’ webpage on September, 2009. When a volunteer contacted me, I sent an email describing the outline of this dissertation study: the purpose, the scope and the interview method. Before scheduling the interview, I further explained information about voluntary participation, the informed consent process, and use of a pseudonyms for confidentiality. I conducted the interview at a conference room in the school library. The first interview started on September, 2009, and the last interview ended on October, 2009.

Two Korean adults were recruited through an English-learning online community in Korea. I posted a message on the web about recruiting a volunteer, indicating the purpose of the study and my email address. For the two Korean adults in Korea, the major mode of communication and the interview took place through email correspondence. The first interview started on October, 2009 and the last interview ended on November, 2009.

Data sources. Data sources were documents, semi-structured interviews, e-mail correspondence and online chat. A set of semi-structured interview questions was used to interview the research participants. (a) Documents: A set of official English SAT questionnaires administered in 2008, advertisement fliers on English private tutorial instruction, class schedules of 9th graders and 12th graders at public schools, and other
government documents were collected and coded. (b) Audio taping: Interviews from four Korean adults in the U.S. were audio taped. Some taped data were summarized in Korean and be then translated into English. Each interview was summarized and then translated into English. (c) Email correspondence: The data from two Korean adults in Korea were collected from email correspondence.

Data Analysis

*Lens of history.* Lens of history (Agee, 2002) was employed as a research tool to understand and interpret the phenomenon that cultural capital resources in the home may have a positive influence on EFL learning experience and performance. Any event, performance, or outcome needs to be considered “not as a thing happening at that moment but as an expression of something happening over time. Any event, or thing, has a past, a present as it appears to us, and an implied future” (Clandinin, & Connelly, 2000, p. 29). Without histories of the EFL learner’s past experiences, which are shaped by family habits and social and temporal context, the significant meanings of the EFL performance cannot be fully explored and interpreted.

I divided the lens of history into two folds: macro and micro lens of history. Macro lens of history is about major events, habits, customs or societal values that are handed down, pertained to, or continuously occurred to every society member in a large scale. Micro lens of history goes deeper down to an individual story or a life experience about an event, practice, or other rituals that a researcher is interested in (Agee, 2002; Clandinin, & Connelly, 2000).

*Grounded theory method.* Grounded theory method (Straus & Corbin, 1990) was employed to analyze the data. Qualitative data was coded, recoded and analyzed by
going through three sequential stages: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. At the open coding stage, the interview summaries produced from six research participants’ interviews, as well as related documents for developing categories and subcategories (properties), were examined. At the axial coding stage, the relationships among the categories and subcategories generated were investigated to identify the cause-and-effect relationship. At the selective coding stage, a theoretical model was illustrated to explain the causal relationships from the categories. Field notes and memos were integrated to answer the research questions addressed (Creswell, 1998; Straus & Corbin, 1990).

**Issues of validity.** To increase the validity of the result, the following procedures were taken (Creswell, 1998; Flick, 2006). (a) peer audits: A Korean graduate student examined the accuracy and reliability of the interviewed data by checking the translated interview summaries. (b) member checks: Member checks were conducted during the data analysis. I asked the interviewee’s opinions on whether the interviewees’ intentions were clearly reflected in the findings. (c) triangulation: I employed multiple sources of data and triangulated the data in order to increase the validity of the findings (Creswell, 1998; Flick, 2006).

**Ethical issues.** I obtained the informed consent of the participants at the beginning of the study. I assured that each participant can withdraw from this study at any time if he/she so desired, and that he/she can avoid answering any questions with which he/she were not comfortable. I made sure that each participant experiences no known physical, psychological, or social risks because of his/her participation.
All interview data were managed and administered by the principal investigator, giving a priority to confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. The data was stored and locked in a file cabinet in the P.I.’s apartment. After one and a half years, the data was supposed to be destroyed to protect the interviewer’s confidentiality. Research participants received a $20 gift card as a token of thanks for their participation.

Limitations

The present research has several limitations. First, the scope and the depth of cultural capital are narrowly measured and examined in the KEEP analysis because of the nature of the secondary panel data. I wanted to include the genres of TV programs that each student was watching (Sullivan, 2001) as a measure of technology related cultural capital, however I could not due to the absence of the measure in the KEEP dataset.

In addition, there is a limitation in effectively integrating quantitative data with qualitative data. There is a gap between the population in the KEEP dataset and the population of six interview participants. Six interviewees were not drawn from the population from the KEEP analysis who were 9th graders (14-15 years old; born around the year of 1988) and 12th graders (17-18 years old; born around 1985) in 2004. Due to the impossibility of getting access to the panel survey participants, I chose participants who were demographically comparable to the KEEP population. Focusing on the data comparability between the populations, I restricted interview participants to those in their 20’s or 30’s at the time of data collection (born from 1980 to 1988). People born after the end of the 1980s in Korea usually had ownership of a computer and Internet access during their secondary school days. Even though the major purpose of including
qualitative methods was to provide a vignette for social and historical context (Plano Clark et al., 2008) related to English learning pertaining to Korea, there is a possible threat to the population-comparability issue in the mixed methods research.
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Introduction

Relying on Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory, this chapter provides the results of findings from mixed research methods. The overarching question is: How are cultural capital resources advantageous to some Korean students and disadvantageous to other students who may not have those resources? The sub questions are:

1. How does participation in cultural capital activities have an influence on 9th grade and college-track 12th grade students’ English performance in Korea?
2. How do the differences in cultural capital resources in the home affect the English learning process and subsequent opportunities for college and a career?

The first question called for a quantitative analysis. I employed the Korean Education and Employment Panel survey data in 2004 to show how students’ participation in types of cultural capital activities could predict self-rated English performance. Using semi-structured qualitative interview methods, I further the investigation into the school life of college-track high school students.

The second question called for a quantitative analysis of the differences in cultural capital resources by family income level and English performance. An example of each of three types of cultural capital resources related to EFL learning is presented. Furthermore, I offer the social temporal context of Korean society after the Asian financial crisis in 1997, in order to consider of the causalities of hegemonic power of English in the job market. By integrating qualitative into quantitative framework, I discuss inequality issues, reflecting on the social and temporal context.
Research Question 1. How does participation in cultural capital activities have an influence on 9th grade and college-track 12th grade students’ English performance?

Phase I: Quantitative Results

Descriptive Statistical Analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis was administered to examine how ninth graders and twelfth graders took part in types of cultural capital and how student participation was associated with student self-rated English performance. Table 5 provides the descriptive statistics for each cultural capital predictor in both grades, including Means and Standard Deviations.

Table 5 shows that the valid sample of the ninth graders was reduced from 2,000 to 1,956. For the twelfth graders, the valid sample became 1,886 out of 2,000. For ninth graders, the gender distributions were equal, indicating that 50% were male and 50% were female. By contrast, for twelfth graders, 57% were male and 43% were female.

As a dependent variable, English performance was measured on a five-Likert scale that 1 = very poor, 2 = poor, 3 = average, 4 = good, and 5 = excellent. The mean for ninth grade English performance was 2.66 out of 5 (SD=1.05). For twelfth graders, the mean was 2.62 (SD=.95).

As predictors, types of cultural capital by ninth graders and twelfth graders were measured by six items, two of which indicated highbrow cultural capital, two were cognitive cultural capital, and two were technological familiarity.

The highbrow cultural capital variable included how often students 1) go to the movies or theater and 2) go to a museum, art galleries, or music concert, on a five-point
scale: 1= never, 2= once every few years, 3= a few times a year, 4= a few times a month, and 5= a few times a week. The mean for ninth grade in going to movies was 2.37 (SD= 1.13) out of 5, for museum/art gallery/ music concert going it was 1.98(SD=.95) out of 5. For the twelfth graders, the mean for going to the movies and going to the museum were 2.04(SD=1.01) and 1.63 (SD=.79) each.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for 9th Grade and 12th Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>9th Grade (N=1, 956)</th>
<th>12th Grade (N=1,886)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English performance English</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-brow cultural capital Movie, Cinema</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-brow cultural capital Museum, Art Gallery, Music Concert</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>.948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive cultural capital Literature</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive cultural capital Educational book reading</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology cultural capital TV watching hours</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology cultural capital The use of computer for schooling and information seeking</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The cognitive cultural capital variable involved how often per year students 1) read literature, and 2) read educational books, on a six-point scale:1= never, 2= one to five, 3= 6-10, 4= 11-20, 5= 21-50, and 6= more than 60 books. The mean for ninth grade literature reading was 2.94 (SD= 1.38) out of 6, for reading educational books it
was 1.97 (SD=1.13) out of 6. The mean for twelfth grade literature reading was 2.81 (SD= 1.33), for educational book reading it was 2.04 (SD=1.09).

The technological familiarity cultural capital variable consisted of 1) how many hours a day students watch T.V., on a five-point scale:1= more than three hours, 2= two to three hours, 3= one to two hours, 4= 30 minutes to one hour, and 5= below 30 minutes; 2) how many times a week they use computers for schooling and information seeking, on a four-point scale:1=never, 2=twice a week, 3= three times a week, and 4= daily. For the ninth graders, the mean for TV watching was 2.89 (SD= 1.17) out of 5, for the use of computers for schooling and information seeking it was 2.16(SD=.76) out of 4. For the twelfth graders, the mean for T.V watching was 3.90(SD= 1.01) out of 5, for the use of computer for schooling and information seeking it was 2.39(SD=.80) out of 4.

Multiple Regression Analysis Assumptions

Regression analysis was used to examine how students’ participation in cultural capital related to students’ self-rated English performance and how each predictor contributed to the performance. I checked the assumptions for regression analysis, including multicollinearity, linearity of the relationship between cultural capital predictors and self-rated English performance, independence of errors, constant variance of errors, and normal distribution of errors.

Multicollinearity. I used the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) and Tolerance statistics to find out if there was multicollinearity among the predictors in regression models. I paid attention to detecting the predictors that were over 10 in the VIF value and that were below.1 in tolerance statistics, which cut off figures(10 in VIF, 1 in
Tolerance) are usually considered as critical to discover \textit{multicollinearity}. For ninth graders, no predictors in the final regression model suffer from multicollinearity based on the criteria presented (Appendix B-1). For twelfth graders, I could not discover any multicollinearity of the predictors (Appendix B-2).

In addition, the threat to the multicollinearity also was examined by checking \textit{eigen value}, \textit{condition index}, and \textit{variance proportions} in collinearity diagnostics section. For ninth graders, the greatest \textit{condition index} from the final model was 12.867, suggesting that the value was not greater than 30 (multicollinearity cult-off points). In the column \textit{eigen value} and \textit{variance proportions} from the final model, there was no value that exceeded 0.9 at the same time (multicollinearity cult-off points is 0.9) (Appendix B-3). For twelfth graders, the greatest \textit{condition index} from the final model was 16.493, which was not greater than 30. \textit{Eigen value} and \textit{variance proportions} from the final model also were not greater than 0.9 at the same time (Appendix B-4). The analysis listed showed that any multicollinearity was found among the predictors in both ninth and twelfth grade.

\textit{Linearity.} I examined the regression ANOVA table to find out whether there is a linear relationship between cultural capital predictors and self-rated English performance. For the ninth graders, the F value from the final model was significant (F =37.53, p<0.001) (Appendix B-5). For the twelfth graders, the F value was also significant (F =21.87, p<0.001) (Appendix B-6). The F statistics reveals that there is a linear relationship between the two variables in ninth grade and twelfth grade regression models.

*Independence of errors: Durbin-Watson.* To examine the independence of errors in regressions, I checked the estimates of autocorrelation coefficient, $p$, using Durbin-Watson statistics (DW). DW statistics usually have a relation to estimates of autocorrelation coefficient, $p$, $DW \approx 2(1-p)$. This means that if DW has the ranges between 0 and 4 (when $p=1$, $DW=0$; when $p= -1$, $DW=4$). If $p<0$ and $DW \approx 4$, it means that there is a negative autocorrelation among the errors in regression. By contrast, if $p>0$ and $DW \approx 0$, it shows that there is a positive autocorrelation among errors. That is, when $DW \approx 2$ and $p \approx 0$, errors in regression is independent. For the ninth graders, the DW statistics is 1.97(Appendix B-7), while for the twelfth graders the DW statistics is equal to 2.0(Appendix B-8). From the analysis, it shows that errors both grade regressions are independent.

*Normal distribution of errors.* To examine the assumptions of normal distribution of errors and p-p plot of regression, standardized residuals were plotted. Standardized residual plots were checked to examine the assumptions of normal distribution of errors. For the ninth graders, Appendix B-9 indicates normal p-p plot of regression standardized residuals. The X axis represented observed cumulative chances of odds of the standard residuals. The Y axis showed expected normal probabilities of occurrences of the standard residuals. The assumptions of normal distribution of errors
can be satisfied when the observed residuals is aligned with expected residuals by having 45-degree angle line and the line produced does not deviate much from the 45-degree line. Examination of the graphs revealed that errors were normally spread in both grades (Appendix B-9; Appendix B-10).

**Constant variances of errors.** To find out constant variances of errors, residual statistics was employed. Appendix B-11 presents a statistics about residuals. For the ninth graders, examination of residual statistics revealed that the mean of standardized residuals was 0 with SD=.998 (Appendix B-11). For twelfth graders, standardized residual was 0 with SD=.998(Appendix B-12). It showed that the variances of errors are regularly spread across the predictors, by having a mean of 0 and SD of .998.

**Multiple Regression Analysis**

Regression analysis was used to look into how students’ participation in types of cultural capital was related to students’ self-rated English performance. Each cultural capital item was separated into blocks and entered sequentially into the equation in the order of gender, high brow cultural capital, cognitive cultural capital and technology cultural capital to measure \( R^2 \) change. Outliers and missing cases were deleted from the equation by listwise method.

Table 6 shows the multiple correlation coefficients, partial regression coefficients, adjusted coefficient of determination and Beta weight of ninth graders. Examinations of the models presented showed that cultural capital explained 11.9% of the variances in English performance, where highbrow cultural capital, cognitive cultural capital, and technology cultural capital variables accounted for 5%, 4.2%, and 2.7% each.
The regression analysis from the final model (Model 4) showed that predictors of literature reading, museum going, computer use for schooling, TV watching, and movie watching had a significant impact on student’s English performance \( F = 37.53, p < 0.001 \). By contrast, the results for gender and reading educational books were insignificant. It should be noted that reading educational books worked as a mediator that was significant in model 3 but that was not significant in model 4 when all predictors were included.

Beta weight from Table 6 showed the relative contribution of the cultural capital predictors to English performance. Results from Beta (\( \beta \)) showed that the relative contribution of the predictors on English performance can be listed in the order of significance: literature reading, the use of computers for schooling, TV watching, attendance at a museum, and finally attendance at movies or cinema. Literature reading made the greatest contribution to English performance \( (\beta = .123, p = .001) \), followed by the use of computers for schooling \( (\beta = .120, p = .001) \). To be precise, more frequent reading of literature played an important role in increasing students’ English performance. More frequent use of computers for information seeking and schooling also made a difference in enhancing the performance. Highbrow cultural capital made a significant contribution to English performance, indicating that more attendance at the museum and at the concert were associated with higher levels of English performance \( (\beta = .96, p = .001; \beta = .83, p = .01) \). As expected, the fewer hours spent watching TV played a significant role in promoting the performance \( (\beta = .118, p = .001) \).
Table 6  
Regression Models of 9th Grade English Performance by Types of Cultural Capital (N=1,956)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>2.664***</td>
<td>2.098***</td>
<td>1.728***</td>
<td>1.248***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>-.005</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>-.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>.106***</td>
<td>.087***</td>
<td>.078**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum</td>
<td>.159***</td>
<td>.119***</td>
<td>.106***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-brow C.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>.116***</td>
<td>.094***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational books</td>
<td>.078*</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive C.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational books</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology C.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV control</td>
<td>.105***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>.165***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple R</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>.304</td>
<td>.345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² change</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


a. Dependent variable: English performance
b. * P<.05., **p<.01., ***p<.001.
Table 7 represented regression models of twelfth grade English performance by types of cultural capital participation. The final regression model (model 4) accounted for 7.5 percent of the total variations in English performance (see Table 7). It showed that all cultural capital predictors of literature reading, museum going, computer use for schooling, TV watching, movie watching, reading educational books, and gender had a significant impact on student’s English performance ($R^2 = 0.075$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.072$; $F = 21.87, p<0.001$). Examination of the model presented showed that cultural capital variables explained 7.5 percent of the variances in English performance, where gender, highbrow cultural capital, cognitive cultural capital, and technology cultural capital variables accounted for 0.02%, 3.4%, 1.6% and 2.4% each.

