EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF
SECOND GENERATION HMONG IN A RURAL ETHNIC ENCLAVE

by

MARIANNE CHRISTINE PAIVA

B.A., California State University, Chico, 1999
M.A. California State University, Chico, 2001

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2016

Abstract

This study investigates the role of second-generation Hmong in South Oroville in order to better understand broader questions of racial and ethnic integration among immigrants in rural areas of the U.S., the role of education in rural community viability, and the sustainability of rural communities with population growth derived mainly from immigration. I focus on two fundamental questions: Why are second-generation Hmong in South Oroville exceeding expectations for educational attainment, despite high levels of poverty and low levels of first generation educational attainment? How do second generation Hmong in South Oroville use their education? I draw on 16 qualitative interviews with second generation Hmong Americans in South Oroville to explore these questions.

There are two key findings. First, the high college attainment rate was due to a high level of social integration with strong social ties within their networks, unique bridging through Upward Bound between the dominant society and the Hmong population, high parental expectations and high sibling expectations of educational attainment, and high amounts of financial support from grants and work study facilitated a 70% college attainment rate in 18-24 year olds in the population. Second, the Carr-Kefalas brain drain theory did not fully explain the post-education pathways for this population. An alternative theory of post-education pathways called the Hmong Typology explains post-education as dependent on gender expectations and sibling obligation.

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Acknowledgements

I began this journey to the PhD in 2003 at Kansas State University. To understate the situation, it's been a long path. Along the way, I battled professors, battled cancer, battled grief. My dad succumbed to Pancreatic Cancer in 2013. I also got married, became a mother again, twice over, wrote and published two other books, spent lots of summer vacations at the beach, and taught full time (or nearly, some semesters) at California State University, Chico.

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All the best, MCP

Dedication

For my parents.

They sacrificed so I could succeed.

Preface

The question of "Hmong educational attainment in South Oroville" has been of interest to me for some time. As a lecturer at a rural northern California university in the mid-2000s, I noticed a trend and uptick of the number of Hmong students in my classes. In 2005, when I began teaching at the university, I observed 1 or 2 Hmong students in each of my classes of Sociology classes of 35-40 students. By 2008, I regularly had 5-10 Hmong students in each class, and averaged close to 10% of each class as Hmong students by the late 2000s. In 2008, I began requiring a genealogy project of my Introduction to Sociology students, and in those assignments, my interest in the local Hmong students grew. Repeatedly, the Hmong students provided rich narratives of their parents and grandparents fighting for the American CIA in Laos, then fleeing to refugee camps in Thailand, and finally, coming to America, and more specifically, to rural northern California, often residing in some of the most historically impoverished towns and communities in the area. Knowing a bit about local history and the communities that local Hmong had settled in throughout the 1980s and 1990s, I wondered about the circumstances that had facilitated this population in their quest for higher education, and how they came to be in my classes.

In 2008, I presented a brief research poster to a group of university administrators and community members in Oroville, California, which happens to be my grandparents' hometown and where I spent many weekends and school breaks as a child visiting my grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins who lived there. My audience was on a day trip of the area, touring the service area of the university to see where our students come from to better understand how to increase outreach to the university's service population. The trip was planned to see Lake Oroville (billed for the tour as an engineering marvel and beautiful

scenic drive), the olive orchards of Oroville (billed as a new and successful business venture), and then the group would travel on their bus out of town, on to greener pastures, as it were. They had been presented with the most prosperous and high achieving population in the area. I asked them if they were going to see South Oroville, where a third of the town's population lived, where I had spent a portion of my childhood, visiting my aunt when she lived there, and where many of my Hmong students at the university came from. The group looked at my quixotically and said, "no, why would we?" And so I told them the story of South Oroville, the place conspicuously omitted from their day trip, and the place that, in my opinion, was the most in need of university out-reach due to its high level of poverty and social isolation.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

South Oroville is a small, working class town in Northern California, with limited industry and high rates of poverty. In the early 1980s, Hmong immigrants from Laos and Southeast Asia began arriving in South Oroville. Since 2000, native whites have been leaving the area in larger numbers, leaving an ethnic enclave in the town of less than 6,000 people. These racial, ethnic, and demographic changes are prompting emerging questions about the long-term viability of the community. Key to these questions is the future role of the Hmong, who thus far have sustained the population in this area, but who are also achieving education at higher levels and thus may follow in the footsteps of the native whites and leave the community.

This study investigates the role of second-generation Hmong in South Oroville in order to better understand broader questions of racial and ethnic integration among immigrants in rural areas of the U.S., the role of education in rural community viability, and the sustainability of rural communities with population growth derived mainly from immigration. I focus on two fundamental questions: Why are second-generation Hmong in South Oroville, despite high levels of poverty and low levels of first generation educational attainment, are doing better than expected in terms of educational attainment?; and how do second generation Hmong in South Oroville use their education? I begin by describing the Hmong in Laos, the context of South Oroville, the Hmong population in the U.S., socioeconomic status of the Hmong, and educational attainment. Then, I review prior research on assimilation, social capital, educational attainment of immigrant populations, and

education attainment of Hmong, population decrease, and brain drain. Finally, I describe the methods used to investigate these questions.

From Laos to the Central Valley of California

Laos is a landlocked country in Southeast Asia, bordered by Vietnam on the east, Myanmar [Burma] and Thailand on the west, China to the north, and Cambodia to the south. An agrarian society with isolated hill and lowland groups of different ethnic backgrounds, Laos is home to many different cultures (Hamilton-Merritt, 1993; Reder, 1985). The Hmong in Laos were subsistence farmers who also bartered and traded (Lee, 2005; Reder, 1985). Until the 1950s, Hmong in Laos had no written language, and used storytelling and ritual to transmit their history. Most Hmong lived in remote mountaintops and had little access to education (Lee, 2005; Reder, 1985).

Due to its strategic location and its natural resources, Laos was colonized by France in 1893 and had a continued political influence until early 1945 when it was occupied by Japan (McCoy, 1972). After World War II, France was in a weakened position, and resistance to French re-occupation emerged. Laotian and Vietnamese rebel troops began a progressive takeover of key cities until France realized the need to take back Laos, and employed Hmong commander Touby Lyfoung (Hamilton-Merritt, 1993) and a band of Hmong soldiers to aid in recapturing Xieng Khouang City in September 1945 (McCoy, 1972, p. 84). France returned to power in Laos in late 1945, and maintained political dominance until the early 1954, when the independent Kingdom of Laos was established.

Before the Vietnam War of 1961-1975, the Hmong were a semi-nomadic population in the mountains of Laos, with clans moving every 3-20 years to find unspent agricultural land. Due to the farming techniques of the Hmong, which culminated each season in slash

and burn techniques to clear fields and prep for new crops, farmland became less-arable over time. When all the land within walking distance of a clan village was degraded, or when epidemic disease threatened the clan, it moved to a new area. As nomadic subsistence farmers, the Hmong were fairly isolated from outside culture and influence, and were able to maintain their culture.

After World War II, armies of from North Vietnam and the Viet Cong of South Vietnam sought control of the panhandle of Laos, in what would eventually become the Ho Chi Minh Trail in the 1960s. The Ho Chi Minh Trail served as a direct conduit from North Vietnam to South Vietnam through the mountains of Laos, facilitating troop and supply movement during the Vietnam War. In this context, it would become an important concern for American military planners in the 1960s and 1970s.

American involvement in Indochina began in 1953 when France approached the United States government for assistance in maintaining control and power during the French Indochina War with the Viet Minh (Leary, 1999). The United States began air and financial support to France in 1953 (Leary, 1999). After the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 (Hamilton-Merritt, 1993; McCoy, 1972, p. 87), a peace agreement was negotiated between delegates from Vietnam, France, Russia, China, Great Britain, and America that would end the war. The Geneva Conference of 1954 concluded that Laos would be an independent, but politically divided, state: the Royal Lao Government would control the southern half of the nation, while the Communist Pathet Lao would control the northern territory. This began a civil war in Laos that would last from 1954 to 1974 (McCoy, 1972, p. 106). According to the peace agreement, the French were prohibited from flying aircraft over Viet Minh territory, but a small, unauthorized French military force remained in Laos. The

troop, led by Col. Roger Trinquier (McCoy, 1972, p. 106), had few supplies, no reinforcements, and could not receive any assistance from France. To continue the conflict, Col. Trinquier recruited increasing numbers of Hmong civilians to train to engage in combat with the Viet Minh from neighboring North Vietnam (McCoy, 1972).

Increased unrest in the late 1950s ramped up United States involvement and activity in Laos, as the French ultimately withdrew, bringing more air support to Laos, and increased interest from President Eisenhower. The U.S. assigned permanent special-forces operatives to Laos in summer 1959 (Leary, 1999). In 1960, with increased Communist activity from Russia in Southeast Asia, military advisors became concerned that without the introduction of foot soldiers to defend northern Laos, the country would be lost to Communist factions in the region. Eisenhower was unwilling to send American military personnel to Laos, but instead authorized the CIA to recruit, train, and deploy Hmong men to fight in the "Secret War" in Laos (McCoy, 1972).