In Table 7, beta weight from Model 4 revealed that the relative importance of the predictors was made in the following order: TV watching ($\beta = 0.118, p = 0.001$), going to the movies ($\beta = 0.099, p = 0.001$), computer use for schooling ($\beta = 0.093, p = 0.001$), museum going ($\beta = 0.080, p = 0.05$), literature reading ($\beta = 0.059, p = 0.05$), reading educational books ($\beta = 0.052, p = 0.05$), and gender ($\beta = 0.048 p = 0.05$). Consistent with ninth grade findings, the less hour spending on TV positively affected students’ English performance. Consumption of highbrow cultural capital (going to the movies, going to the museum or art galleries) was associated with higher levels of English performance. More reading literature and educational books were related to twelfth graders’ English performance gains.
Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>2.573***</td>
<td>2.141***</td>
<td>1.915***</td>
<td>1.305***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.116*</td>
<td>.102*</td>
<td>.091*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.041)</td>
<td>(.060)</td>
<td>(.053)</td>
<td>(.048)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-brow C.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>.093***</td>
<td>.089***</td>
<td>.093***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.098)</td>
<td>(.095)</td>
<td>(.099)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum</td>
<td>.137***</td>
<td>.110**</td>
<td>.096*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.114)</td>
<td>(.092)</td>
<td>(.080)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive C.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature reading</td>
<td></td>
<td>.055*</td>
<td>.042*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(.077)</td>
<td>(.059)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational books</td>
<td></td>
<td>.064*</td>
<td>.046*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(.073)</td>
<td>(.052)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology C.C.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td>.112***</td>
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<td>(.118)</td>
</tr>
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<td>(.093)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
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<td>.111***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(.093)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple R</td>
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<td>.227</td>
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<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.002</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² change</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.024</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent variable: English performance
b. * P<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.
Students’ study habits and the use of computers for schooling were also significantly associated with higher levels of English performance.

Findings

From the analysis of ninth graders and twelfth graders regression models, I made three tentative findings. First, cultural capital found to be significant in predicting ninth graders and twelfth graders self-rated English performance. Types of cultural capital significantly influenced the students’ English performance.

Second, significant cultural capital types operated differently on the performance by grade level. For ninth graders, only literature reading, museum going, computer use for schooling, TV watching, and movie watching were significant predictors in furthering English performance. For twelfth graders, all of the cultural capital variables of literature reading, museum going, computer use for schooling, TV watching, and movie watching, reading educational books and gender were significant. Gender and reading educational books were not significant, but the other four were for ninth graders. The similarity that cuts across both grades is that technological cultural capital (TV watching, the use of computers for schooling) made relatively the greatest contribution to performance.

Third, cultural capital variables can predict students’ self-rated English performance in ninth and twelfth graders, and degree of cultural capital on performance becomes weaker as students’ years of schooling increases. As indicated, the ninth grade final regression model accounted for 11.9% of the total variances in English performance, while the twelfth grade model only explained 7.5%. The percent of the variations that explain the total variations in English is different by grade level, showing that younger
students (15 years old, ninth graders) benefit more from the consumption of cultural capital than their twelfth grader counterparts (17 years old).

Cultural capital works differently; the younger the student is, the more the student is likely to profit from the cultural capital consumption. Conversely, the degree of effect of cultural capital consumption on English performance became weaker for those older students, which partially supports DiMaggio’s view that “childhood acquisition or practice of culture (evidence of cultural capital) has a positive effect on the probability of making transitions in the educational career. The magnitude of these effects becomes smaller over the educational career and may even cease to be significant for the latest transitions” (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997, p. 576).

Phase I-I: Qualitative Results

Quantitative statistical analysis on cultural capital effects and self-rated English performance revealed that cultural capital effects are not constant across two grade levels, ninth graders and college-track twelfth graders. There were differences between the grades in the percentage of the cultural capital in explaining the total variances in the performance. Findings for the types of cultural capital that engaged in both groups were significantly different, showing that gender was not a significant predictor for ninth graders while it was significant for twelfth graders.

Nonetheless, the KEEP data did not contain information on educational context differences among two groups. The data also provided little contextual information about why cultural capital participation works differently. Such limits of the quantitative analysis led me to research the qualitative interview to examine why the degree of
cultural capital became weaker, reflecting social, temporal, and educational contexts in Korea.

Interview questions were built from themes of cultural capital and English performance that were discussed in the literature review. Interview questions were constructed as strictly and concisely as possible to compensate for the quantitative KEEP data analysis, which were lacking in describing the social and educational context in Korea. The questions were to identify further social and educational context by placing cultural reproduction theory in the Korean temporal context after the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. Interviewees attended secondary schools during and after the Asian Financial Crisis.

Interviews helped provide further information from the EFL adults who had learned English during their primary and secondary school days, specifically how and why cultural capital had so little impact on English performance as grade level increases.

Participants Characteristics

To align interviewees with the temporal context of the KEEP in 2004, the interviewee age was controlled. I limited participants’ age to individuals born between 1980 and 1990. I also focused on highly motivated English learners to find out the complex symbolic meanings of the EFL learning practice. Two were undergraduate students. Three were graduate students. One adult had a small business in Seoul. Each individual differed in geographic location, EFL learning experiences, career related experiences, and career orientations due to their majors and surroundings. Geographically, three grew up in the Seoul Metropolitan area, one was from a Seoul suburb, and two were from the Southwestern Province.
To examine symbolic meanings (in relation to cultural capital) of the English language in Korean society, interviewees’ EFL learning experiences was controlled. All interviewees learned English as a foreign language in Korea, either at a young age or into high school. I made an effort to recruit Korean exchange students in the U.S., who could explain in what ways English performance is related to success in school (Miss Lee, Miss Jeon). Miss Kim, Miss Lee, Miss Jeon and Mr. Park were recruited in the U.S. Mr. Oh. and Mr. Huh were recruited in Korea from an online English learning community (see Table 8 for participant characteristics).

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Miss Kim</th>
<th>Miss Lee</th>
<th>Miss Jeon</th>
<th>Mr. Park</th>
<th>Mr. Oh</th>
<th>Mr. Huh</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing-up Areas</td>
<td>Seoul/KyungKi</td>
<td>Daegu (Southeastern province)</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Masan (Southeastern province)</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>College track high school</td>
<td>Foreign Language High School (boarding school)</td>
<td>Transferred from Foreign Language High School to College-track high school</td>
<td>Locally prestigious college-track high school</td>
<td>College track high school</td>
<td>College track high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero-class hour</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nighttime self-study session</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes(M-F)</td>
<td>Yes(M-F)</td>
<td>Yes(M-F)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Recruitment</td>
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<td>U.S.</td>
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<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Korea</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 shows each participant’s profile information. Each participant was given a pseudonym. Four interviewees in the U.S. were carried out in Korean by face-to face
meetings in a library study room at a University in the U.S. Each interview took more than two hours. Before conducting the interview, each participant was assured that their participation was voluntary, and was rewarded with a $20 gift card. Further questions were posed on the phone. Two volunteers were recruited in Korea from an EFL learning online community. Interviews were conducted through e-mail correspondence. Further questions were posed through additional emails. The first interview took place in September, 2009 and the last interview was completed in November, 2009. During the recruitment process, a college student, Mr. D. in Korea contacted me to take part in my research and sent over his interview data that described his English learning experience truthfully and credibly. Because of my difficulty in obtaining his consent form, however, I excluded his life experience from the data analysis.

I employed constant comparative analysis to develop related codes, categories, themes and assertions that can support or challenge cultural capital effects and English performance during the secondary school days. Miss Kim’s interview data, the first interviewee, was used as a starting point to produce codes and categories related to dimensions of cultural capital learning English as a foreign language. Initial analysis of Miss Kim’s case guided the research analysis to focus more on gender differences and geographic location differences for the English learning experience in the home and outside the classroom.

_Dwindling Cultural Capital Effects for Twelfth Graders_

All interview data were summarized, critically reviewed, and finally translated into English. A graduate student native-speaker of Korean in New York checked the accuracy of the data and translation.
To explore decreasing cultural capital effects for twelfth graders, I analyzed the data by employing cross-case analysis. I compared and contrasted all interview data to find out what features of the educational context are responsible for attenuating cultural capital effects among twelfth graders. Initially, the theme of night-study hours at most college-track high schools could explain how cultural capital had differing effects between ninth graders and college-track twelfth graders. By taking a close look at the six interviewees who came from college-track high schools, I sorted out and regrouped the interviews by participants’ gender, geographic locations of graduated high schools, and age. I then tried to uncover the cultural similarities and differences that were shared and valued by participants during their high school days. Those experiences may account for social and educational contexts pertaining to the Korean education system.

Interviewees recalled college-track high school life. They reported that SAT scores still provide opportunities for social upward mobility by entering elite colleges, even though such customs had persisted for the last five decades. Screening college applicants by standardized examination is regarded as an acceptable practice and as a social equity instrument. Since the smallest difference in the SAT can decide which university a student attends, prestige may predict future income and quality of life, interviewees unanimously reported that they had to be fully occupied in preparing for elite college examinations from the first year in high school, the 10th grade. Interviewees’ high schools offered competitive school-wide curriculums, heightening students’ outcomes. Interviewees who went to either public high schools or private high schools had to spend much time studying for the entrance examination. Interviewees quit their
lessons in nonacademic fields, such as music, and focused only on upholding and upgrading GPA and SAT preparation.

Interviewees’ main interests focused on increasing scores of weighted core subjects, Korean, Math, and English. Out of total scores of 400 on the SAT, Korean, math, Social Science/Science, and English comprised 120, 80, 120, and 80 respectively. Conversely, other peripheral subjects such as Arts, classical music, and sports (which may be the indicators of luxury, highbrow, elegant tastes in cultural capital) did not count for much in the SAT test. Interviewees jointly voiced that Math and English require private tutorial instruction if one intends to achieve excellence. On the other hand, it is possible to get ahead in subject matters such as Korean, Social Studies, and Science without private tutorial instruction.

Interviewees report that for the English learning practices inside and outside school, EFL learning was geared toward testing preparation. High school students as well as teachers focus on SAT test preparations including grammar, reading comprehension, vocabulary, and listening skills. To promote students’ competitiveness, interviewees had to follow what was offered at school for school-wide curriculums and class schedules.

By contrast, in their middle school days, interviewees report that they had time to develop their non-academic skills. Some students continued to take piano lessons, while some practiced Taekwondo. Some took English conversation classes taught by a native English teacher at a language academy as part of their hobbies. During middle school, interviewees did not need to be fully occupied in elite college examinations and pursued their interests in non-academic subjects.
There were unique educational school routines that applied to college-track twelfth graders but not to ninth graders. Two examples were identified that may cause cultural capital effects on English to dwindle across the participants at college-track high schools. The exemplary school-wide curriculum offered as extra teaching in various colleges track high schools were: (1) zero class periods in the morning, which was reported by all six interviewees, and (2) self-guided learning sessions at night during the weekdays at school. Two examples presented may account for attenuating effects of cultural capital because they persisted throughout interviewees’ high-school days.

**Example 1: Zero-class hour period in the morning.** All six interviewees report that they had zero-class hour period (extracurricular hour sessions) in the morning all through their high school days. Zero-class hour period is carried out right before the regular class starts Monday through Friday. All interviewees were supposed to attend the class as a regular class, though there were variances in the starting time. Some interviewees had zero-class period from 7 a.m., others started at 7:50. Zero-class hour period continued until regular class started around 8:50 or 9 a.m. Zero-class hour period is not mandated in the National High School curriculum, however all the respondents, both from private schools and in public schools, said that it was normal to have a zero-class hour period while they were in high school. Some interviewees said that they studied test preparation materials during this time. It was the cultural norm to arrive at school on time in order not to miss the zero class hour session. Such cultural norms for college-track high school students were prescribed in the unofficial school curriculum.

**Example 2: Nighttime self-tutoring session during weekdays at school.** As part of college entrance examinations, interviewees said that their high schools offered nighttime
self-tutoring sessions. These sessions were provided Monday through Friday in the period after regular classes had ended. High school teachers rotated the night shift to take care of the students, usually without monetary compensation. At face value, nighttime self-tutoring sessions claimed to be operating on a voluntary basis. However, participation in the night-time self-tutoring sessions was not voluntary from the interviewees’ accounts. Some interviewees perceived it as helpful and valuable. Some others saw such practice as less helpful. The length of time and the number of weekly participation requirement for night-time-self-tutoring sessions varied with each interviewees’ school.

Miss Kim, who attended a public high school in the Seoul Metropolitan area, said that she had to join in nighttime self-tutoring sessions twice a week from 10th grade. She was afraid that her grade in the behavior development section might be undermined unless she engaged in nighttime self-tutoring sessions. She studied from 6 pm to 10 pm in her high school, after regular class was over. She went to private tutoring on days that she did not go to nighttime sessions.

Miss Lee, a graduate of foreign language prep high boarding school in Daegu Metropolitan area, responded that she took part in nighttime self-tutoring sessions every day from 7 pm to 11pm. Her school nighttime sessions were divided into two chunks. There was a snack time from 9-9:20, between the sessions, which she enjoyed. She never missed the nighttime sessions offered at school during the weekdays. During the weekends, she went to a private tutoring institute to learn more about subject matter that she felt was challenging. She viewed her night-time tutoring sessions positively, stating that they helped regulate her study time hours.
Mr. Park graduated from a prestigious high school in his town in the Southeastern part of Korea. His high school was considered prestigious because it screened potential candidates by high school SAT scores. He had taken part in nighttime self-tutoring sessions after regular classes were over at around 4:30 pm. Like his fellow students, he had dinner at school and relaxed for an hour. He continued to study from 6 p.m. until 10 p.m. at school from Monday through Friday.

The particular characteristics of his high school were that it offered rewards to high performing students, giving priorities for them to enter boarding houses inside the school, which were competitive among students. Only the Seoul National University class students whose relative ranks in class were 1 to 3 could enter the boarding house. It is a hidden rule that high school prestige in his school district is mainly determined by number of students per year who entered Seoul National University (SNU). High school alumni who went to SNU in Korean society can expect subsequent connections in legal, political, and administrative professions. Cronyism by high school alumni, college alumni, or region exists and is regarded as a plus. For students whose relative ranks in class were 1-3, Mr. Park’s, high-school made SNU classes available. His school provided incentives in this way, which motivated high-achievers. He thought it was the valuable and helpful learning experience for keeping his concentration for the exam. His high school teachers were passionate and devoted. They took a carrot-and-stick approach to managing the students.

Except for one male interviewee who attended a public high school in Seoul, five interviewees said that they had been engaged in nighttime studying sessions all through their high school career. Some high schools were lenient as to how many days students
were allowed to take part in the night sessions, others enforced a strict rule on all students’ participation. All interviewees took part in private tutorial instruction during the weekends to compensate for whatever subject matter they felt was challenging, particularly Math and Korean essay writing,

What I noted from the interview data is that the degree of cultural capital effect is reduced once a student starts learning at a college track high school. High school students could not spare time being exposed to, appreciating, and enjoying types of cultural capital that was valued, especially highbrow cultural capital. It is because of the Korean education context that social rewards are more likely given to the select few who entered elite colleges, instead of being given to all. Interviewees recounted that diplomas from elite universities yield advantages, such as difficult to obtain cultural capital among high school students. Fierce competition among peers is unavoidable in order to get ahead of others.

Two examples provided from the interviewees can help account for the decreasing influence of cultural capital on English performance by grade, showing that twelfth graders were lacking absolute time to consume and enjoy cultural capital indicated.
Research Question 2. How do differences in cultural capital in the home affect students’ English learning process and subsequent opportunities for college and a career?

Phase I: Quantitative Results

I examine differences in cultural capital in the home according to different family income levels, in order to clarify links between the home environment and subsequent educational outcomes. This can help explain direct and indirect trajectories of social reproduction. Ninth graders’ English performance is the target of the analysis for the following reasons:

First, the choice of only ninth graders as the target population stems from the characteristics of English performance. For ninth graders, English language learning embodied cultural capital that needed further investment of time, individual effort, and economic capital to promote their performance. By contrast, twelfth graders’ data did not account for cultural capital differences and English performance. Twelfth grade English performance is the skill that had previously been picked up and refined through schooling. English performance at this grade level is the institutional cultural capital which is ready for SAT or for the job market. The choice of ninth graders’ data is suitable in measuring English performance because ninth graders’ cultural capital is more influenced by parental support, and a deeper explanation of parental support practices for EFL learning is necessary.

Ninth grade English performance is considered embodied cultural capital. English as embodied cultural capital is being converted into institutional cultural capital for the prep-high entrance exams, and then being changed into economic capital (TOEIC/TEPS/TOEFL scores) for the job market. During this time, ninth graders’
English performance is furthered by English classes at school, as well as private tutorial instruction.

Second, the choice of income level in exploring cultural capital differences is determined by cultural reproduction theory. Participation in cultural capital activities relies on economic capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1991). In addition, students from income strata go through different socialization processes. Particularly, in Korean society, economic capital rather than education level is the primary indicator that defines class and class identity, especially for the middle class after the IMF crisis in 1997. In Nam’s (2007) dissertation study, the middle class in Korea was shown as striving for social upward mobility, and they formed social identity through mobilizing and consuming cultural capital that stood for values and prestige. The middle class makes an effort to buy and own cultural goods, materials, and educational goods to achieve “status,” which have hierarchical characteristics. Those status-seeking efforts and cultural capital consumption presume economic capital (Nam, 2007). That is, the income level each student belongs to can obviously explain cultural capital differences and their impact on the socialization process. Parental income level can decide the volume and activation of cultural capital consumption related to English learning.

In sum, investigations on cultural capital differences by income levels with ninth graders’ data can illustrate further links between home environment and subsequent English performance differences, showing direct and indirect trajectories of social reproduction. Ninth grade students’ data were subdivided into four income groups based on their family income: students from lowest 25% income were coded as 1; students from
26- 50% were coded as 2; students from 51-75% were coded as 3; and students from upper 25% were 4.

*Multiple Regression Analysis*

I conducted four separate regression analyses to look into how cultural capital differences by income level have an influence on the English performance of ninth graders. Table 9 shows the results for four separate income groups on how differently or similarly cultural capital participation influenced English performance.

Table 9 showed the standardized regression coefficients and the Beta statistics. Table 9 indicated that ninth graders’ cultural capital consumption was patterned by different income quartiles. The six predictors entered in the four separate equations using the stepwise method.

The regression model for the lowest 25% income group accounted for 5.1% of the total variances in English performance. It indicated that computer use for schooling ($\beta=.153, p=0.05$) and literature reading ($\beta=.136, p=0.05$) significantly influenced the self-rated English performance.

The regression model for the mid 26-50% income groups accounted for 8.8% of the total variances in the English performance. Three predictors, computer use for schooling ($\beta=.187, p=0.05$), going to the movies ($\beta=.142, p=0.05$), and reading literature ($\beta=.119, p=0.05$) have a significant impact on the performance.

For the mid 51-75 % income groups, the regression model explained 10.2 % of the total variances in the English performance. The significant cultural capital predictors were reading literature ($\beta=.164, p=0.01$), going to the movies ($\beta=.142, p=0.01$) and reading educational books ($\beta=.125, p=0.05$).
For the upper 25% income groups, the regression model accounted for 12.2% of the total variances in the English language. Significant predictors were computer use for schooling ($\beta=.136$, $p=0.05$), reading educational books ($\beta=.132$, $p=0.05$), museum going ($\beta=.129$, $p=0.01$), and reading literature ($\beta=.123$, $p=0.05$).

**Findings**

From the regression results indicated, there were differences among different income groups in the percent of variances of cultural capital in explaining ninth grade English performance. Cultural capital effects were relatively higher for those who are from the upper 25% where 12.2% of variances of cultural capital account for English performance; followed by middle income groups (51-75%) with 10.2% of variances, low mid 26-50% with 8.8% and lowest 25% income groups with 5.1% variances. There were differences between the lower 25% income group and the upper 25% income group that accounted for total variances of English, showing 5.1% and 12.2%. For the high-income students, cultural capital effects on English are almost 2.3 times more than the lowest income counterparts.

The degree of cultural capital effects grows weaker as student family income decreases. This finding provides partial support for Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory, explaining that students from more economically able families benefit more from consuming cultural capital in school than their counterparts. Even though this finding could not support the view that high SES students are more favored by teachers in school because they are familiar with and aware of valuable cultural capital that they brought with them from their home, it shows the links between cultural capital and family income factor.
The types of cultural capital predictors that operate significantly were markedly different across the income level. Cognitive cultural capital, reading literature, was found to be significant to four income groups. Cognitive cultural capital was more significant to mid-high income group and the high-income group. Technological cultural capital was found to be significant to three income groups (the lowest 25%, low-mid (25-50%) group, the upper 25% income group). As access to computers and the internet in the home in Korea has already reached over 90% in 2003, the use of computers for schooling has been taken for granted as a learning tool in various subjects.

The type of cultural capital that showed a marked difference between the lowest 25% income group and the rest was highbrow cultural capital, such as museum going. For the lowest 25%, highbrow cultural capital, either going to the movies or going to the museum was not significant, while it was significant to the rest of the group. The lowest income group’s cultural capital consumption is limited in volume and repertoire of the cultural capital in comparison to their counterparts.

The findings for four income group samples showed patterns of income differences in which cultural capital worked differently. First, the lowest 25% students showed less participation in cultural capital activities than their higher income group counterparts. Second, the volume of cultural capital was limited and narrow for the lowest 25%. Third, highbrow cultural capital was significant to mid income and upper income students, while it was not significant to the lower 25% of students. Fourth, the use of computers was significant to most income groups (lowest 25%, mid 26-50%, and upper 25% groups), showing little differences between the income levels.
Table 9

*Cultural Capital Consumption by Family Income and English Performance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Lower 25% household income</th>
<th>Mid Low 26-50% household income</th>
<th>Mid 50-75% household income</th>
<th>Upper 25% household income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>1.66***</td>
<td>1.501***</td>
<td>1.769***</td>
<td>1.680***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-brow C.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.143</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.142)*</td>
<td>(.142)**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(.129)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive C.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>.126</td>
<td>.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.136)*</td>
<td>(.119)*</td>
<td>(.164)**</td>
<td>(.123)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational books</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>.188</td>
<td>.258</td>
<td>.189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.153)*</td>
<td>(.187)*</td>
<td>(.136)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple R</td>
<td>.225</td>
<td>.296</td>
<td>.319</td>
<td>.349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.082</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>.115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


a. Dependent Variable: English performance
b. * P<.05., **p<.01., ***p<.001.
Phase I-I: Qualitative Results

Qualitatively, cultural capital differences in the home were examined through semi-structured interviews. Six interviewees, including three males and three females, recounted their experiences of types of cultural capital consumption from kindergarten to high schools associated with English performance improvement. Interviewees defined cultural capital resources in their home and speculated whether such experience was helpful in furthering their interests in the English language. Participants were also asked about home EFL learning experiences, parenting styles, and atmosphere to provide a full description of the social context of Korea.

Lens of History

As previously discussed, *the lens of history* (Agee, 2002) was used as an analytical tool to identify the social reality that cultural capital resources in the home have a positive influence on EFL learning process. I divided the lens of history into two levels: macro and micro lens of history.

Unanimously, six interviewees had intensive EFL learning experiences during their high school days for elite college entrance examinations, which played a role in affecting their life path in Korean society. They all started their college life at various locations in Korea, even though some of them quit and transferred to a college in the U.S. From the interviews, non-monetary and non-quantifiable cultural capital resources were produced that went beyond the quantitative factors. As Agee (2002) argues, a historical lens “invites inquiry into the evolution of settings: How have ritualized events or behaviors evolved over time? What past events have transformed a setting? How have power structures and particular discourses been established and maintained?” Influenced
by symbolic meanings of English that confers prestige and power, some interviewees had home EFL learning practices conducted by their mothers. Students’ past EFL learning experiences provided full details on “power structures and particular discourses” (Agee, 2002, p. 579) of the English language in Korean society.

Macro Lens of History

Confucian Influence in the Home

The results of the qualitative interview revealed the Confucian influence in the home as a driving force that creates differences in cultural capital resources at the macro-level. As traditional values from Confucian gender roles exercise their power in Korean society, mothers (both stay-at-home and working) tend to have more responsibility for educating their children (Robinson, 1994; Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). Traditionally, mothers hold the family finance. Mothers decide where to enroll their children in cultural capital activities or in academic-related activities, and when to push for early instruction in piano, flute, Taekwondo, computers, swimming, English, and other subjects. Children’s academic performance in school is often viewed in relation to a mother’s efforts for their children’s education.

Mothers nowadays in Korea are still faithful to their traditional gender roles, placing a high priority in taking care of children and their achievement in school (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). Kim and Hoppe-Graff (2001) said that mothers have a keen awareness of the meritocratic selection system introduced from the West. Mothers in Korea devote their time and efforts to give their children a more advantageous stance in the competition for upward mobility. Influenced by both modernist-meritocracy ideology and Confucian ideology, mothers are aware of the importance of educational achievement.
for social upward mobility. Mothers “invest as much time, money, and emotional support as possible in the supposed high-quality education of their children, and their self-evaluations are closely related to the children's school and job success.” (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001, p. 87). Affected by Confucian-related gendered roles, mothers even in the present day construct their identity as a successful mother within a family by fulfilling gendered roles, such as “inner master, that is, they are responsible for maintaining the harmony and integrity of the family and for supporting the occupational activities of the husband and the school success of the children” (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001, p. 89). Middle class mothers especially have a tendency to build their identities and to equate their success in life by supporting their children’s school achievements. As Kim and Hoppe-Graff (2001) point out, the labor market characteristics for women in South Korea can be differentiated from western countries among industrialized nations in that middle class married women are not actively involved in careers.

Some excessive form of gendered-parental-involvement associated with education is the ‘petticoat power’ or ‘skirt swirl’ in Korean (Robinson, 1994). This means that the mother from kindergarten through secondary schools exerts an influence on school activities, which enables their children to be favored by the teacher. Through his ethnographic study at an elementary school in Seoul, Robinson (1994) reported that petticoat power in a classroom is “the behind-the-scenes power of women” that takes place during “informal meetings between mothers and teachers” (Robinson, 1994, p. 516). Robinson said that even though the Korean government has focused on offering “more egalitarian opportunities for all social groups” (p, 506) in order to “prevent wealthier parents from securing an educational advantage for their children, but [ ] such reforms
aimed at equalizing educational opportunity have not penetrated the classroom and that inequalities prevail” (p. 506). For example, those petticoat powers can be volunteering in school activities, supporting PTAs, or making monetary donations to school events in public. Robinson reported that petticoat power can be seen at school by “bring[ing] a thermos of hot coffee at midmorning for a teacher to share with his or her colleagues”, and “provid[ing] a huge lunch for a whole grade of teachers once a semester” (Robinson, 1994, p. 516).

However, the influence of petticoat power on school performance becomes weaker as students go on to middle schools. Elementary school students who had early instruction and who are well-versed in highbrow cultural capital may be favored by the school evaluation system or by a class teacher. During that time, students’ performance in most subject matter is evaluated by their learning process more than their outcomes. The teacher’s subjective rubric-centered evaluation places almost equal importance on standardized test scores in core subjects. Good performance both in core subjects (Korean, math, social studies, and sciences) and in other peripheral subjects (music, arts, P.E. civics, practical learning, computer, and English) may be equally valued and credited in evaluation. The student’s relative rank within the class in a grade is not measured and reported in the semi-annual progress report. During this time, many mothers sign up for non-academic classes that offer highbrow, or cognitive cultural capital activities, such as piano, Taekwondo, arts, or others within their budget, to help their children become more well-rounded. Unlike in the United States, most tutoring institutes are located in residential areas. Some institutes provide door-to-door transportation services. The demand for private tutorial instruction in non-academic fields is highest among
elementary school students, despite the fact that many take academic-related courses (Math, Korean, and English) by means of private tutorial instruction as well. Interviewees report that they experienced various cultural capital activities on their own and with their mother’s support and decisions during elementary school days. They also started learning English for fun, without the pressure of an entrance examination. They approached the English language as part of a hobby that is fun, interesting, and amusing. For example, they enjoyed learning with songs during English conversation classes that did not stress word memorization or repetitive grammar rule lessons.

When a student enters middle school, the influence of petticoat power on schooling transforms from active parental involvement in school activities into providing monetary and psychological resources for elite college entrance. In middle school, skills and knowledge about highbrow cultural capital are not as equally valued as they were during elementary school. For Middle School students, knowledge in the subjects of Korean, Math, English, Social Science, and Science are weighted and favored in the overall evaluation process, even though students also learn music, PE, and art. A student’s achievement is measured by standardized tests that are administered by the school. Progress reports are distributed monthly to the parents, describing students’ grade points, academic rank in a class, and rank in the same grade level in school. From this moment, parents decide to send their children to extra private tutorial programs within their budget. Some economically challenged mothers may begin working temporary jobs to aid with their children’s tutoring fees. Petticoat power that once was devoted to strong involvement in school activities changes at this point into knowledge about the limits of the current education system, effective tutoring institutes or tutors, the cost of tutoring,
and strategies for entering elite colleges. This is not to say that all Korean mothers exercise petticoat power on children’s schooling. However, many mothers, either poor or rich, educated or uneducated, devote their energy to their children’s education and put their priority on supporting their children’s career advancement.

Micro Lens of History: Examples

I sorted out the data and placed each participant’s story in preexisting categories of cultural capital, which include, in the order of importance, technological cultural capital, highbrow cultural capital, and cognitive cultural capital complement the quantitative data analysis and to offer further dimensions of cultural capital related to EFL learning.

Initially, all participants reported that they were good at English at least while they were in high school. In English subject matter, they outperformed in the mock SAT in English (see Table 10). They scored above 70/75 out of 80 in the tests. They credited their performance to the fact that they started learning English fairly young and acquired English performance both in grammar and in spoken language development with time and great effort. Some said that their high performance in English was not related to elite college admission because of difficulties on the Math portion of the SAT.

Participants had taken part in English private tutorial instruction of various types. They did not rely on a single tutoring type (see Table 10). Participants also did not spend much time studying English during their high school days because they already had the ability to tackle G12-level SAT test before entering high school. They had accumulated their English as cultural capital, English grammar, and English conversation skills based on the economic capital that their parents contributed. From the interviewees in the U.S.,
they had good EFL standardized test scores and TOEFL, to the extent that they could enter colleges in the U.S.

*Technological Cultural Capital Related to EFL Learning*

*Media as a tool to enjoy western pop culture.* The quantitative results from the KEEP showed that technology-related cultural capital, as measured by controlling for TV watching hours and the use of computer for information seeking, was significant to all income groups. That is, computer use for information seeking and control for TV watching hours significantly affected the ninth grader’s English performance, even for the lowest 25% of income groups. However, the quantitative finding does not provide information on how ninth graders used this technology related to English learning, nor does it show what skills of English performance can be affected by the use of media.