Hmong involvement in the Vietnam War and in the Secret War was two pronged. First, Hmong clansmen were recruited by the CIA to defend the Ho Chi Minh Trail from North Vietnamese communist forces (Hamilton-Merritt, 1993). Hmong troops were provided with training, weapons, clothing, food, and villages to live in while defending the hills and plateaus of Laos from Viet Minh and Pathet Lao armies (McCoy, 1972). Without the Hmong defending the area and the Ho Chi Minh Trail, U.S. military reasoning asserted, the Viet Minh would march unimpeded into South Vietnam, spreading communism throughout Southeast Asia. Second, the French government could not openly fund the Secret War in Laos. Instead, France purchased opium from Hmong farmers, and used the revenue from those sales to train and outfit thousands of Hmong soldiers (McCoy, 1972). Over time,

Hmong farmers gained leverage with France and eventually the United States, and they would ally themselves with the faction directly buying opium from them. When France began using middlemen to buy the opium, which lowered the price the farmers earned, the Hmong farmers allied themselves with Communist Pathet Lao forces. By the early 1970s, nearly 30,000 Hmong were allied and fighting for the CIA (McCoy, 1972) and nearly 100,000 Hmong more were displaced by the war and considered refugees.

Hmong Refugees in the United States

When United States troops evacuated Vietnam in April 1975, the first Hmong refugees accompanied them. General Vang Pao, the top Hmong military personnel, and many of their families were the first Hmong granted permission to immigrate to the United States (Waters, 1999). Rough estimates indicate that 1,000-3,000 Hmong were evacuated with U.S. troops in April 1975 (Reder, 1985). But, over the next 30 years, somewhere between 100,000 and 150,000 Hmong refugees fled Laos (Fadiman, 1997), first landing in refugee camps in Thailand (Lo, 2014; Reder, 1985). Approximately 90% of Hmong refugees found new homes in the United States, with 10% of Hmong refugees immigrating to France, French Guyana, Canada, Australia, and Argentina (Reder, 1985). The Hmong were initially sponsored by non-profit and religious organizations across the United States, populating 53 American communities by the mid-1980s (Bankston, 2014).

In the 1980s, the Hmong were the most socioeconomically at risk Southeast Asian immigrant group in the U.S. due to high fertility rates, large family size, lack of transferable work skills, and low educational attainment (Rumbaut & Weeks, 1986). Compared to refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand, the Hmong came from more isolated, rural backgrounds, spent on average nearly three years in refugee camps before immigration to the

U.S., had the highest rate of writing illiteracy in their native language, and had the highest

rate of being unable to read the English language, despite being in the U.S. for a similar

length of time as other refugee groups (Rumbaut & Weeks 1986). Hmong also had the

highest unemployment rate, and the least amount of time employed in the U.S. as other

groups. Additionally, Hmong had the highest rate of poverty, the lowest level of car

ownership, and possibly the most significant factor for women, Hmong had the highest rate

of fertility of all groups, at 8.63 children per woman. That these trends continued into the

1980s suggest that Hmong had greater difficulty adapting to U.S. culture compared to other

Southeast Asian groups (Rumbaut & Weeks, 1986).

Hmong in California

In a secondary migration fueled largely by clan ties and social networks, thousands of

Hmong relocated from original receiving cities across the United States to the Central Valley

of California, creating pockets of concentrated Hmong communities from as far north as

Redding to as far south as Fresno and Bakersfield. The Central Valley of California provided

a fortuitous opportunity for Hmong immigrants in the late 1970s and 1980s. Very few

Hmong had migrated to the Central Valley directly from Thailand refugee camps and Laos,

but in 1977, a young, enterprising Hmong man named Dang Moua moved from Virginia to

Merced, California, where he and his family sponsored by an American church (Fadiman,

1997).

Merced is a mid-sized farming town on Highway 99 between Fresno and Sacramento.

Some of the world's best farming ground is around Merced and the rest of the Central Valley

of California. When Dang Moua learned from a clan member in Southern California that

Merced was rich with farming opportunities, he loaded up his family and possessions and

drove west to Merced in Spring 1977 (Fadiman, 1997). Soon after Moua migrated to Merced, he advised his fellow clansmen that Merced was a good place to live. Over the next decade, many Hmong in the United States moved from their sponsored communities in other parts of the country, to the Central Valley of California. The Hmong migrated to the Central Valley to take advantage of the good farmland and warmer climate, less strict welfare regulations, less expensive housing options, the opportunity to reunite with their fellow clansmen. During the 1980s, relatively large communities of Hmong immigrants moved to places like Willows, Oroville, Fresno, and Merced. Once fairly homogeneous small farming towns and working class lumber towns also became home to Hmong refugees and their families.

In 1990, 49,343 people in California identified as Hmong (Pfeifer et al, 2012) and by 2010, just over 91,000 Californians identified as Hmong (US Census Bureau, 2015), an increase of 85% over 20 years. The largest portion of Hmong in California was, and still is, concentrated in the rural Central Valley of California (Pfeifer, 2012; Waters, 1999).

South Oroville, California

The greater Oroville area, in rural northern California, was brought to the attention of the new American government in 1848 by John Bidwell, a farmer who arrived in northern California from Missouri in 1841 as part of the Bidwell-Bartelson Oregon Wagon Train (Hunt, 1942; McGie, 1982). Bidwell was an employee of John Sutter at the time of the finding of gold in the Sacramento area in 1848 (McGie, 1982; Trevino, 1970). Bidwell left Sutter's employ and set off to find his own pot of gold, traveling north of Sacramento until he found the Feather River Canyon. Bidwell found gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, east of modern-day Oroville (McGie, 1956). A small mining town popped up at

the site of Bidwell's gold find (McGie, 1956), but by 1860, most of the town of Bidwell Bar was abandoned, and the county seat formed several miles downriver, in Oroville. Oroville flourished following the local Gold Rush, but soon realized an economic bust that depopulated the town following the drying up of gold veins in the nearby mountains (Trevino, 1970). The timber industry began to grow in Oroville along the Feather River by the mid-1850s, feeding a building industry that was fueled by the Gold Rush that erupted in 1849 in the towns up and down the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, from Oroville to Yosemite (Barnes, 1997). Lumber created an economic boom from the mid-1800s until 1927, when the Hutchinson Mill burned completely, leaving 1,100 employees without jobs and the town of 3,000 nearly destitute (Barnes, 1997). The company abandoned the mill and rebuilt their mill elsewhere.

Oroville was built on three boom and bust industries: mining, lumber, and railroad construction (Barnes, 1997). Each of these industries went through cyclical boom and bust periods from 1848 through the mid-1950s. These boom and bust periods created a population unlike others in the area. All three industries were fed by transient worker populations (Barnes, 1997), who were working class, with labor-intensive skill sets and ideologies. These populations followed the work, especially lumber and railroad workers after large projects were completed or a stand of trees was felled. By the 1950s, Oroville had transitioned through multiple boom and bust periods. To this cycle was added in the 1960s the construction of Oroville Dam.

The biggest economic boom and bust came with the construction of Oroville Dam. After successive devastating floods on the Feather River, which inundated the Oroville area and cities downstream in 1950 and 1955/56, the State of California developed a plan to build

a dam in the foothills to the east of Oroville for flood control, large scale agricultural irrigation, and for domestic water supply. The construction of the dam would create a new boom and bust cycle for Oroville.

In 1955, Oroville was an industrious town with the main industries of logging, construction, and farming. The town was on an upswing in 1960, with a population of 6,115 in the city limits and another 18,219 in the surrounding area (McGie, 1982). In 1957, the State of California began peripheral infrastructure construction on roads and facilities aimed to support the construction of Oroville Dam and Reservoir. From the period of 1959 to 1967, when construction of the dam was completed, thousands of workers and their families descended on the city of Oroville, looking for work (McGie, 1982). Oroville Dam, with a height of 770 feet, a length of over a mile long, and a reservoir shoreline of 167 miles, was completed and filled by 1968. In its wake, Oroville Reservoir displaced hundreds of families and populated the town of Oroville with transient workers who built the dam, and many of the former residents of Bidwell Bar (personal conversation, Wynona Bidwell Buis). There were not enough jobs on the dam to fill the demand from the thousands of workers who moved to Oroville in search of anticipated work on the dam, and as a result, construction of the dam had increased the unemployment 42% between 1959 and 1960, (McGie, 1982), often with their families in tow, to seek work on the dam.

The dam changed Oroville. Prior to the construction of Oroville Dam, Oroville had similar rates of unemployment and poverty as neighboring Chico. But, by 1965, Oroville's unemployment rate had skyrocketed, housing prices fell, tax revenue decreased, and the expected jobs that were supposed to materialize from the construction of the dam never came. Local de-industrialization left the unincorporated area with higher than average rates

of unemployment and female-headed households, along with lower rates of educational attainment (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), especially in South Oroville[1], where many of the workers of the dam settled in the 1960s. Today, South Oroville is home to nearly 1,300 Hmong, which is 22% of the South Oroville population.