Research participants had computer and Internet access in their homes from primary school days. Even though there were variances in the periods of attendance at secondary school among the research participants, they did attend secondary schools during and after the IMF crisis. During that time, the Korean government paid special attention to providing internet access and computer ownership to the public. From the late 1990s, the Korean government has achieved a high penetration of Internet access to the public within the nation because of government–led ICT initiatives for 21st century, and subsequent monetary support to build up an infrastructure. Of the participants, Miss Kim, Miss Lee and Miss Jeon used computers as part of enjoying their taste for American pop music.
Table 10

*Participants Profiles and their English Performance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Miss Kim</th>
<th>Miss Lee</th>
<th>Miss Jeon</th>
<th>Mr. Park</th>
<th>Mr.Oh</th>
<th>Mr.Huh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAT in English</td>
<td>High performer TOEIC,</td>
<td>High performer TOEIC,</td>
<td>Over 70-75 out of 80</td>
<td>Over 75 out of 80 TOEIC,</td>
<td>Over 75 out of 80 TOEIC</td>
<td>High performer TOEIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL Tests</td>
<td>TOEFL</td>
<td>TOEFL</td>
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<td>TOEFL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scores</td>
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<td>Self-rated SES</td>
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<td>Starting age</td>
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<td>CM(correspondent course)</td>
<td>GT(group tutoring)</td>
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<td>Miss Kim</td>
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<td>Mr. Park</td>
<td>Mr. Oh</td>
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<td><strong>High school SAT exams</strong></td>
<td>College track high school</td>
<td>Foreign Language High School</td>
<td>Transfer to College-track high school</td>
<td>Locally prestigious high school</td>
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Miss Kim, during her high school days, used a computer rather than TV to listen to her favorite American pop songs. She was a huge fan of West Life and Britney Spears. She used to buy music CDs whenever new albums were released in the local record market, which was very expensive for a student. Later, she found a way to cut down expenses on music CD purchases. She downloaded music or movies from online markets. She kept listening to the music that she favored and enjoyed watching English movies. She got supplementary English tutoring, and she did well in English all through her secondary schooling.

Miss Lee also employed the computer for her English during high school. As an ardent fan of western culture, she loved to watch American drama. She would search for and download the sitcom “Friends” regularly from the Internet. She created an e-mail account at Yahoo and corresponded with her native English teacher at a local tutoring institute for fun. She subscribed to Yahoo News, and frequently read the Entertainment section. When she was an 8th grader, she went from Daegu to Seoul to go to a Ricky Martin concert. She continued listening to pop-songs by the Spice Girls and Britney Spears, repeating them until she had memorized the whole song. Due to her early instruction in the English language and her taste for western music, she didn’t have much problem with the listening comprehension portion of her English tests. She believed herself to have picked up a native-like fluency in English.

Miss Jeon enjoyed going to musicals at the theater. Grease, the American musical, had an influence on her interest in the English language. Impressed by the musical performances, she bought the original sound-track by John Travolta and tried to repeat everything that she heard. As an amateur music player who has a taste for Western music
and culture, she made an effort to acquire foreign culture and to improve her foreign languages. She was admitted to a foreign language high school in Seoul after passing a rigorous entrance examination. Likewise, the male students used computers for listening to Western pop songs, gaming, and participating in online community activities.

Based on Internet access in the home, participants used computers to improve their English performance as well as to enjoy their online community activities. Their purposeful use of computers included: 1) downloading and listening to pop-songs repeatedly that led to improving listening skills, 2) downloading and watching the same movies repeatedly, 3) using online dictionaries, 4) creating an e-mail account and e-mail exchanges with native English teachers, and 5) subscribing to English-test online news. Most participants had a positive attitude toward Western pop culture, music, and movies, which encouraged them to get to know the lyrics and film scripts.

**Highbrow Cultural Capital Related To EFL Learning**

*Highbrow cultural capital.* Highbrow cultural capital was found to be significant in predicting ninth graders EFL performance development for low-mid (25-50%), mid (51-75%), and the upper 25% family income group. The regression results, however, did not explain how and why highbrow culture capital is critical to performance.

Measuring attendance records for concerts, museums, exhibitions, and theaters, qualitative interviews revealed that only a few participants enjoyed the tastes of high cultural capital, all of whom were female. Miss Lee went to art galleries regularly with her mother because her mother studied art at college. Miss Jeon was an amateur clarinet player for a youth orchestra in her local district. Miss Jeon was a member of a youth orchestra in her local town. Miss Jeon took clarinet lessons, practiced on her own, and
had many opportunities to play at concerts until ninth grade. Male participants reported that they did not take much interest in highbrow cultural capital presented in the quantitative findings. Neither did they enjoy visiting museums, concerts, or exhibitions.

Native-like fluency. From the interview analysis, native-like fluency in the spoken language emerged as highbrow cultural capital that is socially valued and favored during schooling and in the job placement process. Native-like English fluency as highbrow cultural capital includes not merely skills with native-like pronunciation, but also a great deal of time and effort spent improving English speaking skills. Interviewees said that their viewed Korean bilinguals who command a native-like fluency with envy. Social images of such individuals are of a person from high-end origin, with classy looks, refined attributes, smart, and globalized. Such symbolic images originated from the respondents’ expectations that one has to spend quite a long while in an English speaking country to acquire the language. It also implied that native-like fluency can be attained through rigorous English instruction at an early age, which relies on family’s economic capital. By contrast, Korean English bilinguals with thick Korean accents were seen differently, as being hardworking people, not with desirable English skills, and less smart looks. Male interviewees did not care much for the accent of English pronunciation, while female respondents provided more detailed views toward native-like fluency of Korean bilinguals. Nonetheless, interviewees shared the view that native-like fluency is more related to family social status or social origins.

What's more, the English language has more meaning than just the literal. The symbolic image of English is constructed by the race of the English teacher. English teachers in the private education market consist of local English teachers and native
English teachers. Often, it is a hidden fact that native English teachers are differentiated by race and not by the amount of training they have received. Parents and students prefer white English teachers for their children’s learning at private tutorial institutes. English tutorials by white native English teachers are favored and pricey. From her job experience in Korea, Miss Lee demonstrated symbolic meanings of white native English teachers in Korean society. As an exchange undergraduate student in the U.S., she made it a rule to go back to Korea during the summer. She was lucky to find a summer job at an English immersion Kindergarten in an affluent area in her hometown. She worked as a native English teacher with good working conditions because she did not have a Korean accent in her English. She said that the parents of children at an English immersion kindergarten were at least upper-middle class because they have to afford monthly tuitions of $800-$1,000 for educating their children. Teaching was carried out in turn by a native English teacher and a Korean teacher. An interesting employment practice that Miss Lee found at her institute was that the head of the institute preferred hiring white teachers who looked like a typical American or Canadian to non-white teachers. One of her colleagues was a German native speaker who spoke English as a second language and was prone to errors, like non-fluent Koreans. The good-looking ESL white teacher had worked as a native English teacher for quite a long time. Miss Lee said that favoring race over real English ability can be seen occasionally in the private tutoring market due to the parents’ preference for Caucasian “native” English speakers at a language institute. Perception of native English teachers implies complicated symbolic meaning and power in this society.
As noted, native like fluency is the social symbol that awards social prestige and recognition. People with native-like fluency and pronunciation in English are seen as owning the social status symbols of a dominant group or institution. English tutoring plays a role in helping students acquire social symbols that serve to differentiate them as a part of the upper class. This phenomenon calls into question: What does English education in public schools do? Are a public school teacher’s knowledge and skills about the English language deficient compared to teachers at private tutorial instruction, so that students must resort to private tutorial instruction? Four interviewees suggested they were not satisfied with English learning practices at school because teachers usually focused on grammar and reading comprehension in preparation for college entrance examinations, which was often boring and tedious. English teachers at school have good knowledge of the content matter itself, but their levels of teaching for low or middle performers could not satisfy their needs of achieving excellence. By contrast, two participants who went to a Foreign Language High School liked English learning during secondary school because teachers provided students with a curriculum tailored to high achievers. Foreign language high school students were able to cover CNN news and drama scripts presented in the U.S. sitcoms during the regular English class.

Even though most college-track high schools make an effort to help students acquire English skills, teachers fail to focus on the spoken English skills that confer social prestige and refined symbolic images to the students. Seemingly, English learning in school works as a device that enables people to get access to and provide equal opportunities for English education. On the hidden side, schools favor and reinforce codes and symbols of English that have already been acquired in the home through time
and monetary investment. The social prestige and value of English cultural capital a
Korean student has relies on how much (knowledge) and what kind of English skills
(native-like fluency) one has.

**Cognitive Cultural Capital Related to EFL Learning**

Results of the regression analysis suggested that participation in cognitive cultural
capital activities measured by reading literature and reading educational books related
positively to self-rated English performance. Consuming cognitive cultural capital varied
according to the income levels, showing that cognitive cultural capital was more
significant to middle income and high-income students than to lower income student.

The following four themes related to EFL learning practices in the home are
derived from the analysis of the interview data: 1) knowledge about the roles of English;
2) decision about English private tutorial instruction; 3) home EFL literacy practice and 4)
knowledge about elite-trajectories.

**Knowledge about the roles of English.** Parent’s knowledge of the function of the
English language determined when to begin learning English. Cognitive cultural capital
consisted of both attitude towards and knowledge about the important roles of English as
an instrument that offers better careers in the future. It also concerned a parent’s
awareness of expected return from good EFL performance. From their account,
interviewees’ parents seemed to be aware of the important roles of English that determine
entering elite prep schools and elite colleges. Parents, especially mothers, had vague to
clear ideas of the Critical Period Hypothesis that English language learning at an early
age brings out good performance, especially in spoken language development. Two
female students started English at the age of 7 in the home and at English immersion
Kindergarten. One male student and one female student began their English in grade 3 and grade 4 from formal tutoring. Two male students began English at a local private institute from grade 6. Decisions on when to push for early instruction in English were determined by parental attitude toward the English language and family income level, that is, how parents in the home perceived the English language played an important role in determining when to start English.

*Decision about English private tutorial instruction.* How well parents know the roles of English influenced the choice of private tutorial instruction. Parents’ income affected the volume of private tutorial instruction, including how many times a week and how many kinds of English tutoring was received. Five interviewees described themselves as individuals from middle class backgrounds. One interviewee said that he came from a well-off family. However, their parents chose to provide abundant EFL learning opportunities by saving on other costs of living. This decision is usually made by the mother.

Interviewees did not depend on a single private tutorial institution. Some went to private tutorial instruction and regularly subscribed to English correspondence programs that cover English phonics, English reading, and English grammar. For the correspondence program, they had to complete the assignment on a weekly basis. Assignments submitted were marked and corrected by a teacher who paid a visit to their house once or twice a week.

Miss Jeon’s mother sent her to a private elementary school in Seoul where they offer English lessons by native English speakers. She started learning English when she was in 4th grade in her elementary school. She received English lessons twice a week. As
a supplement, her mother signed her up in an English private tutoring institute. She attended the private tutoring session five times a week. Additionally, her mother let her subscribe to English correspondence materials. She also had a tutor during the summer to check her grammar and reading comprehension.

Miss Lee’s mother also had enrolled her in an intensive English conversation class when she was in grade 4, which was carried out by an expensive native English speaker. She subscribed to an English correspondence program, and also had a tutor who taught English grammar and reading.

Mr. Huh started to learn English at his parent’s suggestion. His parents supported expenses for English group tutoring by a native English teacher, whose practices helped him get high scores in SAT in English. He also took an English class at a private tutorial institute for his English grammar.

Interviewees reported that their parents did their best in supporting their English private tutoring. It was usual for the interviewees to be signed up for more than two tutoring institutes with different English sub-areas, such as English grammar and English conversation, at the same time after their regular school hours were over. Some interviewees subscribed to English correspondence material in the home to supplement their English literacy skills. It also showed that their parents tried their utmost to provide an effective English tutoring program within their budgets.

*Home EFL literacy practices.* Gendered cultural capital related to EFL learning takes place as part of home EFL literacy practices, which allows children to be exposed to the target language input and to experience the authentic English texts using media or printed materials.
You and Lee (2006) define such home EFL literacy practices as “Mother Brand English.” *Mother Brand English* is practiced by family members that started 10 years ago, mostly by mothers who want “to guide their children's language learning every day.” Mothers serve as “authentic knowledge producers and advocates to watch their children's development” (You & Lee, 2006, p. 186). Mothers in home literacy practices employ diverse resources to help their children promote their English skills. You and Lee (2006) say as follows:

Not all parents who use this approach are good at English. Nevertheless, they just enjoy reading many books with their own kids in English. In addition, they have been using various multimedia to provide live English surroundings at home. Audiotapes and videotapes are appropriate material to provide the effective input for children with mothers at home (You & Lee, 2006, p. 186).

Even though mothers in *Mother Brand English* do not have professional academic backgrounds in English or English teaching, they do their best for their children’s English education in the home by sharing information on English teaching through an online community. That is, mothers as EFL teachers work hard to make an authentic English speaking environment to practice English (You & Lee, 2006). Miss Kim and Miss Lee both experienced cases of *Mother Brand English*.

Miss Kim’s mother was an elementary school teacher who was devoted to her daughter’s English education. Miss Kim went to English Immersion Kindergarten in the Bundang area in the early 1990s, which was cost prohibitive then. Even through her family was not economically well-off enough to be called “upper class,” her parents were sacrificing themselves by offering their children an upper class quality of education.
In Kindergarten, Miss Kim started English at the age of seven. She learned English from a native English teacher as well as Korean teachers, and she reports that she enjoyed the learning experience.

In the home, Miss Kim and her mother watched English TV programs together when she was 7. Their favorite English programs were English comics, and *the Sing Sing English* program. Miss Kim and her mother repeated English alphabet songs, and danced together. Her mother provided abundant picture books in English, as well as English video materials such as *Sesame Street* and storybooks. She had a full collection of biographies of Great Men written in English, e.g., *Abraham Lincoln, George Washington*. Such printed materials increased her curiosity about American clothing, what Americans look like, and how they live.

Miss Kim said that English learning had never been an intended learning (or artificial practice), but was her favorite hobby before she went to a nearby middle school. She also enjoyed watching educational movies with simplified English with her mother. Miss Kim believed that she had great confidence in English speaking and listening due to her mother’s effort and early push in English instruction. Consequently, Miss Kim said that she had no problem scoring high in the English SAT, which also made her to choose English as her major.

Miss Lee’s mother was enthusiastic about her daughter’s English education, providing media support from her kindergarten days. Miss Lee was from a middle class background. Her mother was a college-educated stay-at-home mother. At home, from the age of seven, her mother controlled the amount of T.V. to prevent her daughter from becoming addicted to television. On the other hand, her mother provided quality video
tapes for English education and let Miss Lee and her brother watch Korean folk stories broadcast in English. Her mother’s intention was for them to be exposed to the English language in a natural way. The Korean folk story series in English was interesting for her because she knew the storyline already. Her mother pushed her and her brother in early instruction in English, letting her children watch *Sesame Street* though AFKN (American Forces Korean Network) that was the only channel broadcast in English at that time.

The mothers of Miss Kim and Miss Lee seemed to be very participatory in home EFL literacy practices for their children. From each narration, I observed that the mothers read English books with their children and enjoyed watching English programs. The mothers provided their children with various types of video tapes, multi media materials, and English picture books to create real English language learning environments and English input. Even though the mothers did not have professional knowledge in English teaching and the English language itself, they were very participatory, allowing their children to become engaged in the English learning process. When Miss Kim and Miss Lee went to elementary school, they formally learned English literacy through private tutorial instruction.

The results of the semi-structured interview reveal that the mother critically determines home EFL learning. Mothers exercised their exclusive power in letting their children participate in cultural capital activities, and practices such as when to start English, and how to approach and provide the best English programs for their children within their available monetary resources. This culture-specific practice is framed by Confucian ideology that specifies gender roles.
Knowledge about elite-trajectories. Six interviewees and their parents had systematic knowledge of the school transition process and trajectories for elite universities. Influenced by the potential of elite-track high schools, which provide better chances of entrance to elite universities, two participants opted to go on to prep high schools and take high school entrance examinations. Two also had to take high school entrance examinations because their school districts were non-standardized zones. Two went to the college-track high school without high school entrance exams.

High schools in South Korea are divided into specialty-track schools, vocation-track high schools, and college-track high schools. Specialty-track high schools include foreign language high schools, science high schools, and art and music specialty high schools. Among those, to enter foreign language high schools and science high schools (Prep high schools), the ninth grade applicants have to take rigorous entrance examinations. Prep high schools screen the applicants based on middle school GPA and high school SAT tests, which focus on Korean, English, and Math. Prep high schools in Korea are known for producing distinguished alumni who went through before going on to elite Universities and becoming high profile figures in the academic, political, and social world. Two interviewees (Miss Lee, Miss Jeon) belong to this group for foreign language high schools.

Miss Lee went to a foreign language high school in a metropolitan area. In preparation for the elite high school, she went to a cram private institute after regular class was over. She spent 3-4 hours learning math, science, Korean, and English at cram school every day. Much focus was placed on developing her English grammar skills. In another tutoring institute, she took English conversation class led by a native English
speaker; she signed up for this course because she enjoyed the subject matter. Miss Lee was eventually admitted to a foreign language high school. Miss Jeon attended a Prep foreign high school in Seoul. During her middle school days, she had regular classes from 8 to 4. As is common practice, her tutoring institute picked her up right in front of school after the regular class was over, dropped her off at the institute, and offered to feed her supper. Her extra lessons, Korean, Math, and English, went on until 10 pm. She concentrated on developing English test skills and memorizing vocabulary. She took cram based courses, TOEFL grammar, Sengmun basic and advanced English (which is high school level) during the weekdays.

Some ninth graders aiming at college-track high schools are also required to take an entrance examination if they are living in non-standardized school districts. Two interviewees (Mr. Park and Miss Kim) belong to this group, as they had to prepare for elite college track high schools in their hometown.

Mr. Park said that he had to first take the high school SAT test if he wanted to go on to the best high schools in his school district. While he was a ninth grader, he arrived at school at 7:30 am and took regular classes from 8 to 3 pm. From 3-5 pm, all his classmates took part in extra classes to practice mock SAT worksheets. In addition, he took part in English group tutoring by a Korean teacher. From 4th grade, he had to memorize sentences, words, and phases written in an English reference book (which is usually for high school students). He had to learn the contents of the textbook by heart even though he did not understand why. His teacher gave him an assignment every week and checked his progress regularly. If he could not complete the assignment that he had to memorize, there was explicit punishment. His mother trusted the tutor’s teaching
method and welcomed the explicit punishment. Owing to the tutor’s special teaching methods, he could cover the subject matters of English when he became a 7th grader. He got full marks on English grammar and English reading, which was high school level. As a supplement, he had a native English teacher to promote his listening and speaking skills. He got 75 out of 80 in mock English SAT throughout high school.

Miss Kim also devoted considerable time to preparing for high school entrance examinations. She wanted to go to a prestigious high school in her non-standardized districts. Her parents provided financial support for her tutoring.

Usually, ninth graders do not need to take a high school entrance examination once they decide to go on to a college-track high school in equalized high school districts. Ninth grade applicants are assigned to high schools that are located in their nearby residential areas. Within Metropolitan areas, for example in Seoul, ninth graders do not need to take the entrance exam. The high-school is considered prestigious enough if located in high SES areas, Gangnam, Songpa, and Seocho. Two interviewees (Mr. Oh, Mr. Huh) went to high schools in high SES areas from Seoul Metropolitan school districts.

Mr. Oh and Mr. Huh were raised in residential areas in Seoul and went to nearby high schools. Both said that during their high school days they had no problem achieving high performance in English because they have acquired and accumulated knowledge in English from tutoring in their youth.

In all, parents of the interviewees had good knowledge of trajectories for elite courses, which enabled their children to go on the fast and efficient track for elite colleges. In alignment with the high school system, parents of the interviewees were
active and participatory in their children’s education. In particular, mothers mostly managed their children’s class schedules and choice of English tutoring. Parents had their own strategies to put their children on the best track. Some parents gave priority to their children’s education by overinvesting their economic capital into their children’s English, going beyond their budget limitations.

Macro Lens of History: English and the Job Market

For the past 50 years after the Korean War, many Koreans of both sexes have chosen to go to college so that they have better opportunity in the job market. Nowadays, more than 70% of high school graduates go to college and compete for job positions that offer benefits. The economic value of college graduate diplomas has fallen as many people complete their college education. This means that much attention is paid to going to elite colleges rather than getting access to college education. After the IMF crisis, competition for elite college admission has intensified because of the shortage of jobs available to college graduates. Labor market flexibility was implemented in the social and business world. Regular workers were replaced with temporary workers. Society required job candidates to show capacity in the job market, especially in English language performance, to compete in the globalized world market.

Labor market flexibilities after the IMF Crisis

Job security has been the major issue for the college-graduate job candidates after the IMF crisis. Job seekers place higher priority on long-term commitment of the job and status, rather than higher income jobs.

Before the IMF crisis, companies, banks, and government corporations, both small-scale and large-scale, made it a rule to give their workers permanent employment.
It was common to find white-collar workers employed at one company for a long time. Workers used to be paid by a seniority wage system (as was done in Japan). Sasamoto and Powers (1995) note that "firm tenure has a direct effect on salaries among workers within pay-grade levels as well as an indirect effect via promotion to higher pay-grade levels" (p. 223). Pay was affected by how many years an employee had worked for a company and not by the accomplishments one achieves within a company. Such employment practices were social norms until the IMF crisis. The cultural norms of permanent employment and seniority wage system have been demolished over the past ten years, leaving few government sector jobs untouched.

There is a strong preference for working at major leading companies as a full time worker, or working at government sectors/ or civil service. Those jobs can guarantee job security with a steady income.

The labor market became segregated into full-time positions and temporary positions. After the IMF crisis, major companies reduced the recruitment of regular workers by offering a competitive salary, job security and benefits. On the other hand, they are expanding the use of contract-based employees who are usually hired under a three-year contract. Those non-regular workers, even though they may have a college degree, suffer from the instability of their employment, lower wages, and poor benefits. College graduate job candidates take more interest in job security as a primary concern for employment because of the changing practices of employment.

*TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) scores*

Many college graduates apply for regular positions at leading companies, or at government corporations that are relatively secure with a stable income. For these
positions, English performance, along with diplomas from high-ranking universities, play an important role in successfully landing a job. In *The Korean Times*, Han (2009) reports how major companies place importance on English skills, particularly oral skills, as a requirement to be hired. “An increasing number of major employers, including Samsung, LG, POSCO and SK, have started to require applicants to submit Oral Proficiency Interview-Computer (OPIC) and TOEIC Speaking scores for a better understanding of their communication skills”(Han, 2009) Choi (2008) also reported as follows:

Most leading universities accept the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) score as a requirement for admission to their graduate schools, and some other universities accept the TEPS (Test of English Proficiency developed by Seoul National University) or a TOEIC score. Some government-certifying tests such as the Korean version of the Bar Exam and the Teacher Employment Exam accept EFL test scores as a preliminary requirement (Choi, 2008, p. 57).

To have privileges as a regular worker and guaranteed job security, benefits, and competitive salary in job placement, many students start working on TOEFL or TOEIC to achieve a passing score. Interviewees accounted for their job-related experiences during their college and post college days, pointing out that standardized EFL scores are essential to be hired.

**Micro Lens of History: Examples**

**Case 1: Teaching Career**

Miss Kim is currently pursuing her Master’s degree in Education at a University in the United States. Before coming to the U.S., she had worked as a full-time college instructor.
Due to her English conversational skill and native-like pronunciation, Miss Kim had no trouble getting hired as an adjunct faculty in the English department where she graduated at a University in Seoul. Her faculty advisor recommended she teach a general English course to undergraduates. She taught TOEIC and TOEFL. Most universities nowadays have regulations that require all college students to achieve certain levels of standardized EFL test scores, mostly TOEIC, TEPS, or TOEFL to fulfill the graduate requirement. In her school, the graduation requirement for the TOEFL was 75 out of 120. For the TOEIC, the minimum score was 650 out of 990. The passing scores that her University requires were almost the same cut-off scores as the test for job application at leading companies. She was a popular instructor because she let the undergraduates know test taking strategies for improving TOEIC scores, which worked well.

Miss Kim gave an overview about the EFL teaching market in Korean society. There is a steady demand for English learning and teaching. Students from youth start to learn English in advance, relying on English private tutorial instruction. Some 6th grade students are fully occupied in preparing for standardized English tests (much like twelfth graders) to enter independent private middle schools. Some ninth graders are working on TOEFL to go to prep high schools because they need to show proof of their academic excellence in English. It is common that twelfth graders who earned high scores in TOEFL get additional points when applying for certain colleges.

Miss Kim pointed out the economic rewards from working at the leading EFL tutoring institute. She earned a good income, enough to be independent and to save money to study abroad. Her friend was working at a leading English private tutorial institute in Seoul, which offers competitive salaries and benefits. English instructors in
those institutes usually start on a monthly salary of $8,000-$10,000. They usually work from 6 am through 10 pm. Once the instructors gain popularity among students, and start attracting more students, they receive extra bonuses from their employers. The disadvantage is that their job security is not guaranteed, depending on enrollment status in whichever courses the instructor teaches.

Miss Kim said that the hiring specifications for those high income EFL instructors are: 1) a Master’s degree in English Education, TESOL or Applied Linguistics from English speaking countries; 2) excellent English speaking skills and good pronunciation; 3) TOEIC/TOEFL score report; and others (appearance, confidence and good recommendations from students in the past). English pronunciation is the most critical factor in determining who gets hired in the private education market, as students often disregard the instructor once the instructor is found to have a thick Korean accent, regardless of the knowledge or skills the instructor possesses. High-income instructors in the private education market have many ways to attract students.

Case 2: Trading Company

English proficiency (in EFL context) is related to social upward mobility by getting well-paid jobs because the leading companies that many people aspire to enter recruit employees who can fight for profits in the business world. Two interviewees (Miss Jeon and Mr. A) recounted their views on English and career advancement in leading companies.

Miss Jeon talked about her internship experience at a globalized corporation when she was a senior at a University in Seoul. She worked as an intern at P & G Company in Seoul. She beat out a lot of strong competition to enter that company. She strategically
managed her college life to be more competitive in the job market from the first year of college. Particularly, she made an effort to build a good resume, increasing standardized EFL test scores (TOEIC and TOEFL) and promoting spoken English skills. Even though she had learned English from youth, she found marked differences between what skills are wanted in the job market and what she had learned so far.

In her first year of college, Miss Jeon began studying for the TOEIC. The TOEIC served as a certificate to prove one’s English performance in Korean society. It consisted of both reading and listening portions. Due to her English skills, she had no problem getting high scores on the TOEIC within a few months. Then she shifted her attention to the TOEFL because she needed good TOEFL scores to be selected as an exchange student overseas. Miss Jeon found the TOEFL challenging compared with the TOEIC, so she took a supplementary TOEFL course to increase her scores. She eventually scored well in the TOEFL. By maintaining a good GPA and developing her English skills, she became an exchange student at the University of Southern California in her third year of college. She was able to build a strong resume, complete with good TOEFL scores, exchange student experience in the U.S., and strong spoken English skills.

In her fourth year of college, Miss Jeon had an opportunity to work as an intern at P&G Company, the multinational. The company is famous for soaps and shampoo products. She said that the opportunity was largely due to her resume building efforts and her English skills. During her internship, she came to realize how and why employees with good English skills benefit more. Working staff in the international marketing division use sophisticated English, however she noticed that the staff worked hard to improve their English skills. She was impressed by their work-ethic. Judging from their
accents, some staff members seemed to have grown up in English speaking countries. Those who hadn’t worked hard to attain those high levels of English competency. Overall, the staff was considered proficient in English speaking and writing.

Mr. Park talked about English and career opportunities in international trading companies. Mr. Park was pursuing his B.A. degree in Economics at a University in U.S. He transferred to a BA program at a U.S. University when he completed his junior year at a University in Korea. In Korea, he had majored in International Trade. He had a variety of job preparation experiences.

Mr. Park grew up in Masan, in the southeastern part of Korea. The Busan and Masan areas are famous for being the first-ranked cargo destinations in Korea. For more than four decades, the Busan and Masan areas have been a major port city for international trade. In Mr. Park’s town, there is a steady demand for workforce in trading, marine insurance, the trading insurance industry, and the distribution industry. There is a great demand for an advanced workforce with knowledge of international trade and a strong command of a foreign language. In particular, people who can speak Japanese or Chinese, along with English, are highly valued in this field. Workers who are in foreign trade needs to handle services, such as foreign exchange and trade-related services, with business partners using the language that they speak or the English language. The TOEIC score is the basic requirement. Business English skills are the essential quality for the job applicant. The leading trading company there welcomes additional language skills, such as Japanese or Chinese. Influenced by the required qualifications, Mr. Park transferred to a U.S. University to enhance his knowledge in this field. Mr. Park is planning to go back to Korea after he gets a B.A. degree in the United States.
From the interviewee’s data, it was clear that those who have good knowledge and skills in English are considered to have potential in the job market because they look capable and technically competitive in the international business setting. Evidently, standardized forms of English performance (as institutional cultural capital) work as a proxy indicator of technical competence and potential qualification.

Case 3: Academia

English performance is a must-have attribute to achieve a reputation as a researcher. English in academia can result in better opportunities and help propel one’s career forward.

Mr. Oh, a biology major, read all text materials for courses in English. He said that “all the journals, books, and texts that I am studying until now in my discipline are written in English” (Interview, November, 2009). Biology majors need expertise in English skills to read the texts and write up the results of experiments for conference presentation and in journal submission. He came to realize that English skills are an essential quality to survival in his track. As a result, Mr. Oh spends a great deal of time outside of lab experiments developing his English, to the extent that he could publish his work in major journals.

Considering that lucrative income, social recognition, and social prestige are looked on as critical to success in academia, English performance in academia also determines a scholar’s competitiveness and capability when disseminating one’s findings.

Qualitative interview data shows that English holds a dominant position in the job market, including 1) in the EFL teaching market, 2) at major companies, and 3) in
academia. English is considered an important language, knowledge of which can bring personal wealth, social prestige, and social perception.

**Interpretation**

From the interview data analysis, the symbolic meanings of English in Korean society are associated with social status cultural cues.

*Symbolic Meanings of English*

*Status cultural cues.* Interviewees shared their views that English skill in Korean society became the marker of status culture (Weber, 1968; DiMaggio, 1982). Influenced by Weber’s concept of status culture, DiMaggio (1982) said as follows:

Elite status groups collectivities bound together by personal ties and a common sense of honor based upon and reinforced by shared conventions-generate or appropriate as their own specific distinctive cultural traits, tastes, and styles. This shared status culture aids group efforts to monopolize for the group as a whole scarce social, economic, and cultural resources by providing coherence to existing social networks and facilitating the development of co membership, respect, and affection out of which new networks are constructed (DiMaggio, 1982, p. 189).

Good English competence in Korean society confers in-group membership and social prestige, as the temporal context of Korea is developing more toward globalization and accepting Neoliberal ideology after the 1997 IMF crisis.

Interviewees defined those qualified individuals as people with good EFL standardized test scores and spoken language skills. Such quality creates an in-group that is valued and rewarded in Korean society. Needless to say, those people should command good Korean in speaking, reading, and writing as their first language. Interviewee
analysis shows the boundaries of status markers that represent in-group membership as high status.

The first status marker boundary is related to EFL standardized test scores one possesses in the form of TOEIC, TOEFL, TEPS and other standardized tests. The standardized EFL performance scores serve as an entry or a promotion to place an individual in positions of power and respect. Significant incentives are awarded to high performers on those tests, such as national civil service examination, English public school teacher appointment examination, entry into leading companies, and other sectors of society. To be considered as a proficient bilingual, it is important to show how one owns the English knowledge skills through high performance scores in the standardized EFL tests.