South Oroville is an unincorporated area that is adjacent to the most southern street in the city of Oroville: Wyandotte Road. The State of California recently designated South Oroville as a "Disadvantaged Unincorporated Community" (Urrutia, 2014). The community lacks city services such as police and fire service, road repair, sewer systems, or sidewalks. Fewer than half of the homes in South Oroville have sidewalks or gutters (Urrutia, 2014), and more than half the homes in the area between Wyandotte Road and Greenville Street, east of Lincoln Boulevard, have high, gated, chain-linked fences and other theft-deterrent fencing around the entire perimeter of often-unkempt front yards. The area has dilapidated and burned out buildings, including houses and out buildings. Additionally, reported crime is higher in South Oroville than in neighboring City of Oroville and East Oroville (Urrutia, 2014). The area is zoned primarily as residential, and few retail outlets are available in South Oroville for residents.

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[1] Oroville is divided into three census-designated places: East Oroville, South Oroville, and the City of Oroville (downtown). East Oroville is the wealthiest and most highly educated area of the larger Oroville area. The area
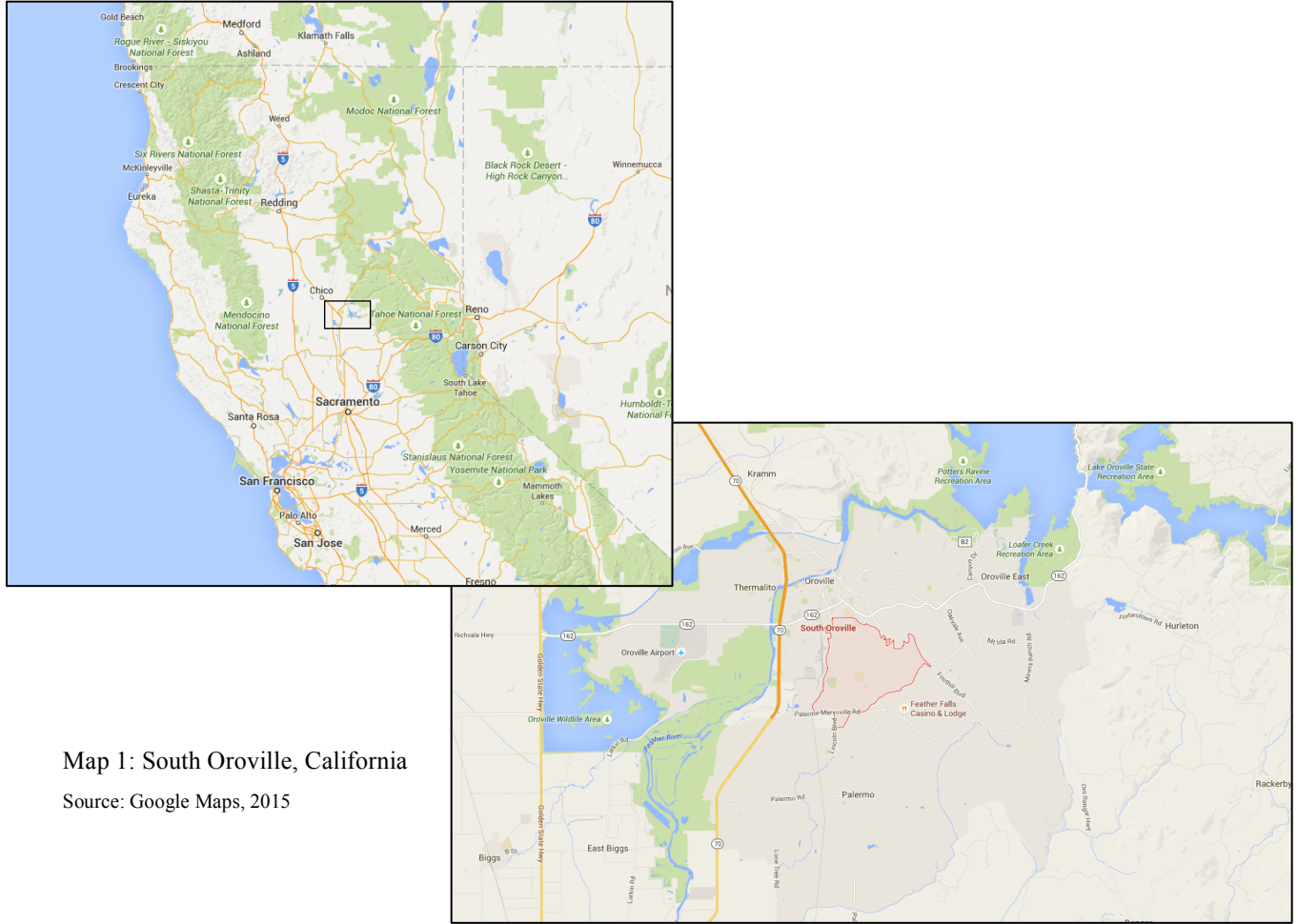
Map 1: South Oroville, California

Source: Google Maps, 2015

The Hmong in South Oroville

Place matters for understanding the socioeconomic status of the Hmong population. South Oroville is economically disadvantaged, compared to the surrounding area, but the Hmong population in South Oroville is even more disadvantaged than the average citizen in South Oroville. At the national level, the Hmong in the U.S. have nearly the same median family income as the U.S. population. However, as Figure 1 shows, the Hmong in South Oroville have significantly lower household incomes than the broader population of Hmong in the U.S., the population of Hmong in California, and the population of South Oroville. The

Hmong in South Oroville have a median family income of about 65% of Hmong in California, but only about 51% of the median family income for all Hmong in the U.S.

Figure 1 Median Household Income for Hmong in U.S., CA, and South Oroville in 2010
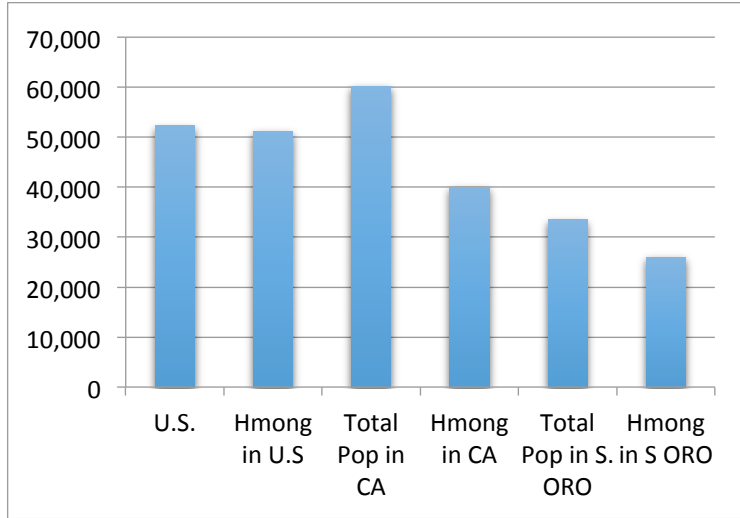
On nearly all socioeconomic indicators, the Hmong in South Oroville stand out as particularly disadvantaged. Figure 2 compares the Hmong population in South Oroville to the U.S. and California populations on several key indicators. In 2013, the poverty rate in South Oroville was nearly twice that of the overall United States population, and nearly twice as high as the rate of poverty in California. Perhaps even more significantly, the poverty rate in South Oroville is even set apart from the surrounding city. Despite the fact that Oroville and South Oroville share roads, and the City of Oroville surrounds parts of South Oroville, the poverty rate in South Oroville is nearly 8% higher in South Oroville than in the City of Oroville. Unemployment among the Hmong in South Oroville is twice as high as the national average, and 55% higher than the Hmong population in California. The Hmong in South Oroville receive food stamp benefits at three times the rate of the Hmong population in the U.S.

Figure 2 Socioeconomic Comparisons of Hmong in the U.S., CA, and South Oroville
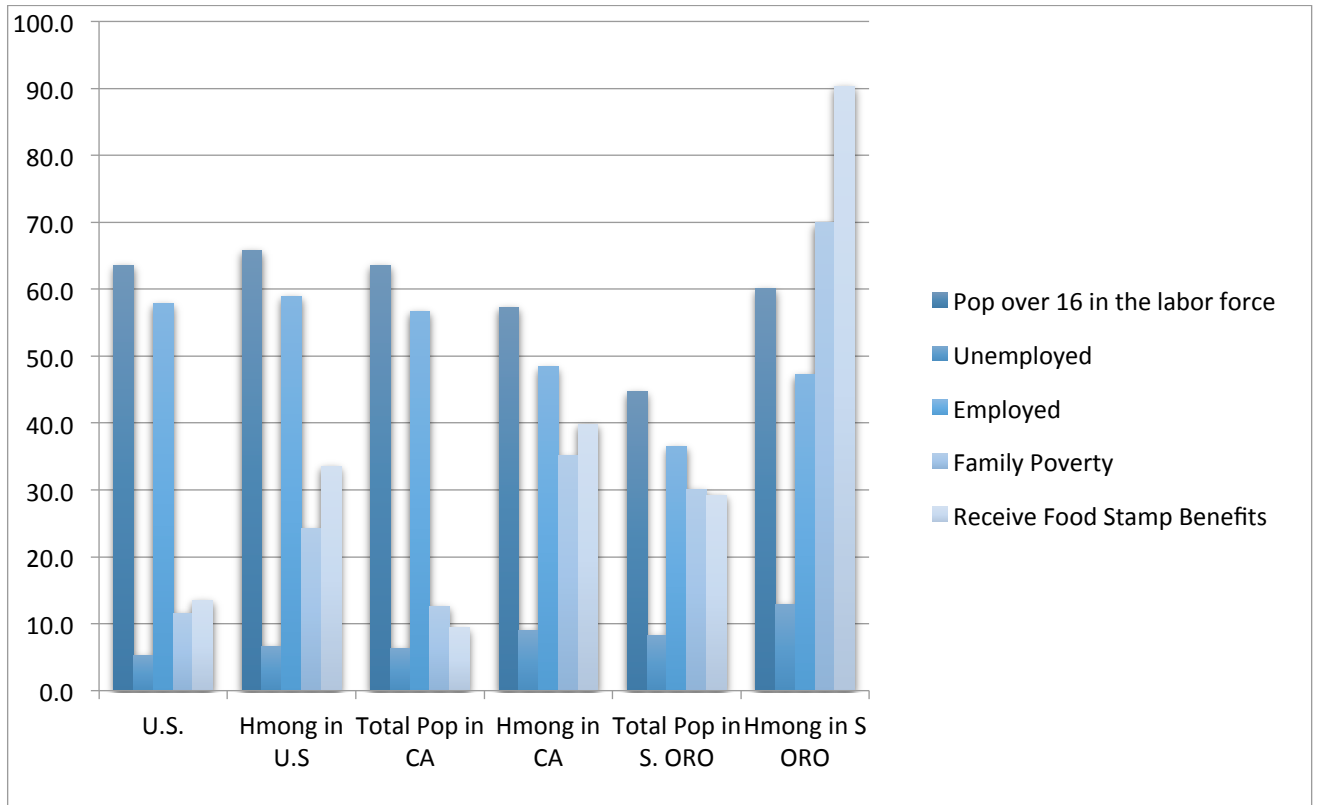
Source: American Community Survey 2013

Poverty is usually correlated with lower rates of educational attainment. Given the extensive socioeconomic disparities between South Oroville and other comparative locations, it could reasonably be expected that educational attainment rates would be lower in South Oroville. As Figure 3 shows, the rate of bachelor's degree attainment in the total population of South Oroville is lower than the surrounding city and the county. Less than 3% of all adults over the age of 25 earned a Bachelor's degree or higher in South Oroville, while 12% had earned a Bachelor's or higher in the City of Oroville, 24% of Butte County had earned a Bachelor's or higher, and just over 30% of all Californians over the age of 25 had earned a Bachelor's degree or higher.

Figure 3 Educational Attainment and Poverty in the U.S., CA, Butte County, Oroville, and South Oroville
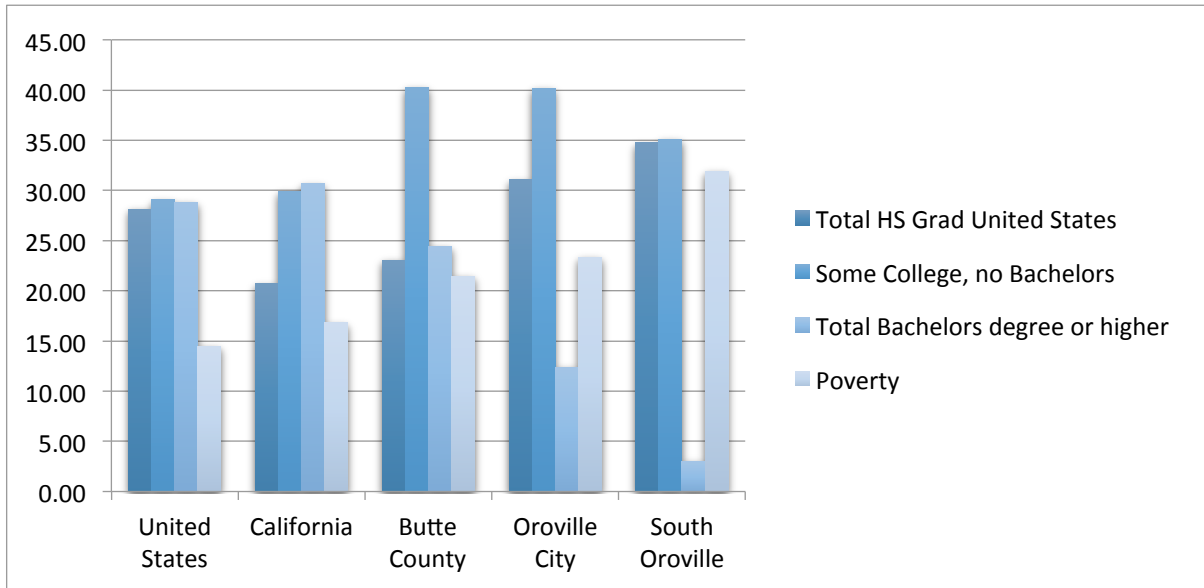
The rates of poverty and educational attainment in South Oroville are dismal, but it is in this regard that the Hmong in South Oroville stand out from other Hmong in the U.S., California and even from native whites. Figure 4[2] allows two comparisons on educational attainment[3]: (a) between first and second-generation Hmong; and (b) between second-generation Hmong and native whites. First, there is clearly a difference in college education attainment between first and second generation Hmong in each geographic area. Second-generation Hmong are attaining education at higher rates than first-generation Hmong. Second, although rates of college education attainment of 18-24 year old whites and Hmong in the United States and California were similar, the rates of college education attainment for whites and Hmong age 18-24 in South Oroville were noticeably different (Figure 4). In South

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[2] Figure 4 compares the college education attainment of White alone and Hmong alone or in any combination in the United States, California, and South Oroville of males and females between the ages of 18-44.

[3] I combined all college attempts and achievement into one variable so that a participant who had attempted any college beyond high school would be included in a new measure titled *college education attainment*.

Oroville, 73% of Hmong males aged 18-24 attempted college, while just over 10% of white males the same age attempted college. Education attempt of females aged 18-24 had similar disparity in South Oroville, where 62% of Hmong females attempted college, but just under 28% of white females attempted college.

Figure 4 College Attempt or Achievement (Attainment) by Race, Age, and Sex in the U.S., CA, and South Oroville
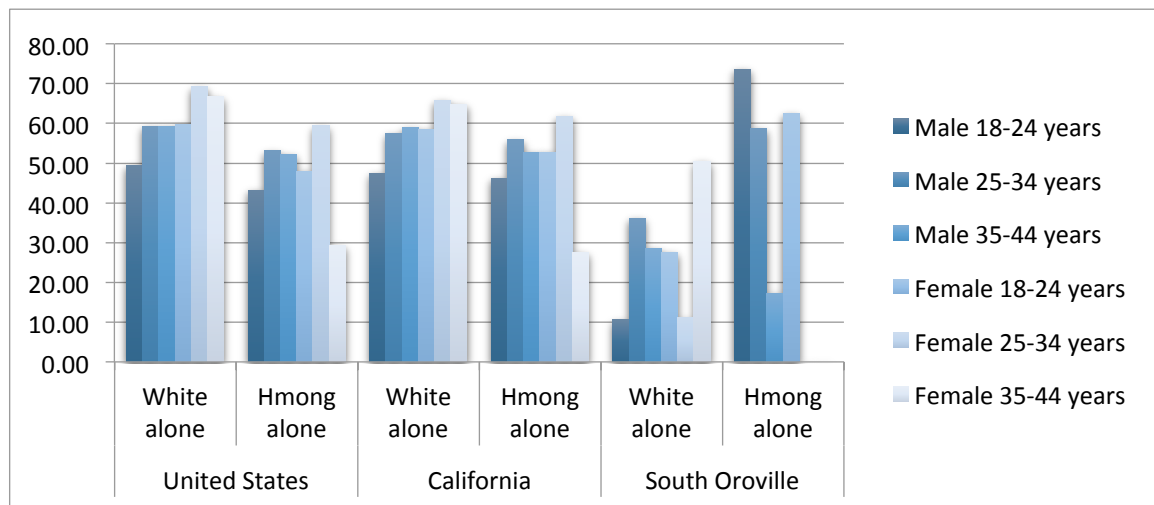
Full Table with values available in the Appendix
Source: American Community Survey, 2013

The second-generation Hmong in South Oroville are distinct. As a further comparison between waves of immigration and education history, I separated age cohorts of 18-24 and 25-34 to capture the education attempts of those Hmong born or educated fully in the United States and the cohort born either in Laos or in Thai refugee camps that may not have been fully educated in the United States. Of the 1,305 Hmong in South Oroville, 372 were foreign born (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 2010). Seventy-five percent of the foreign born population in South Oroville immigrated to the U.S. prior to 2000 (American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). In the 2013 ACS data, anyone over the age

of 34 would have most likely immigrated to the U.S. as an adult or older child, which would mean that they were not fully educated in the United States. Those between the ages of 25-34 likely have mixed education and immigration backgrounds, with some born in the U.S., while others were born in refugee camps. Those aged 24 and under in 2013 would been born in refugee camps or in the U.S., and fully educated in the U.S.