The second boundary of status marker is how one speaks in an English conversation, focusing on pronunciation, whether it be with a thick Korean accent or with a native-like fluency, the latter of course being the desired performance. This status marker is shaped by EFL settings that are rare opportunities given to people to meaningfully practice the English language, which require one to make extra effort to arrive at such levels of fluency. In this setting, achieving native-like fluency and good pronunciation are scare and rare skills for common EFL speakers.

Excellent spoken English capability has scarcity value, as often pointed out in economics. Bourdieu (1996) has explained scarcity value related to cultural capital as follows:

Furthermore, the specifically symbolic logic of distinction additionally secures material and symbolic profits for the possessors of a large cultural capital: any
given cultural competence (e.g., being able to read in a world of illiterates) deserves a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital and yields profits of distinction for its owner. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245).

That is, distinguished EFL performance by Korean people in Korean society has high value due to the limited availability of such individuals (scarcity). The scarcity value of excellent EFL performance assures the social and economic benefits because all Korean parents do not possess equal economic and cultural capital resources to give their children desired EFL tutoring (Bourdieu, 1986).

Images of Korean bilinguals without the Korean accent in Korean society may be symbolic capital. Those speakers impress Korean people with recognition (of excellent speaker), prestige (from social upbringing) and refined images (cosmopolitan citizen) that they have gained and embodied from a young age. Korean society has high regard for excellent English language performance in the entrance examination and in the job market, but English performance as valuable cultural capital also has symbolic value. Excellent bilinguals have such symbolic values.

In this EFL context, to achieve rare status, the desired spoken language performance, necessitates hard work and continuous effort to maintain and improve performance. These days, varieties of English language use within Korea are hierarchically considered, placing individuals with native like fluency (pronunciation) at the top and those with thick Korean accents in the middle. Interviewees shared their ideas on different views of Korean bilinguals with native-like fluency from those with thick Korean accents. They said that individuals with good English knowledge without the Korean accent have the enviable linguistic skills and competitiveness in the job market.
Some interviewees argued that people are affected by what is known in Korea as the ‘English Craze;’ they do not need to have native like fluency because only five percent of the world population speak that way using English as the first language. However, the consensus is that there is a high regard for excellent spoken English skills in Korean society. If there are two people with similar English knowledge but with different spoken performance, an individual with better speaking performance is given more credit. The English speaking performance one has is hierarchically recognized in the job market. This EFL setting has shaped and reinforced the symbolic status of the English language.

*Globalization indicator.* Interviewees argued that the English language in East Asian Countries is considered the standard language, termed *lingua franca*, for communication in business, politics, international trade, academia, and high-tech industries; English confers dominant power and dignity to people in these fields. Taking a close look at the geo-economic situation Korea faced, the status of English is more than a global standard language (Bhatt, 2001; Phillipson, 1998; Park, 2008; Kim, 2005).

Interviewees said that English performance in Korea is an asset that builds up strategic national interests. At the individual level, EFL performance is the important capital to acquire social goods and status. At the national level, Korea has increased revenue from international trading and from export business since the Korean War. Currently, Korea is world’s 11th largest trading nation. China, the U.S., and Japan have been the leading trading partners. Foreign language proficiencies in Chinese and Japanese are valued in school, but the symbolic status, *highbrow*, is not equal to English. The symbolic status of the English language won speedier promotion than any other language at the dawn of the 21st century, as the strength of the globalization trend becomes
influential. Symbolically, the English language is often equated with a globalization indicator. That is, English confers credit of globalized citizenship, which results in more opportunities for career advancement.

**Cultural Capital and Advantageous Group**

From the analysis, EFL performance might have an influence on social reproduction process as it exerts its power on the status-seeking process at college entrance and job placement. English performance is a strong mechanism that legitimately sanctions one’s competence and job capability. Figure 2 represents the loop of cultural capital resource differences in the home and EFL learning differences, which may influence unequal access to career opportunities.

*Figure 2. Cultural Capital Resources and EFL Performance Loop.*
At the macro level, the KEEP data analysis indicated that, like Western countries, cultural capital activities had a positive influence on students’ English performance. Ninth grader’s participation in cultural capital activities accounted for 11.9% of the variances in English performance, while twelfth graders accounted for less than 7.5%. Such percentages cannot be counted as negligible figures in the educational outcome. In addition, the KEEP data was also examined to see whether differences exist in cultural capital effects on the English performance by ninth graders’ income quartiles.

The result showed that cultural capital worked differently between the lowest 25% and the upper 25% about volumes of and types of the cultural capital that they consumed. It showed that more economically able students benefited more from the use of the cultural capital in furthering their English performance, while their lower income peers did not.

From the macro level analysis, cultural capital effects on EFL performance is stronger for younger students, particularly giving more advantage to students in a better economic condition.

At the micro level, the advantageous groups of students may be those whose parents could provide not only economic resources, but also valuable cultural capital in the home. Students’ English performance development is tightly linked to parents’ economic resources, which allow children to have private tutorial instruction. In addition, students are more advantaged when their parents have keen awareness of the symbolic meanings of the English language and its influence on the school transition process. Some parents have sophisticated knowledge of children’s English education, and invest their monetary resources in helping their children develop English skills. English
performance in Korean society is the crucial factor that determines elite college entry. Elite college graduate diplomas can affect social upward mobility and their social status in the future. As the value of college diplomas decreases, parents make more effort to send their children to elite colleges because the scarcity of it is still constant.

Even if a family has limited economic resources, their children may not be disadvantaged. Educationally conscious parents set a priority on their children’s education by investing monetary resources and efforts into their children’s EFL language development.

The disadvantageous groups of students may be those with poor cultural capital resources and poor economic resources, as presented in Western empirical studies. Unlike with other subject matter, students may find it challenging to get ahead by exclusively relying on public education. Students are disadvantaged when their parents have poor knowledge of the symbolic meanings of the English language and its influence on their life path. Desirable competence needs time, family support, and individual effort. Further investigation is needed to clarify which of the factors, family income or cultural capital resources related to EFL, influence performance more.

Summary

My mixed methods investigation uncovered hidden trajectories of social mobility through English. It also helped identify socially privileged people who benefit from cultural capital through quantitative data analysis, and illustrated in what ways the privileged use cultural capital resources in the home through constant comparison methods. It revealed that those who are advantaged are the ones that could consume types of cultural capital from a young age, afford to invest time and monetary resources to
develop EFL performance and valuable cultural capital resources in the home that are transmitted from parental support (especially mother-centered). Quantitatively, 1) similar to Western countries, cultural capital activities had a positive influence on students’ English performance, even though the degree of cultural capital effect grows weaker as grade-level increases; 2) cultural capital worked differently between the lowest income group and the upper income group in the volumes of and types of the cultural capital that they consumed.
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Overview of Major Findings

In this study, I examined how ninth and twelfth grade student participation in cultural capital activities in Korea has an influence on students’ self-rated English performance. I have investigated the associations among cultural capital differences, English performance, and opportunities for career placement in Korea. Relying on Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory, I employed the nationally-representative secondary school panel data from the KEEP (Korea Education and Employment Panel Survey) in 2004 to assess the relationship between cultural capital resources and English performance. I also administered qualitative interviews to support and expand on quantitative findings. To provide the social context, I employed the lens of history as an analytical framework (Agee, 2002) in qualitative inquiry. The findings are summarized as follows:

1. How does participation in cultural capital activities have an influence on 9th grade and college-track 12th grade students’ English performance in Korea?

Ninth graders’ and twelfth graders’ cultural capital participation has a significant effect on students self-rated English performance, although the degree of ninth graders’ cultural capital effect is greater than twelfth graders. The different cultural capital effect by different grade level on English performance is explained by qualitative interview data, suggesting that college-track twelfth graders have less time to participate in cultural capital activities. College-track twelfth graders have to prepare for the college entrance examination from 10th grade and concentrate on SAT-focused-subjects, Korean, Math,
English, Science, and Social Studies. Peripheral subjects such as Arts and Music do not factor significantly into the scoring of the exam.

Many high schools offer extracurricular learning opportunities geared towards enhancing twelfth graders’ SAT test performance. They offer zero-class periods and morning sessions before the regular school day begins. They also provide nighttime self-regulated learning sessions. The motivational forces behind these extra-curricular activities are that students place more importance on entering elite colleges, with the goal of enhancing their opportunities for upward social mobility. Twelfth graders are left with limited time to engage in cultural capital activities, which accounts for the decreasing effects of cultural capital as students move into higher grades.

2. How do the differences in cultural capital resources in the home affect English learning processes and subsequent opportunities for college and a career?

Quantitatively, cultural capital participation differences were examined by ninth graders’ family income levels. There is a significant difference in the degree of cultural capital consumption and in the kinds of cultural capital used among different income groups. Students of high-income families benefit more, in terms of English performance, from the use of cultural capital than students of lower-income families. The lowest income students have limited participation in cultural capital activities. Those findings corroborate Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory that 1) cultural capital has an influence on school performance and that 2) socially advantageous groups benefit more from cultural capital in school outcomes than less socially advantageous groups.

Qualitatively, cultural capital participation differences related to English learning were studied using a lens of history framework (Agee, 2002). The macro lens of history
examines major events, habits, customs or societal values that belong to or continuously happen to society members at a large-scale. The micro lens of history deals with an individual story, or a life experience about an event, or learning practice (Agee, 2002; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In this research, the macro lens of history reports particular Korean social and educational contexts that are different from Western nations: the Confucian influence that defines strong maternal involvement in the education process, labor market characteristics after the Asian financial crisis in 1997, market values of standardized EFL test scores in career placement, and asymmetrical values between native-like spoken English performance and Korean-accented English in a non-native English speaking country. The micro lens of history shows exemplary cases of cultural capital resources related to EFL learning and several job related experiences associated with EFL performance. The results of qualitative findings, however, reflect the views and experiences of socially privileged groups of people from middle class backgrounds. Further discussions are presented in a systematic way about theory application, conceptual implications, methodological insights, and mixed-research implications.

Discussion

Theoretical Implications

Theory application. The results from this study shed light on the cross-cultural applicability of Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory in South Korea. As pointed out, major empirical studies on cultural reproduction have not fully recognized the importance of cross-cultural and temporal context in deciding whether the theory can be applied currently to non-western settings. A related issue posed in theory application is “the
variations in the distribution of cultural capital over time and space” (Barone, 2006, p. 1043). Indeed, cultural capital is spread with great variations “over time and space” (Barone, 2006, p. 1043). Current research context is markedly different from the Western major studies temporally, culturally, and socially (DiMaggio, 1982; Sullivan, 2001; Dumais, 2002; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

Temporally, current research reflects updated measures of cultural capital by including the use of computers for schooling. Bourdieu’s original study was carried out in the mid 1960s. At that time, computers and internet access in the home, as measures of cultural capital in 2010, were not available to the public.

Culturally, highbrow cultural capital in French society, such as concert and gallery going, has been defined as valued cultural practices in the West. High regard for highbrow cultural capital has been shaped by western histories of the feudal system (different cultural identity between liege and serf), and the Industrial Revolution and the resulting emergence of the bourgeoisie (different cultural identities between bourgeoisie and proletarian classes). In Korea, what is counted as highbrow cultural capital in current analysis was introduced to Korea from western imperial forces and western missionaries in the 1880s, and became available to the public after the Korean War in the 1950s. National economic development (comparable to the Industrial Revolution) had just begun in 1962 and is continuing now. Highbrow cultural capital in Korean society in 2010 is neither formed gradually as in the West, nor does it stem from its own people. Measuring highbrow cultural capital as predictors of English performance opens new insights on the power of cultural forces, adding to previous literature in this regard.
Socially, the present study was carried out targeting Korean society as an East Asian country. It is markedly different in many aspects from French society in terms of its education system, college entry, labor market characteristics, and symbolic meanings of English. Confucian ideology still exerts its power over EFL learning practices. Mothers have strong influence in the educational decision making process. The government strictly controls K-12 policy making and college entrance processes. Korean people believe that educational equality in this society is equated with equal access to quality education, where all students, regardless of social demographic factors, can achieve social upward mobility through education. These contextual differences provide a useful ground to test the cross-cultural applicability of reproduction theory.

*Theory testing.* I examine two competing theoretical constructions, the cultural reproduction model and cultural mobility model, focusing on which groups of social strata, the low-income group or the high-income group, benefit most from consuming cultural capital in furthering English performance. My investigation started with two assumptions, 1) that the social class a student belongs to decides cultural capital consumption and 2) that each social class has a distinct cultural *identity* or *habitus* (Barone, 2006; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Consistent with previous studies conducted in Western nations, students’ cultural capital participation has a predictive but limited power in explaining school performance (DiMaggio, 1982; Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; Sullivan, 2001). The present study shows significant effects of cultural capital are constant across the grades, ninth and twelfth; however, the degree of the cultural capital effect becomes weaker as students’ grade-level increases. As shown in the data, the percent of variances in accounting for
total variances in English performances falls from 11.9 % in ninth grade to less than 7.5 % in twelfth graders. This result is congruent with Aschaffenburg and Maas’s (1997) study, which showed cultural capital effects are greatest at relatively young ages and end as the students graduate high school. The results of my study will perhaps prompt future research on what ages or grades cultural capital significantly influences English performance. In addition, more research needs to be done to clarify whether the degree is constant across all subject matter, or applicable only to particular subjects, e.g., language, math and science, humanities, or arts and music.

The results from the present study provides empirical support for Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction model, which shows that higher SES students benefit more from a wide range of cultural capital than their lower income peers. The KEEP reveals that in the lowest 25% income groups, students’ cultural capital participation accounted for 5.1% of the total variances in the English performance, while the highest 25% income groups explained 12.2 %.

Conceptual Implications

Quantitatively, I divided dimensions of cultural capital into three conceptual frameworks, including highbrow cultural capital (music and museum attendance), cognitive cultural capital (reading literature and/or educational books) and technology cultural capital (computer use for information seeking, TV watching hours). Each concept of cultural capital has important implications by adding to the knowledge base about the effects of cultural capital.

Highbrow cultural capital. My quantitative research findings differ from several empirical findings in other nations, showing that highbrow cultural capital has limited
impact on academic performance (Sullivan, 2001; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). Sullivan’s (2001) study in the UK shows that highbrow cultural capital does not influence students’ linguistic ability and cultural knowledge. Kaufman and Gabler (2004) also show that students’ participation in highbrow art activities in the U.S. did not help in furthering their cultural capital. He suggests that such highbrow art participation promoted the odds of going on to college, but did not significantly affect the odds for going to elite colleges.

Kingston (2001) provided an explanation for the negligible effect of highbrow cultural capital on school performance, due to the incomparability of elegance as in highbrow cultural capital with “the demands of citizenship and productive work in a modern society” (Kingston, 2001, p. 90). Kingston (2001) also argued that the effect of highbrow cultural capital on performance or school transition process is not constant across the countries. Yet, for the ninth graders from the KEEP, highbrow cultural capital contributed relatively greatly to English performance, followed by cognitive cultural capital and technology-related cultural capital. For the twelfth graders, highbrow cultural capital made the greatest contribution, followed by technology cultural capital and cognitive cultural capital. The relationship between highbrow cultural capital and self-rated English performance is significant, meaning that more exposure to cinema and museums may provide a starting point for interest in the English language as well as English performance gains. There is a gap between current research (EFL performance only) and other studies (linguistic knowledge, linguistic ability, and other school transition processes) discussed about measuring dependent variables (Sullivan, 2001; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). Further study needs to be done on the effect of highbrow
cultural capital, whether on other core subjects (math, Korean, social studies, science), or on non-core subjects (arts, music, PE).

My macro-level interview analysis reflects new educational inequalities related to consuming EFL learning services and goods in a private education market (Park, 2009). The analysis consolidates the reality of recent social trends that point to EFL performance being related to social upward mobility, and that desirable EFL performance is effectively gained according to “wealth and international contacts and knowledge” (Koo, 2007, p.16). Parents of the interviewees, most of whom come from a middle class background, made an effort to provide their children with opportunities for quality English education in the home, at school, and at an array of private tutoring institutes as a way to pass on their class privileges (Koo, 2007) and to help their children pick up cultural status assets (English). The results help explain the educational inequality issues of English as cultural assets, and of class privileges in education processes in Korean society after the Asian financial crisis in 1997.

From micro-level analysis of the qualitative interviews, it was evident that highbrow cultural capital related to EFL learning equates to achieving good EFL performance scores and possessing native-like fluency in spoken language skills. In particular, native-like fluency by Korean speakers in Korea is becoming a socially valuable symbol that awards social prestige and cognitive worth. This symbolic influence of the English language provides the impetus for burgeoning EFL private tutoring in the education market and increases strong parental involvement in English education. English performance in Korean society has marketable value that is easily exchangeable into economic capital in career advancement (Bhatt, 2001; Park, 2009). This is congruent
with the cultural capital definition, showing “widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goals and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion” (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 156). Exploring interviewees’ views and roles of the English language in Korean society corroborated that English language performance is valued cultural capital.

_Cognitive cultural capital._ Current quantitative research shows that cognitive cultural capital is positively associated with English performance in ninth graders and twelfth graders. As most education researchers argue, cognitive cultural capital, which includes ability, skills, knowledge, and competence (Baron, 2006; DeGraaf et al., 2000; Dumais, 2002), is critically related to school achievement (Kingston, 2001; DeGraaf et al., 2000). The quantitative result is consistent with the findings in Western countries (Sullivan, 2001; Vryonides, 2007). In England, Sullivan’s study (2001) revealed that reading has a positive influence on scores in General Certificate of Secondary Education and in cultural knowledge. In the Netherlands, DeGraaf et al.’s (2000) study shows that reading in the home is positively related to academic performance, irrespective of SES differences. In Cyprus, Vryonides (2007) indicates that reading influences school achievement. The present study is noteworthy as an additional contribution to previous studies on cognitive cultural capital and school outcomes.

The qualitative results showed four themes related to EFL learning practices: 1) pushing for early instruction in English, 2) providing the most effective tutoring programs, 3) offering home EFL learning practice, and 4) supporting preparation for elite University entry. This study is valuable because it pinpoints the home EFL learning practices that Korean mothers use with their children. Even though the case is small, the
finding is significant because it provides valuable information on how Korean mothers check their children’s EFL learning behaviors, and how mothers exercise educational supporting strategies to promote their children’s EFL literacy and listening skills. It is supposed that positive mother-to-child interactions through reading and educational material support (purchasing English video series’) motivated the interviewees to learn English and produce positive outcomes. Even though home EFL learning practices are not yet common practice in Korea, they are currently in the early stages of development and they have brought us a significant step forward in understanding the circumstances in which home literacy practices take place. It is important to explore how significant the effect of home EFL literacy practices are on later English performance in school, and whether or not there might be an alternative approach to help reduce financial burdens of EFL private tutorial instruction.

The results of this study on cognitive cultural capital leave some questions about the effects of private tutorial instruction on English performance. The current study focuses on the effect of cultural capital on EFL performance, and does not address EFL private tutorial instruction experiences as predictors. Qualitative interview data, however, suggested that private tutorial experiences, types of EFL tutoring, weekly frequencies, tutoring costs, and teaching methods (e.g., explicit punishment and reward) that bring out the best performance are critical to promote EFL performance and motivation. If reliable instruments are developed, it may be helpful to run surveys of secondary students exploring what types of EFL private tutorial instruction produce the most noticeable outcomes. It may be helpful to understand how educational inequalities are taking place.
in EFL learning, and how educational policy makers devise ways to reduce social
demographic effects on English performance.

**Mixed Methods Research Implications**

The present study provides valuable insights into the potential benefits of mixed
methods research. Each research paradigm was complementary. Data analysis and data
interpretation took place by giving equal weight to each paradigm at an early stage.
Qualitative interview findings offered insights into ways in which cultural capital related
to EFL learning practices gave advantage to some people with privileged social
backgrounds. Qualitative findings gained more weight during the interpretation process
while quantitative KEEP analysis served as a backdrop.

Quantitatively, this research contributes to a clearer understanding of the effects
of cultural capital on English performance of secondary school students in South Korea.
My quantitative analysis using the KEEP offers a clear and comprehensive overview of
the major approaches to the study of cultural reproduction theory (DiMaggio, 1982;
Sullivan, 2001; Dumais, 2006). I put a good deal of effort into providing a picture of how
cultural capital in a non-western county works for secondary school students, then
ascertaining whether it could predict EFL performance. The findings from this mixed-
methods study have contributed specifically to the field of education, as well as to
language studies, as both the quantitative and qualitative data were systematically
analyzed to show what aspects of cultural capital influenced language performance at
school, and when that influence was strongest.

Qualitatively, this research deserves attention for its originality, demonstrating
Korean EFL learning practices, educational supporting strategies inside and outside
schools, gendered parental involvement, labor market characteristics, and the coexistence of Confucian ideology with modern meritocracy beliefs about education as tools for social upward mobility (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). Agee’s (2002) lens of history at the macro level and at the micro level analysis highlights what EFL performance means to Korean people in college entry and in career placement, and what symbolic meanings the English language has in this society. Current qualitative analysis may broaden one’s knowledge of EFL practices in East Asian countries, particularly in those who have little knowledge in this area.

Language Research Implications

English as cultural capital. This study is a meaningful addition to the field of EFL learning, also known as “English as World Englishes” by Bhatt (2001). I do not fully agree with Bhatt’s (2001) argument that the English language hegemony in non-native English countries is partly attributable to ELT agencies (e.g. TESOL). However, it is true that native-like English pronunciation is becoming more favored in non-native English speaking societies.

Korean-accented English in Korea is perceived and valued hierarchically. I present vivid descriptions of the way Koreans view the different values of English. These values include priority for standard forms of English (native-like pronunciation), and give less credit to a Korean accented variety of English. Further research needs to be conducted on the hierarchical nature of English varieties in EFL countries (Bhatt, 2001; Phillipson, 1998).

The role of computers in EFL learning. The results of this study show that computer use for information seeking predicts in part English performance for ninth
graders from different income levels. Students either poor or rich benefit from the use of computers in furthering their English performance.

*Gender.* Gender predicts English performance of twelfth graders only. Twelfth grade male students do better in English than their female peers. By contrast, the gender of ninth graders is not a significant predictor of English performance. The result of the findings needs to be explored more, such as whether English performance differences by gender are related to adolescent socialization processes during high school days, differentiated parental support for male and for female students, personal cognitive abilities, or other social demographic factors.

The results of this study call into question further gender effects on cultural capital consumption as measured in current analysis. The present study does not consider gender as a factor that determines the relative contribution to performance and gendered cultural capital consumption. That is beyond the scope of my study. However, qualitative data analysis suggests that relationship among gender, EFL performance, and cultural capital needs to be researched, as a gender effect seems great compared to social demographic factors (Dumais, 2002; DiMaggio, 1982).

*The mother’s role.* Further research can examine parental influence in depth by setting up path models that describe interrelationships among mother-related attributes, educational supports, levels of interest, cognitively stimulating learning supports, and later EFL school performance. Such research will yield more systematic insights into home EFL literacy practices effects. A critical question is raised about the role of mothers in acquiring socially valued language skills to enhance one’s social position. My study shows that Korean mothers made an effort for their children to acquire highly valued
language varieties (native-like English) by providing home EFL learning practices and EFL tutoring by native English speakers. While my study is only a first step, it offers useful insights that might be pursued in future research on the role of parents in facilitating social upward mobility by emphasizing acquisition of highly valued cultural capital (English Language skills).

**Limitations and Future Research**

The present study has several limitations, which include: relation to measurement shortcomings in the use of the KEEP, possible weakness in integrating quantitative data with a qualitative dataset, and small number of participants in a qualitative interview.

First, the outcome variable on the KEEP self-rated English performance with a five-point Likert scale may be biased. It is possible that some students may not have reported how they actually perform in English. The proportion of the variances that is accounted by the regression model may be reduced when measuring self-rated performance, as DiMaggio (1982) argues that “the use of self-reported grades, with restricted distributions, can be expected to depress $R^2$’s in these analyses” (DiMaggio, 1982, p. 194). To address the limitation, further studies need to be directed to include standardized English test scores as outcome variables to examine cultural capital effect on English performance.

Another limitation may be the socioeconomic homogeneity of the six interview participants. They are mostly from middle-class backgrounds, with supportive parents from large-population cities. Interviewees from lower SES, with poor parental supports, or from remote areas were not available to me for this study. Researchers could provide more complete data about social class and its corresponding cultural identity regarding
EFL learning practices by extending the scope of interviews into those from diverse SES backgrounds and from different geographic locations.

Despite such limitations, the current study provides valuable insights into theories of, concepts about, and research on cultural capital and English performance for South Korean secondary level students. My study is specifically about how learning English in South Korea becomes a source of cultural capital and at the same time how English language learning is promoted by cultural capital. The study also shows how mothers endeavor to make their children acquire socially valued foreign language variety in the home and through private tutorial instruction, and how differences of cultural capital between 9th and 12th graders are influenced by the stratified college entry system.

This study also offers possible educational implications and directions for future studies. Further research can examine how and to what extent English language competence plays a role in solidifying or changing students’ social status throughout their life paths, especially for students from socially marginalized groups. As shown, not all South Korean families possess equal amounts of cultural capital; as a result, investment of cultural capital into children’s EFL education varies. Such a study would help identify the ways of reducing English performance gaps that are caused by family demographic factors, especially for underprivileged students who have limited or poor educational resources in the home.

In addition, exploring the relationship between cultural capital and EFL performance with different age groups may prompt future researchers to examine at what age cultural capital is most influential. Researchers may gain in-depth understanding about cultural capital factors that can facilitate or mediate EFL performance from early
childhood, youth, young adolescent, or college age groups. Future research combined
with the current study has the potential to extend the scope and breadth of social
reproduction theory and provide useful information for education policy makers and EFL
educators.
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The Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies at University of Illinois at Urbana-


Date: September 17, 2009
Principal Investigator: EunHe Seo
Title: Cultural Capital and English Performance of Secondary Students in South Korea
Review Type: ☑ Full ☑ Expedited
Approval Type: New Expedited Category # 7

Provisions of Approval: n/a

Consent Forms: All subjects must receive a copy of the consent form as approved with the University at Albany Institutional Review Board stamp. Copies of the signed consent form must be kept on file unless a waiver has been granted.

Adverse Events: Any adverse event(s) or unexpected event(s) that occur in conjunction with this study must be reported to the Office of Research Compliance within 10 calendar days of the occurrence.

Principal Investigator Responsibilities: It is the responsibility of the PI to ensure that all investigators and staff associated with this study meet the training requirements for conducting research involving human subjects, follow the approved protocol, use only the approved forms, keep appropriate research records, and comply with all University at Albany Policies, federal, state and local laws, Declaration of Helsinki and the Belmont Report.

Research Records: Accurate and detailed research records must be maintained. All research records (including all IRB correspondence) must be kept for a minimum of 3 years after the completion of the research. This research is subject to an audit under the terms of the IRB's Quality Improvement Program.

Changes: Any changes in the above referenced study may not be initiated without prior IRB review and approval. Changes include (but are not limited to) study personnel, consent forms, protocol, procedures, addition of funding source.

Lapse of Approval: If approval for this project lapses, all research must stop IMMEDIATELY until continuation approval is granted. If approval lapses before the continuation is reviewed, your project must be resubmitted as a new protocol.

Yearly IRB Approval Continuation: Approval is valid until the expiration date above. You are required to obtain annual IRB approval continuations prior to your expiration date for as long as the study is active. An annual continuation reminder will be sent to you, but it is your responsibility to ensure that you submit and receive the yearly approval in a timely manner. Up to 4 yearly continuations will be granted after which a new protocol must be submitted for review.

Funded Research: If your research is funded, you must also submit sponsor information and a copy of the grant/funding application for IRB review with the human subjects section(s) highlighted. This is true whether the source of funding is internal or external.

University Permissions: A.) Institutional Research, Planning and Effectiveness (IRPE) permission may be required if your research participants are recruited from the UAlbany campus. It is the responsibility of the investigator to contact IRPE at (518) 437-4791 for a determination. B.) All UAlbany permissions (e.g., classroom, team or organization permissions) must be kept on file with your research records.

Posters or Flyers: If posters or flyers are to be posted on the UAlbany campus, they must be registered with the Office of Student Involvement and Leadership in Campus Center 130 prior to posting on the academic Podium.

External Permissions: All external permissions (e.g., schools, businesses, organizations, etc.) must be kept on file with your research records.

Upon receipt of this letter you may begin your research. The IRB wishes you success with your research.
Dear participant:

My name is EunHi Seo. I am a doctoral candidate in the Educational Theory and Practice at SUNY Albany. For my dissertation research, I would like to interview you.

Purpose: My dissertation research is to look into the direct and indirect trajectories of social and economic benefits in the home in improving secondary school students' English language performance by examining their cultural activity participation. I would like to know about which cultural activities you participated in during any of your preschool, elementary school, middle school and high school days, how your parents help you develop your English during those days, and how English performance in Korea contributes to the school allocation process and career opportunities.

You will receive a $20 gift card as a token for participation. If you decide not to finish the interview, you will be paid a $20 gift card. Your participation in my dissertation research will be of help to the educators and researchers who are interested in sociology of education as well as in language studies around the world.

Interview:
This permission letter includes interview questions (Appendix 1-1). Please read carefully interview questions attached and then go on to the following statement.

Brief description of the interview topics: I would like to talk with you about how you participated in cultural capital activities while you were in preschool/ middle school/ high school. I am interested in your experiences about your English learning process and cultural capital resources in your home that provide an opportunity for learning English. Finally, I would like to listen to your views or ideas on the roles and status of English in Korea.

Please read the following statement:

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you agree to participate in the research or sign the informed consent document, you may decide to leave the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise have been entitled.

I do not anticipate any risk in your participation other than you may become uncomfortable answering some of the questions.

In order to keep this information safe, the audiotape of your interview will be stored in a locked file cabinet in EunHi Seo’s apartment for a year. As soon as the research process is complete, the audio tapes will be destroyed. I will enter study data on a computer that is password-protected.

The findings from this interview will be presented at a conference or in journal publication. Your names and affiliations will not be disclosed in public. Instead, I will use the pseudonyms. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law.
Please sign below if you are willing to have this interview audio recorded.

If at any time you have questions regarding this research or your participation in it, you should contact my faculty advisor. You can contact Dr. Jane Agee, Associate Professor, Department of Educational Theory and Practice, University at Albany, State University of New York, Albany, NY 12222 at 518 442-5014. or at jagee@uamail.albany.edu

If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigator or if you wish to report any concerns about the study, you may contact the University at Albany’s Office of Regulatory Research Compliance at 518.442-9050 or orrc@uamail.albany.edu.

Sincerely,

EunHi Seo
Doctoral candidate
Educational Theory and Practice
SUNY Albany
ehseo2000@gmail.com
1-518-312-9354 (U.S.)
82-2-578-1794 (Seoul, Korea)

I have read and understand the above information and voluntarily agree to participate in the research project described above. I have been offered a copy of this consent form.

Date----------------- Signature -------------------------------

I agree to have the interview audio recorded.

Date___________ Signature______________________________

Approved by IBE
Valid Thru
SEP 15 2010
The University at Albany
Dear participant:

My name is EunHi Seo. I am a doctoral candidate in the Educational Theory and Practice at SUNY Albany. For my dissertation research, I would like to interview you.

Purpose: My dissertation research is to look into the direct and indirect trajectories of social and economic benefits in the home in improving secondary school students’ English language performance by examining their cultural activity participation. I would like to know about which cultural activities you participated in if any during your preschool, elementary school, middle school and high school days, how your parents help you develop your English during those days, and how English performance in Korea contributes to the school allocation process and career opportunities.

You will receive a 20,000 won gift card as a token for participation. If you decide not to finish the interview, you will be paid a 20,000 won gift card. Your participation in my dissertation research will be of help to the educators and researchers who are interested in sociology of education as well as in language studies around the world.

Interview:
This permission letter includes interview questions (Appendix 1-1). Please read carefully interview questions attached and then go on to the following statement.