Figure 5 illustrates educational attainment among Hmong between 2000 and 2010. I focused solely on second-generation Hmong immigrants over time, between 2000 and 2010, in South Oroville and the United States. I combined male and female Hmong due to the high attainment of both groups in South Oroville, for better clarity, and to isolate place and wave of immigrant as a factor. Given the history of low education attainment of first generation Hmong but also the short interval in generations of the population, I suspect that there is a significant difference in educational attainment of those immigrants under the age of 35, even within the 10-year span of the U.S. Census data available. While my suspicion for educational attainment of 18-35-year-old Hmong in the U.S. was confirmed and there was an increase in the college attainment of 18-35-year-old Hmong between 2000-2010, in South Oroville, college attainment for 25-34-year-old Hmong decreased in that time span, presumably reflecting a loss of the college educated population due to selective migration to other areas to pursue more economic opportunities.

College attainment of all Hmong in the 18-24-year-old group in the U.S. outpaced the same group in South Oroville in 2000 by almost 10 percentage points. In the same year, 25-34-year-old Hmong in the U.S. had slightly higher levels of college attainment than Hmong in South Oroville. In 2010, college attainment for all Hmong in the U.S. had increased predictably; in South Oroville, the rates, again, were perplexing. The rate of college

attainment for 18-24 year olds had skyrocketed to nearly 70%, but for 25-34 year olds, the overall rate decreased by over 10 percentage points compared to the same age group in South Oroville from 2000. This decrease is particularly troubling since this statistic should represent those individuals who were 18-24 in 2000, who at that time reported that 24% of that age group had some college attainment; by 2010, what should have been the same group of people (aged 10 years) reported only 21% college attainment.

Figure 5 Educational Attainment of all 18-34 year old Hmong in U.S. and South Oroville, 2000-2010
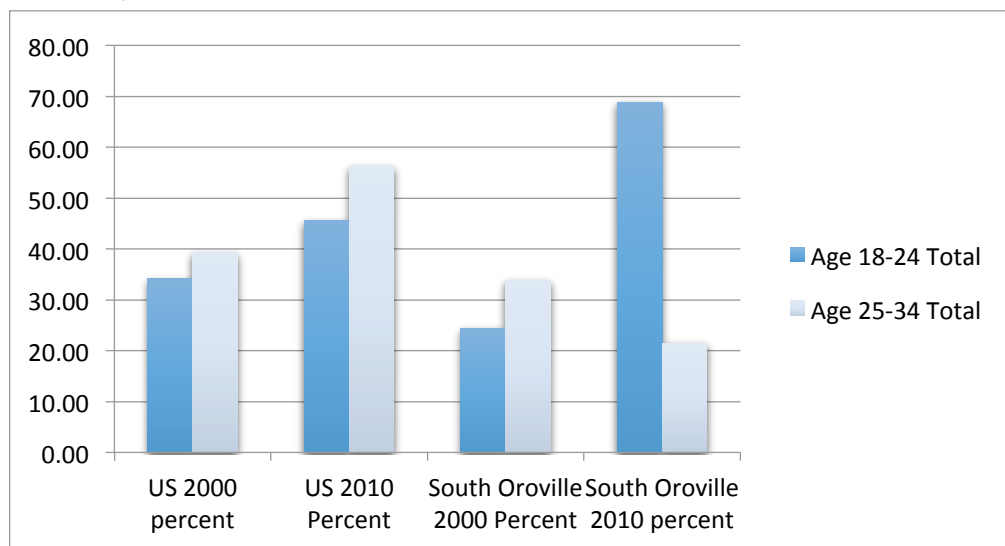
Full Table with values in Appendices
Source: American Community Survey, US Census Bureau, 2013.

Thus, despite high levels of poverty and extremely low levels of first generation educational attainment, second generation Hmong in South Oroville are achieving higher than expected levels of education. What explains this high level of education attainment? Very little is known about the social factors promoting educational attainment in this population or about how second-generation Hmong use their education. What are the predominant motives for achieving such high levels of education in this population: To stay

in place and achieve mobility? To leave? Below, I review key social science theory and

research on the relationships between the ethnic enclave effect and socioeconomic mobility.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical Literature Review

In the early 1980s, in a small farming town in Northern California, where my mother worked at a large grocery store, a young man named Chue[4] became a bagging clerk. Chue was a novelty in the grocery store. He spoke a language none of the other clerks had ever heard, was small in stature, looked slightly Asian, but not the type of Asian the largely White town was used to, and he had a very large extended family. At the same time, the clerks in the store noticed customers who resembled Chue, who spoke what sounded like the same language, and who dressed similarly. Soon, the townspeople became aware of a new population of people who looked like Chue living in there, enrolling in their schools, and walking their streets. The Hmong in Willows had a different social structure than the larger community; they had larger families, lived in multigenerational households, and almost all the Hmong in Willows lived in the same city block, in a large apartment complex. Overtime, the small farming town became an enclave for Hmong immigrants, with 13% of the population of the town of Willows identifying as Hmong by 1993 (R. Shadley, personal communication, 1993). The Hmong in Willows in the early 1980s were one of the first Hmong ethnic enclaves in the area, but they were not the last. The Hmong in Willows that my mother met were my first introduction to Hmong culture, and also Hmong clan social structure, which was distinctly differently than other racial and ethnic groups in Northern California.

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[4] Chue is a pseudonym

The Hmong are a clan-based culture, with eighteen clans and clan names[5] passed down from generation to generation through a patrilineal structure (Moua, 2003). The Hmong clan structure is a strong influence on social organization (Hamilton-Merrit, 1993, p. 6; Lo, 2001, p. 26) in Southeast Asia. Clan members feel a deep obligation to members of the same clan but seek out other clans for spouses (Moua, 2003). Given the deep obligation clan members feel toward the extended clan and a strict norm against exogamy (Moua, 2003), different clans stay together in close proximity to each other. The Hmong culture emphasizes obligation to the patrilineal clan first, then the nuclear family.

In South Oroville, traditional Hmong clan structure coupled with an outflow of native whites (i.e., "white flight") resulted in an ethnic enclave of Hmong. In 2010, the U.S. Census data revealed a trend that was more pronounced in South Oroville than the surrounding area and the overall U.S. population. As Figure 6 shows, a 'White-flight' had occurred in South Oroville between 2000 and 2010, leaving a higher concentration of Hmong in the wake. The white population had fallen by nearly 10% between 2000 and 2010 in South Oroville. While the surrounding communities of the City of Oroville and Chico had lost people who identified as White only, the rate of decrease of 2-3% was similar to the overall United States population loss of White only identifiers. In the same decade, South Oroville had three times the loss of Whites of any other comparison area. At the same time, the "other Asian[6]" category increased 7 times more than the overall U.S. population for "other Asians". By 2013, the population in South Oroville had fallen to 5,742 with 1,305 Hmong, which constituted 22% of the South Oroville population.

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[5] Hmong clan names: Cha/Chang, Cheng, Chue, Fang, Hang, Her, Kha/Khang, Kong, Kue, Lee/Ly, Lo/Lor/Lao, Moua, Pha, Thao, Vang, Vu/Vue, Xiong, Yang (Moua, 2003).

[6] Hmong are included by the Census Bureau as "other Asian".

Figure 6 Population Change in Percent by Race in the U.S., CA, Butte County, Oroville, and South Oroville

	U.S. 2000-2010	CA 2000-2010	Butte County 2000-2010	Oroville 2000-2010	South Oroville 2000-2010
White	-2.70	-1.90	-2.60	-2.00	-9.80
Black or African American	0.30	-0.50	0.20	-1.10	2.20
American Indian/Alaska Native	0.00	0.00	0.10	-0.20	0.30
Asian	1.20	2.10	0.80	1.70	2.70
Other Asian*	0.20	0.40	0.50	1.00	2.80
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Some other race	0.70	0.20	0.70	0.80	2.50
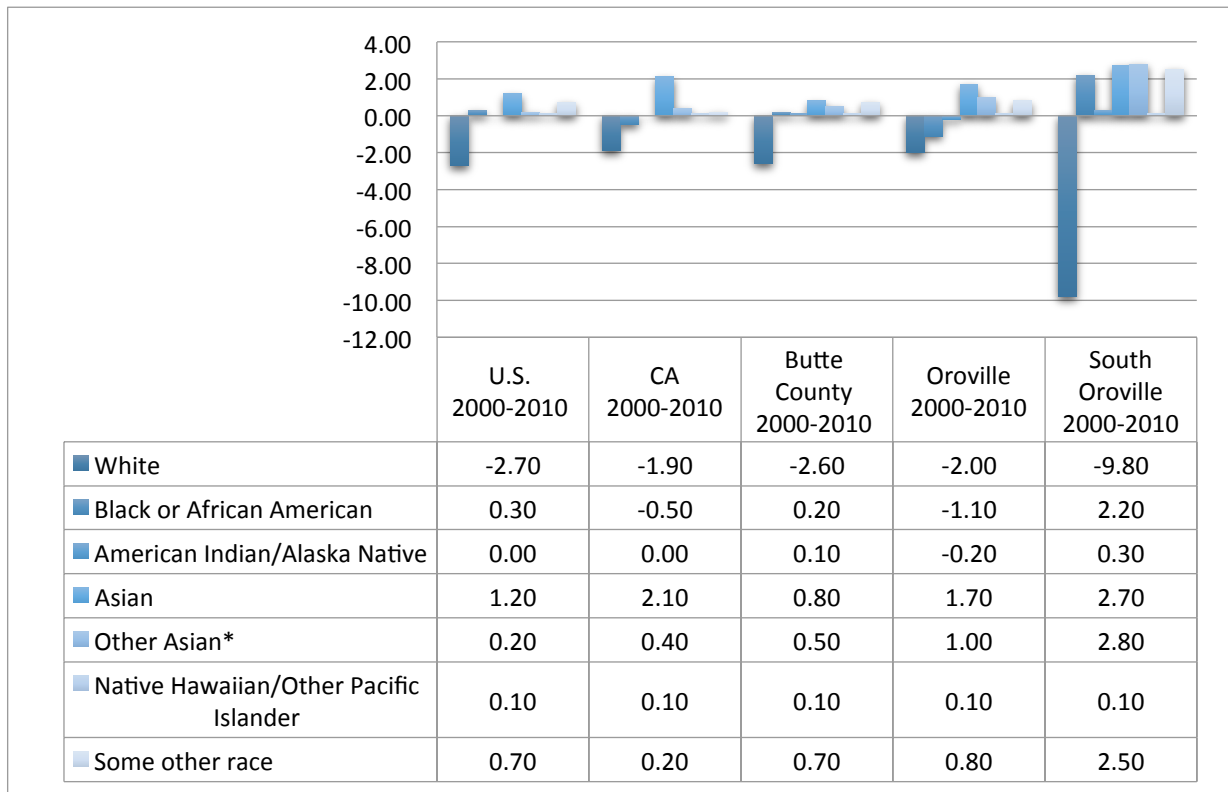
How does an ethnic enclave formed by a long-term process of immigrant inflows and 'white flight' influence socioeconomic mobility and integration of second generation Hmong? Beginning with socioeconomic mobility, I review the role of the ethnic enclave in socioeconomic mobility among immigrant populations, and follow up with a theoretical framework linking the social structure of ethnic enclaves to socioeconomic mobility. I then move into a review of a key typology of the 'rural brain drain,' including its causes and consequences for rural communities, with a focus on how it may help us understand how Hmong in South Oroville use their education.

Question 1: What Explains Educational Attainment Among Hmong In South Oroville?

The Role of Ethnic Enclaves in Socioeconomic Mobility

Socioeconomic mobility in places with ethnic enclaves is different than in places where immigrants are more dispersed socially and spatially (Wilson & Portes, 1980). Some studies of ethnic enclaves have found positive outcomes for socioeconomic mobility in ethnic enclaves (Portes et al, 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Wilson & Portes, 1980), while others have found negative outcomes for socioeconomic mobility (Gronqvist, 2006; MacKinnon & Parent, 2010).

On the one hand, by shielding members of the enclave, the enclave insulates second-generation children from discrimination from the dominant culture "while reinforcing the authority of parental views and plans" (Portes & Zhou, 1993). The second-generation of an immigrant population who is insulated in an ethnic enclave has the benefit of dominant culture resources like schools and libraries, but is protected from discrimination at almost every level of interaction. Portes et al (2005) revisited this "insulating" effect of enclaves, and found that immigrants ensconced in ethnic enclaves are more insulated from discrimination from dominant white populations in neighborhoods and schools where children look like they do, speak the same language, and have the same norms.

The Hmong ethnic enclave in South Oroville makes it possible for residents to attend fully Hmong religious services, shop at Asian grocery stores, live in neighborhoods dominated by Hmong children and families, and attend primary schools where, due to relatively large family sizes (family size of 6.23 for South Oroville Hmong; family size of

3.22 for the total South Oroville population in 2010) and a low median age compared to the

total South Oroville population (18.5 years for Hmong; 30 years for the total population),

schools are likely dominated by Hmong students. Ethnic enclaves also provide networks that

assist individuals in their transition to the dominant culture (Portes & Zhou, 1993) and

networks that aid in economic mobility (Portes & Shafer, 2006; Wilson & Portes, 1980).

Portes et al (2005, p. 1013) found positive outcomes of the enclave effect, concluding that

first generation immigrants can have more influence on the children's social and school life

in the enclave. Additionally, the immigrant culture lasts longer, and can be reproduced in the

second generation in an ethnic enclave. Finally, those second generation populations who are

in rural areas are not as influenced by negative behavior such as gang and drug activity like

other second generation immigrants who move to poverty-stricken inner city centers. Strong,

dense social networks that work to support parental influence on second-generation

immigrants can help the second generation overcome barriers to adaptation (Portes et al,

2005, p. 1013).

On the other hand, some studies have found negative socioeconomic outcomes for

immigrants in ethnic enclaves, due to the effect of the enclave (Gronqvist, 2006; MacKinnon

& Parent, 2010). MacKinnon and Parent (2010) found that Franco-American assimilation

was delayed due to the culture clinging more tightly to their French culture and being

exposed less to the native culture. This delay resulted in lower rates of educational attainment

for the Franco-American population. Educational attainment also appeared to be negatively

affected for those who grow up in thick ethnic enclaves (Gronqvist, 2006), although there

was not a significant difference in annual earnings for those in an ethnic enclave compared to

those who were not.

What is it about the social structure of the ethnic enclave that would explain the variation between different ethnic enclaves, but also the difference between socioeconomic mobility of those in ethnic enclaves, and those not in ethnic enclaves? Three elements of social structure work in conjunction that might explain this variation in socioeconomic mobility. First, the *salience of the ethnic enclave identity* influences the magnitude of effect the enclave has on its inhabitants. Some ethnic enclaves have thick social identities, while others have thin social identities (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007, p. 86). Thick ethnic identities "comprehensively organize social life" while thin ethnic identities "minimally organize social life" (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p. 86). Cornell and Hartmann (2007) point to three types of bonds that make an ethnicity more salient: shared interests, shared institutions, and shared culture. The first generation Hmong in South Oroville have a thick ethnicity, with daily life largely centered on Hmong social institutions including churches, social organizations, and multigenerational household structure.

Second, the degree to which daily life is organized by the ethnicity works in conjunction with the *composition of the enclave*. Menjivar (2006) argues that the low socioeconomic status of an ethnic group might weaken the ethnicity when new immigrants cannot rely on their impoverished ethnic group to provide support for their resettlement efforts (p. 1023) due to reciprocity expectations that often cannot be repaid, causing members of the ethnicity to seek assistance elsewhere. Menjivar found that when new immigrants sought the church for financial support when government assistant fell short of need and families could not provide assistance due to their own poverty, the ties within the ethnic enclave weakened. Wilson and Portes (1980), found "reciprocal obligations attached to a common ethnicity" (p. 315) in a thick ethnic enclave might explain why members of ethnic

groups seek out or return to enclaves, where immigrants are given preference in employment opportunities and where immigrant businesses are given preference by the ethnic members. Drawing from Menjivar, Wilson and Portes, we might conclude that members of an ethnic group who can rely on others in the ethnicity would tend to seek out others in the ethnicity, and strengthen the ethnicity over time. Simply put: if members can rely on each other to get their needs met, they will seek each other out before they seek out non-members of the ethnicity; this will strengthen the networks within the ethnicity and make it more valuable to its members, and make its influence on those in the ethnicity greater.

Third, the *density and size of the enclave* plays a significant role in determining the ethnic enclave effect. Granovetter (2005) concludes that high "network density" and smaller sized enclaves weed out "free riding" thought that is contrary to the ethnicity's values, and reinforce the value messages and norms of the ethnicity in multiple pathways with redundant messages (p. 34). Cornell and Hartmann (2007) argue that population size is contextual; what might be not enough of an ethnic group in a large city, might be enough to maintain an ethnic enclave in a rural area (p. 218). What seems to be the most important balance here, is the density of the group that consists of a size (whether in a rural or urban area changes this number) where the ethnicity can be maintained without high levels of out-marriage (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007), while maintaining cultural barriers to keep contrary values out of the area.

Given these three elements of social structure, the ethnic enclave effect on socioeconomic mobility varies. In the study, aspects of these elements are somewhat explained through the research with the Census data and previous knowledge of the geographic area. We know that the Hmong population has very few economic resources,

which, according to Menjivar (2006), might work to weaken the enclave effect, but South Oroville does have other types of resources that might be a substitute for financial resources. Hmong families in South Oroville expect extended family members to provide childcare, elder care, housework, and cooking duties to extended family members (Lo, 2014; personal communication, Wendy Lee, 8/26/2015). We also know that although this particular sub-group of Hmong in South Oroville is relatively small (1,305 in 2013), that the network density of the group in the rural area is high. I expected that due to this density, the research would find that similar messages of norms and values will come from many avenues in South Oroville, just as Granovetter (2005) posits for other enclaves.

The research sought to answer the following question: what role do the cultural values (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007) within the group, as transmitted from the 1st generation to the 2nd generation, play in understanding the high rate of educational attainment in the 2nd generation in South Oroville?

Question 2: How do Hmong in South Oroville Use Education?