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Please read the following statement:

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you agree to participate in the research or sign the informed consent document, you may decide to leave the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise have been entitled.

I do not anticipate any risk in your participation other than you may become uncomfortable answering some of the questions.

Three measures are taken to reduce the security threat that might take place during the online communication. (1) The use of encryption software: MGuard (developed by ebiznetworks company in Korea). MGuard software can help prevent data decode, data interception and trace-back of data from unwanted intruders during the online interview process. All texts are encrypted. (2) Security Software update: I am using a series of buffer program for my computer that can prevent installations of spyware or virus: Windows Update, Windows defender, updated MSN messenger, spybot program, semantic antivirus program and AhnLab V3 Internet security 8.0 program(encryption). (3) Every effort will be made to enhance the security of the data over the Internet before/during/after the interview process. (the use of the nickname, the use of password protected messenger account, and password protected computer).
In order to keep this information safe, the text-recoded data about your interview will be stored in a locked file cabinet in EunHi Seo's apartment for a year. As soon as the research process is complete, the text-recoded data will be destroyed. I will enter study data on a computer that is password-protected.

The findings from this interview will be presented at a conference or in journal publication. Your names and affiliations will not be disclosed in public. Instead, I will use the pseudonyms. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law.

Please sign below if you are willing to have this interview text recorded through online messenger program.

If at any time you have questions regarding this research or your participation in it, you can contact my faculty advisor: Dr. Jane Agee, Associate Professor, Department of Educational Theory and Practice, University at Albany, State University of New York, Albany, NY 12222 at 518 442 5014. or at jagee@uamail.albany.edu

If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigator or if you wish to report any concerns about the study, you may contact the University at Albany's Office of Regulatory Research Compliance at 518.442-9050 or orrc@uamail.albany.edu.

Sincerely,

EunHi Seo
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SUNY Albany
ehseo2000@gmail.com
1-518-312-9354(U.S.)
82-2-578-1794(Seoul, Korea)

I have read and understand the above information and voluntarily agree to participate in the research project described above. I have been offered a copy of this consent form.

Date----------------- Signature ---------------------------

I agree to have the interview text recorded.

Date----------------- Signature ---------------------------

The University at Albany

SEP 15 2010
<Permission Letter Translation.>

연구 참여자님께:

안녕하세요. 저는 뉴욕주립대에서 교육과정을 공부하는 서문회 입니다. 제 학지전문을 인터뷰하고 싶습니다.

제 논문의 개요는 학생의 영어능력에 영향을 주는 가정요인을 알아보려고 하는데 특히 어린시절부터 참여해온 문화자본활동이 영어능력에 어떻게 영향을 미치는지 연구하고 있습니다. 인터뷰 내용은 인터뷰 참여자님께서 유지한 초등, 중고등학교 시절이던 문화적 활동에 참여하였으며, 참여자님의 부모님께서는 영어실력 향상을 위해서 어떤 도움을 주셨는지, 마지막으로 한국사회에서 영어실력이 진학과 고용에 어떠한 영향을 주는지에 관한 것으로 인터뷰 하시는 본의 생각과 경험을 알고 싶습니다.

제 논문연구에 참여하시는 분께 2만원 상당의 상품권을 답례로 드리겠습니다. 중간에 그만두셔도 2만원 상당의 상품권을 드립니다. 여러분의 인터뷰 참여로 인하여 교육사회학과 언어교육분야에 도움이 되리라 사료됩니다.

Interview Questions:

이 문서에는 인터뷰 질문이 포함되어 있으면 인터뷰 질문 내용을 잘 읽어보시고 다음 단계로 가주시기 바랍니다.

A brief description of the interview topics(인터뷰 개요) 어린시절부터 어린시절까지만 문화자본 활동에 참여하셨는지 알고 싶습니다. 어린시절부터 영어를 배워온 과정과 영어를 배울 수 있게 가정에서 어떠한 도움을 주셨는지 참가자님의 개인의 경험이 좋고 싶습니다. 마지막으로 한국에서 영어의 위상과 역할에 대해 참가자님의 의견을 듣고 싶습니다.

Please read the following statement:

다음을 잘 읽어주십시오.

인터넷 하시는 분은 자발적으로 이 연구에 참여하실 수 있습니다. 비록 연구에 참여하기로 결정을 한 이후에도 원하는 때 아무런 불이익이 본 연구에서 벗지하실 수 있습니다.

이 논문 참여로 대담할 때 불편함을 빠 놓고는 어떠한 위험이 없을가요.

인터넷을 온라인으로 진행시 인터넷 보안 문제를 다음 3가지 방법으로 해결하려고 합니다. (1) 인스 크립션 소프트웨어 사용: MGuard로 이비지넷트에서 만든 보안제품입니다. 이것은 데이터 전송시 해커나 타인이 참가자님과 저와의 대화를 캡쳐, 추적할 수가 없습니다. (2) 제가 쓰는 바이러스 프로그램을 업데이트 시켜겠습니다. 제가 쓰는 원도우, 원도우 데님더, 스파이넷 프로그램, 시만적 인터바이러스 프로그램, 엽립 V3 프로그램( 인스 크립션 웹) 등 입니다. (3) 인터뷰 전후 보안을 유지하기 위해 벌명 사용, 비밀번호 사용하는 메신저 어카운트, 비밀번호로 보호되는 컴퓨터 이용 등을 모든 노력을 하겠습니다.
참가자님과 인터뷰해서 텍스트 저장된 데이터 내용은 제 이파트의 캐비닛이 일년동안 저장됩니다. 연구를 마치게 되면 위의 데이터는 폐기됩니다. 비밀번호로 보호되는 제 컴퓨터에 데이터를 입력합니다.
이 인터뷰에서 밝혀진 내용은 컴퓨터나 저널에 발표할 것입니다. 인터뷰 참여자의 소속이나 이름은 공개되지 않습니다. 참여자의 이름은 가명을 쓰도록 합니다. 모든 인터뷰 내용은 극비사항으로 관리됩니다.
텍스트로 저장된 인터뷰 대화내용이 온라인 캐시팅 프로그램으로 텍스트 저장이 되어도 좋으시면 아래님에게 서명 바랍니다.

이 연구나 연구참가 관련 공급한 이 있으시면 제 지도교수님인 제인에지 교수님께 문의 바랍니다. Dr. Jane Agee, Associate Professor, Department of Educational Theory and Practice, University at Albany, State University of New York, Albany, NY 12222 전화 518 442 5014. 메일 jagee@uamail.albany.edu

인터넷 참여자로서 연구자가 여러분의 퀴리에 대해 잘 알려주지 않은 점, 이 연구에 참여함으로써 우려되는 점이나 공급한 점이 있으시면 다음 주소로 연락하시셔서 문의 바랍니다(Albany's Office of Regulatory Research Compliance :전화:1-518-442-9050 메일 orrc@uamail.albany.edu.)

Sincerely,

EunHi Seo
Doctoral candidate
Educational Theory and Practice
SUNY Albany
ehseo2000@gmail.com
1-518-312-9354(U.S.)
82-2-578-1794(Seoul, Korea)

위의 제반사항을 다 읽고 이해하였으며 자발적으로 이 연구에 참여하겠습니다.

Date(날짜)----------------- Signature(서명) -------------------------------

분인과의 인터뷰 내용이 텍스트로 저장되는 것에 동의합니다.

Date(날짜)________________ Signature(서명)________________________

Approved by RS
Valid Thru:
SEP 15 2010
The University at Albany
Interview Question (Appendix 1-1)

Start learning English

1. When did you start learning English?

2. How did you start learning English?

3. Where did you start learning English?


5. Did any particular people influence your learning of English? How? In what ways?

Cultural capital activities and English learning process

6. How often did you go to a concert/museum/art gallery/the movies/a theater while you were in preschool/ middle school/ high school? Were any of these experiences helpful in enhancing your interest in English?

7. Did you enjoy reading English literature while you were in preschool/ middle school/ high school? Was reading literature helpful in improving your English performance and/or interest?

8. Did you enjoy reading educational books while you were in preschool/ middle school/ high school? What kinds of educational books did you enjoy? Was it helpful in improving your English performance and/or interest?

9. Do you use TV for learning English? How did you use TV for learning English while you were in preschool/ middle school/ high school? Was it helpful? Could you tell me why or why not?

10. Did you use a computer for learning English? Was it helpful in enhancing your English performance? Could you tell me why or why not?

11. What other cultural activities did you participate in if any during your preschool, elementary school, middle school and high school days? Do you think those activities influenced your learning of English? In what ways?

12. Did your parents help you develop your English performance during your preschool, elementary school, middle school and high school days? How? In what ways?
Cultural capital resources

13. How did you feel about the quality of public English education at schools you attended while you were in preschool/middle school/high school? Were you satisfied/dissatisfied with the instruction that your teacher gave there? Could you tell me more about why you felt this way?

14. Do you have any experience of English private tutorial instruction? Could you tell me about types of private tutorial instruction you have received from preschool days? Were you satisfied/dissatisfied with the instruction that your teacher gave? Could you tell me why?

English as a potential that affects college entrance examination and social status in Korea

15. In what ways and to what extent, does English performance in Korea contribute to the school allocation process and job placement?

16. What benefits in Korea do you expect from being a person with good English performance and knowledge?

17. How did you view the role of English in Korea when you were in preschool/middle school/high school? Could you tell me why?

18. What do you think of a bilingual Korean in Korea who speaks English without a Korean accent? What do you think of a bilingual Korean in Korea who speaks English with a Korean accent?

19. What motivates you to study English? Do you have a specific purpose for learning English?

20. What efforts did you make to improve your English performance during your secondary school days in order for it to be advantageous for college entrance? Could you tell me more about your experience?

21. What efforts have you made to improve your English performance now? Could you tell me more about your experience?

Ending questions

22. Is there anything else you would like to say?

23. Is there anything else you think it would be important for me to know about your experiences with learning English?
24. Is there anything else you think it would be important for me to know about your beliefs about the role or influence of English in your life or in the Korean culture?
Interview Question (Appendix 1-1: Korean)

Start learning English (영어 학습시작)

1. 언제부터 영어를 배우기 시작했습니까?
2. 어떻게 영어를 배우기 시작했습니까?
3. 어디서 영어를 배우기 시작했습니까?
4. 영어배우는 데 계기가 있었습니까? 좀 더 자세히 말 해 줄 수 있습니까? 어떤 계기가 영어를 배우는데 도움이 되었습니까? 어떤 계기가 영어를 배우는데 방해가 되었습니까? 어떤 계기가 도움을 주었습니까?
5. 어떤 사람이 당신의 영어학습에 영향을 준적이 있습니까? 어떻게?

Cultural capital activities and English learning process(문화자본활동과 영어학습과정)

6. 유치원, 초중고등학교 시절 일마나 자주 콘서트, 박물관, 미술관, 영화관, 연극을 보러 다녔습니까? 이런 경험이 영어에 대한 관심을 높이는데 도움이 되었습니까?
7. 유치원, 초중고등학교 시절 영문학 작품을 읽는 것을 즐겼습니까? 이런 문학경험이 영어에 대한 관심을 높이는데 도움이 되었습니까?
8. 유치원, 초중고등학교 시절 교양서적을 읽는 것을 즐겼습니까? 어떤 종류의 교양서적을 좋아했습니까? 이런경험이 영어실력이나 관심을 증진시키는데 도움이 되었습니까?
10. 영어를 배우는데 컴퓨터를 이용한 적 있습니까? 컴퓨터 이용이 영어실력 향상에 도움이 되었나요? 왜 그럴지 그럴지 않은지 설명해 주실 수 있습니까?
11. 유치원, 초중고등학교 시절 다른 문화적인 활동에 참여한 적이 있습니까? 그런활동이 영어학습에 영향을 주었다고 생각합니까? 영향을 주었다고 생각하신다면 어떤 식으로 영향을 주었는지 설명해 주실 수 있습니까?
12. 유치원, 초중고등학교 시절 부모님께서 인터넷 참여자님의 영어실력을 향상시키기 위해서 도움을 준 적이 있습니까? 그런 적이 있다면 어떤 식으로 도움을 주셨는지 설명해 주실 수 있습니까?

Cultural capital resources(문화자본자원)

13. 유치원, 초중고등학교 시절 학교에서 영어수업의 질은 어떠하였다고 생각합니까? 학교선생님께서 지도하는 방식에 만족/ 불만족스러웠습니까? 왜 그렇게 생각하는지 설명해 주실 수 있습니까?

English as a potential that affects college entrance examination and social status in Korea(진학과 사회적 지위에 미치는 영어능력의 가능성)

15. 어떤식으로, 어느정도로 한국에서 영어능력이 진학과 고용에 영향을 준다고 생각합니까?
16. 한국에서 영어능력이 좋으면 어떠한 이익을 얻을 수 있습니까?
17. 귀하의 유치원,초 중고등학교 시절 한국에서 영어의 역할을 무엇이라고 생각합니까?
왜 그런지 말씀해 주실 수 있습니까?
18. 본토발음으로 영어를 구사하는 한국사람을 어떻게 생각합니까?
한국토종발음으로 영어를 구사하는 한국사람을 어떻게 생각합니까?
19. 영어를 공부하게 된 동기는 무엇입니까? 영어학습을 하는데 특별한 목적이 있습니까?
20. 유치원,초 중고등학교 시절 진학을 위한 영어능력향상을 위해 어떤 노력을 했습니까?
좀 더 구체적으로 말씀해 주실 수 있습니까?
21. 현재 영어능력향상을 위해 어떤 노력을 하고 있습니까? 좀 더 구체적으로 말씀해 주실 수 있습니까?

Ending questions(들어가며)

22. 더 하고 싶은 말씀 있습니까?
23. 인터뷰 참여자님께서 영어를 배운 경험이 대해 제가 더 알아야 할 점이 있습니까?
24. 영어의 영향이나 역할에 대한 인터뷰 참여자님의 의견 중 제가 더 알아야 할 점이 있습니까?
Appendix B. Quantitative Results

Assumptions for Multiple Regressions for 9th Graders

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### Appendix B-2

**Assumptions for Multiple Regressions for 12 Graders**

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**Appendix B-5**

*Regression ANOVA for 9th Graders*

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<sup>a</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender  
<sup>b</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, music concert, movie, cinema,  
<sup>c</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, music concert, movie, cinema,, Literature, Cultured books  
<sup>d</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, music concert, movie, cinema,, Literature, Cultured books, Computer for schooling, TV  
<sup>e</sup> Dependent Variable: English performance

**Appendix B-6**

*Regression ANOVA for 12th Graders*

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<th>Sig.</th>
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<sup>a</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender  
<sup>b</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, concert, movie, cinema, musical  
<sup>c</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, concert, movie, cinema, musical, Literature reading, Reading educational book  
<sup>d</sup> Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, concert, movie, cinema, musical, Literature reading, Reading educational book, Computer use hours for information seeking, TV  
<sup>e</sup> Dependent Variable: English performance
Appendix B-7

**Durbin-Watson Statistics for 9th Graders**

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a. Predictors: (Constant), Gender
b. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, museum, art gallery, music concert, movie, cinema,
c. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, museum, art gallery, music concert, movie, cinema,, Literature, Cultured books
d. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, museum, art gallery, music concert, movie, cinema,, Literature, Cultured books, Computer for schooling, TV
e. Dependent Variable: English performance

Appendix B-8

**Durbin-Watson Statistics for 12th Graders**

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c. Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, concert, movie, cinema, musical, Literature reading, Reading educational book
d. Predictors: (Constant), gender, museum, art gallery, concert, movie, cinema, musical, Literature reading, Reading educational book, Computer use hours for information seeking, TV
e. Dependent Variable: English performance
Appendix B-9
*Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual for 9th Graders*

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual

Dependent Variable: English performance

Appendix B-10
*Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual for 12th Graders*

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual

Dependent Variable: English performance
### Appendix B-11

*Residuals Statistics for 9th Graders*

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### Appendix B-12

*Residuals Statistics for 12th Graders*

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