Along with white flight from South Oroville, which contributed to a thicker ethnic enclave, another notable pattern of migration occurred between 2000 and 2010 in South Oroville. Although there was not a sharp decrease in the Hmong population overall in South Oroville, there appears to be a "missing" cohort of Hmong men aged 25-34 in South Oroville. In 2000, there were 89 Hmong males between the ages of 15 and 24; in 2010, only were 34 Hmong males between the ages of 25 and 34. What happened to these males? Conversely, there were 31 Hmong females in South Oroville between the ages of 15 and 24 in 2000, and 59 25-34 Hmong females in 2010. As already described above, the rate of educational attainment in the cohort that would have been 25-34 years old in 2000 decreased

between 2000 and 2010, indicating that the educated Hmong males left South Oroville in a similar brain drain or ethnic flight pattern of the Whites in the town.

Population change in a community is often created by an array of push and pull factors both in the community and in other areas. Two types of decrease occur on a gradual basis in rural communities in the United States (Johnson, 2002; Kandel & Cromartie, 2004): natural decrease and white flight. Natural decrease at the county level in the United States has been a fairly recent phenomenon, which began slowly in post-World War II, and increased from just a few counties across the U.S. to just under 500 in 1989, then nearly doubled to 985 counties experiencing natural decrease in 2002 (Johnson, 2002, p. 79). Counties of natural decrease are largely clustered in geographically specific areas of the rural, "agricultural areas of the Great Plains, the western and southern Corn Belt, east and central Texas, as well as in the Ozark-Ouchita Uplands" (p. 79). Other areas of natural decrease have the commonality of lost natural resource jobs in mining and timber, lost industry, and lost jobs in agriculture. Areas of natural increase are largely metropolitan areas across the U.S.

Natural decrease occurred historically among white, non-Hispanic populations due to high death rates in aging populations, out-migration of young adults, and decreasing fertility rates in non-metro counties of the U.S. Counties with historical trends of natural decrease have a lower incidence of people aged 20-50, and a higher than average number of people over the age of 50. The cumulative effect of these three factors of fertility, mortality, and migration is a natural decrease in the population. Prolonged natural decrease results in a loss of human capital and leaves affected areas unsustainable over time (Johnson, 2002).

A countertrend to the white, non-Hispanic natural decrease trend is that of minority groups, particularly Hispanic groups, who have, in recent decades, migrated from gateway metropolitan cities to rural, small towns across the country (Kandel & Cromartie, 2004, p. 11). The re-population of rural areas with racial and ethnic minorities has helped sustain rural areas with new populations attending schools, filling jobs, and supporting ancillary businesses that support families and workers. New migration patterns of racial and ethnic minority populations to rural areas in America since 1980 have helped slow the negative impact of the hemorrhaging of young, rural populations, and has helped maintain rural towns across the country (Kandel & Cromartie, 2004).

While this migration pattern has somewhat reversed the rapid population decline of some rural areas due to both migration and higher fertility rates of Latino immigrants compared to white, non-Hispanics, a reactionary trend of white-flight occurred as minority groups moved into rural areas and became more salient in rural, historically white communities.

White-flight is distinct from natural decrease of whites. White-flight is a reactionary migration pattern to a change in social structure while natural decrease is a proactive migration pattern for whites to seek more or better education or employment opportunities. White-flight might be seen as whites being pushed out of their towns by increased ethnic salience, while natural decrease is in part fueled by the pull of opportunities elsewhere.

White-flight occurs when a neighborhood or geographic area experiences selective out-migration of the native, white population due to the increase of in-migration of immigrant populations and also due to immigrant populations immigrating en masse to new neighborhoods, or seeking out other immigrants in an attempt to ease the transition of

migration (Hall & Crowder, 2014). The phenomena of white flight and natural decrease have significant effect on both the native and minority population left behind (Hall & Crowder, 2014), and the rural area itself (Kandel & Cromartie, 2004). This trend can have positive or negative effects for the racial or ethnic minority population left behind, including insulation from the dominant culture which can be either positive or negative, negative political backlash, and difficulty navigating local institutions (Hall & Crowder, 2014), but leaves rural areas potentially unsustainable when the population decreases with no replacement population stepping in to replace the white, native population or when the minority population selectively migrates out of the rural area as well. Analysis of Census data of second generation Hmong in South Oroville indicates this new trend in rural migration, which began with natural decrease and white flight, followed by the trend of minority populations repopulating South Oroville, and now, the third trend is the selective migration of educated rural minority populations out of rural areas, into other areas, or brain drain.

Brain Drain – The Carr-Kefalas Typology

The most pressing negative outcome of both natural population decrease and white-flight is brain drain, or the loss of the most promising young people in a rural population. What influences young people in rural areas to stay or leave their rural area? In an influential recent study, Carr and Kefalas (2009) argue that it is the messages from the community, both overt and covert, transmitted to each person, opportunities granted or denied, and social networks available to each person based on socioeconomic status and perceived potential, that influence a young person's decision to either stay or go. The influence of the community comes from many individuals, including teachers, principals, school counselors, peers, and

parents (Carr & Kefalas, 2009). Carr and Kefalas conclude that different expectations exist for each person; some people, from a very young age, are seen as having a high level of academic achievement and promise, and those in the community recognize that. When promising youth are identified, they are given more opportunities for achievement, given more leniencies when they break the rules of the culture, and encouraged to go to college more regularly than children who are identified as having low achievement. Children identified as trouble makers, as poor students, or even average students, are given fewer opportunities for achievement, are forced to comply fully with behavior expectations, and are even more likely to be blamed for wrong doing than children who are identified as more promising. Because of the encouragement that high achieving children receive and the discouragement and criticism that low achieving children receive, they take different paths in education and in pursuing opportunities outside of the rural areas where they were raised.

To test this hypothesis, Carr and Kefalas (2009) investigated the paths young adults chose after high school in an agro-industrial area of rural Iowa. Carr and Kefalas found that young adults follow four patterns of migration and categorized youth based on these migration patterns: achievers, stayers, seekers, and returners. The achievers are those who are encouraged by their community to leave their small towns to earn college degrees and employment in metropolitan areas in successful careers. Achievers are singled out by teachers and parents as the chosen few, given messages of high expectations and encouragement to seek education and occupations elsewhere. Stayers are those people who receive messages from their community that college is not for them, and that their destiny is to stay in their hometown after high school. Stayers transition to adult roles earlier than others, taking on jobs, spouses, and children. Stayers enter industrial and service industry

jobs that have little room for advancement, and soon realize that not having a college degree inhibits their earnings and opportunities. The seekers are those people who cannot afford college, but want to see the world. They are the people not content with staying in their small hometowns, and instead, want to see the world. Seekers are "neither the best or worst students, they are also not the most affluent or the poorest" (p. 22). Seekers leave their small towns through avenues such as the military. Returners are people who leave their small towns after high school in pursuit of college opportunities, but then return either as High-Flyers or as Boomerangs. Returning High-Flyers are those individuals who earn their college degrees, then return to their hometowns to start businesses and contribute to the economic wellbeing and structure of the small town. Returners who are Boomerangs leave their small towns to pursue college degrees, but during that time, become disillusioned with life outside of their hometowns and return. Many young people return from the military as Boomerangs, as do community college graduates, and more women than women fit this typology. Returners are anxious to start a real job, and adult life, and move back to their hometowns to accomplish this.

Carr and Kefalas (2009) claim that as a result of these different migration patterns, a gradual brain drain is happening in rural, agro-industrial areas across the United States. This brain drain has a "zero-sum" outcome, where the metropolitan areas are benefitting from the rural youth exodus while the rural areas are in an unsustainable downward spiral that leaves a shortage of educated professionals to replace the aging population in those areas. Brain drain leaves an aging population with declining school enrollment, increased poverty, and increased social isolation (p. 109).

Analysis of the South Oroville Hmong population suggests an ethnic brain drain might be occurring. There was a decrease in the age group of 25-34-year-old males between 2000 and 2010, and also a decrease in the education level of the same group, compared to ten years prior. What explains this change in population composition?

Theories of brain drain focus on the phenomena of young adults selectively migrating from rural areas to more urban centers (Carr & Kefalas, 2009; Fiore et al, 2015; Petrin, Schafft, & Meece, 2014; Sherman & Rayna, 2011) to seek greater educational and employment opportunities. These young adults are the second generation and beyond of rural communities; they are young adults born and raised in rural areas but due to changing rural economies, must seek work elsewhere (Sherman & Rayna, 2011). The migration patterns of the Hmong into the United States and to the Central Valley of California are now producing a second generation that is just now fully educated in the United States, and coming into young adulthood. The Carr-Kefalas typology has not been applicable to this population previously, but now might shed light on why there is a decrease in educated second-generation Hmong in South Oroville.

The research applies the Carr-Kefalas brain drain typology to the Hmong, an ethnic group not previously studied using this approach. There is very little prior research in this area. I am not aware of any other studies that have analyzed the issue of brain drain in rural ethnic and racial populations. The findings from this research help us better understand the Hmong, but also help inform research on other rural minority populations as well, as there has been a movement of other racial and ethnic minorities from urban areas to rural areas since 1980 (Kandel & Cromartie, 2004). This means that other rural, ethnic minorities are

now coming into their second generation as well, and might be experiencing similar

dynamics as second generation Hmong Americans.

Chapter 3 - Methods

This study explored two fundamental questions: (1) How does the ethnic enclave influence education attainment; and (2) How do second generation Hmong use their education? To answer these questions, loosely-structured interviews and semi-structured interviews were employed. Interviews are the best research method for "understanding meaning, lived experience…and for understanding decision-making processes" (Gordon, 2016, p. 27). Interviews also help the researcher "better understand some aspect of the social world from the perspective of the research participants, to see the world as they see it, and to understand that perspective in great depth…[interviews] are best used for studying what goes on in people's heads: their perceptions, interpretations, meanings, and experiences of the social world, as well as their motivations and feelings" (Gordon, 2016, p. 4).

The two primary research questions sought different types of information from the respondent, and thus, required different qualitative approaches. The question of how the ethnic enclave influences or motivates education attainment is a question that sought new, largely unknown and unknowable information from respondents. This inductive approach required observation at its base, followed by the "discovery of a pattern" (Babbie, 1998, p. 35) in the data. This type of reasoning assumed that patterns exist that we might not have known before. Since we did not yet know if patterns existed in the enclave that might explain education attainment, inductive methods were most appropriate for this question. The first method, loosely-structured interviews, sought to discover patterns that might exist by beginning with a general topic, and using the respondent's answers to guide the course of the interview and topics that might be important in answering the research question (Gordon,

2016, p. 23). This inductive, qualitative design allowed me to investigate the role of the transmission of values, beliefs, and norms received by the second generation, and therefore better understand why some second generation Hmong attended college. Using this inductive approach, the goal was not necessarily to test a hypothesis, but to uncover new information and patterns from the lived experiences and narratives of study participants.

The second question required a more structured approach to investigate how the Carr-Kefalas typology fit how second generation Hmong use their education. To facilitate this inquiry, semi-structured interviews were conducted of second generation Hmong in South Oroville. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews assisted in guiding the interview topics in "a relatively organized flow of topics" (Scott & Garner, 2012, p. 283) while allowing for the researcher to ensure participants responded to research themes (Scott & Garner, 2012). The semi-structured interview also allowed more depth in responses, and follow up questions to get a better understanding of the responses. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to develop an in-depth picture of the respondent's history and beliefs, in addition to behavior (Schutt, 2009) that explained how respondents use their education.

Together, these methods of interviewing allowed me to investigate what in the ethnic enclave influences and motivates some second generation Hmong to decide to pursue higher education, and how and why participants use their education.

Data Collection

To facilitate the interview process and to identify possible interview subjects, convenience sampling and snowball sampling was used (Berg, 2004, p. 35). The university where I work has a significant Hmong student population, with two Hmong student organizations including the Hmong Student Association office, which has 386 members as of

December 2015 and Leaders for a Lifetime, with 21 active members in Fall 2015. In addition to student organizations, I have personal and professional associations with individuals who fit the population of the study and who are in contact with other Hmong individuals from the target population in the form of siblings, cousins, friends, and other relatives. Known prospective participants were contacted by email and in person to inquire about their interest in participating in the study; additional potential participants were contacted through known participants in a snowball-sampling model.

I completed a total of 16 interviews. All participants were either born in the United States, or immigrated to the United States before the age of 5 years. The age of the participants varied greatly, with the oldest participant 39 years old and the youngest 19. The average age of the population was just over 25 years old. All were raised for the entirety or for a majority of their childhood in South Oroville. All students attended elementary and middle school in the greater Oroville area and attended either Las Plumas High School or Oroville High School. Eleven participants discussed their religion and identified as either Shaman or Christian, with the distribution of each fairly equal with 8 identifying as Shaman and 7 identifying as Christian. I began to reach saturation of information after ten or so interviews, and reached saturation by the 14th interview, which is consistent with previous studies with similar populations. Thao (2015) interviewed 12 members of the Hmong community and Lor (2008) interviewed 18 Hmong participants to answer questions pertaining to Hmong educational attainment. Lor reached a point of saturation with these respondents (Lor, 2008, p. 39).

On initial contact, participants were contacted via email and in person and were asked if they would like to participate in a one-time interview project about educational attainment

of second generation Hmong in South Oroville. Interested participants were provided with an Informed Consent document written in English that provided the title of the study, explanation that the study was research, purpose of the research, the procedures of the research, the risks or discomforts of participation, measures taken to ensure confidentiality of the participant, explained the participant's rights to terminate participation at any time during the project without penalty, and contact information of the Primary Investigator and the Kansas State University Institutional Review Board. This study used the Informed Consent template available through the KSU Institutional Review Board website.

Methods and Measurements

Interviews were conducted one two to days per week, with one to two interviews per day over a three-month period from April to July 2016. Interviews began with loosely-structured interviews, followed in the same session by semi-structured interviews, with digital audio recording using a Sony digital recorder to accurately record the participants' words (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) and pick up the mood and inflections in the words to reflect each respondent's intended expressions. Sparse notes with paper and pen were taken during each interview. After each interview, the primary researcher spent 30-60 minutes to writing expanded field notes on the interview, recording personal impressions of the participant, relationships that emerged between other participants, trends in data, and thematic trends.

The interviews took place on the Chico State campus in private conference rooms as made available to the researcher, at the offices of several of the participants, at one coffee shop in Chico, one coffee shop in Oroville, and once, via Skype. I gave each participant

discretion in choosing an interview location with the primary goal of making the participant comfortable to answer the interview questions effectively (David & Sutton, 2011, p. 126).

A folder was maintained for each participant to facilitate organization; the folders were kept in a locked file cabinet in the primary researcher's office for the duration of the study. Each folder included the participant's signed informed consent form, expanded field notes, transcripts of the interview, copies of transcripts annotated by the primary researcher, and narrative of the interview written by the primary researcher. A standardized, self-reported, face sheet was prepared for each participant that recorded the participant's name, topic of interview, date, and demographic information including age, sex, marital status, education level, and number of children (Lofland et al, 2005). Additionally, demographic information was collected including age and current education attainment to confirm the participant was a member of the target population, and education goals and occupation goals to analyze patterns in socioeconomic attainment as they relate to the thematic inquires.

Each interview lasted between 45 and 120 minutes. The interview questions touched on three themes: the perception of the importance of education in the ethnic enclave, measures the enclave provided that facilitated or impeded educational attainment, and ideas about how each participant plans to use their education.

Analysis

Due to the time frame of the interview process, which lasted approximately 10 weeks, transcribing of the interviews happened after all of the interviews were complete, in a two-week period. Eleven of the audio recordings were transcribed by the primary researcher, and five were transcribed by a research assistant. Each audio file was transcribed using Sony's Sound Organizer software, which allowed for the speed of the recording to be adjusted to the

transcriptionist's typing speed. Each transcript was transcribed using Google Docs, which auto-saved during transcribing. After each transcript was complete, I listened to the audio file a second time to review for accuracy, and made revisions as necessary (Lofland et al, 2005)

Each transcript was printed and read again, line by line. I focused on the first research question in the initial analysis. I began coding using a priori codes (Gordon, 2016, p. 52) surrounding family and clan values and transmission of values and expectations that I expected due to the theories examined in the literature review and themes investigated in the interview protocol. I used the printed transcripts, pen, and highlighters of varying colors to identify concepts of enclave salience, composition, and density from the ethnic enclave effect theory. I highlighted each instance of each concept in different highlight colors, then used pens to make notes and code in the margins next to concepts. Once I identified concepts of the ethnic enclave theory, I began open coding (Gordon, 2016), searching for key words and phrases within the text that occurred repeatedly in the interviews that might explain educational attainment. On the first pass of the transcripts, I found that Upward Bound, government funded financial aid to pay for college expenses, parental and sibling expectations, and family activities were discussed at length in multiple interviews and appeared to shape aspirations for educational attainment.   Consistent with an ethnic enclave effect, I found that participants interacted regularly with other members of the enclave, and heard consistent messages and similar narratives within the enclave regarding education. I repeatedly heard similar stories of educational expectations from siblings, parents, cousins, clan members, and from the outside influences of Upward Bound and government funded financial aid. The open-coded factors helped me identify the larger themes of the results, which I identified as factors that originated *outside* of the enclave that influenced educational

attainment and factors that originated *within* the enclave that influenced educational

attainment. Focused-coding (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) helped me identify and narrow down

factors that originated outside of the enclave, including college recruitment and retention

programs during elementary and high school, support from teachers and counselors in public

schools, financial aid support from grants and scholarships, and proximity to college

campuses. Focused-coding also helped me identify factors that originated within the family

and enclave that supported the participant's educational goals including parental

expectations, sibling expectations and support, financial support, networking within the

enclave, housing while in college, and other, various self-identified methods of assistance.

To answer the questions of how participants use their education, I used a priori

coding to explore patterns based on Carr and Kefalas' typology: achievers, stayers, seekers,

and returners. Pen and paper were used to identify key words and phrases associated with

Carr-Kefalas including language that indicated when the participant planned to begin a

family, how soon and in what field the participant planned to work, migration away from or

eventually back to their home town, and what motivation participants had for making

decisions about college and work. I expected the Carr-Kefalas model to hold for this

population, with those seeking higher educational attainment having been mentored from a

young age by teachers and the community, followed by a path to college, and then exit from

the enclave. I expected some participants to be seekers, who would leave the enclave in

search of alternative opportunities not tied to college education; some would be stayers, who

did not pursue a college education and stayed in the enclave; and some would be either high-

flying or boomerang returners after going out into the world to make careers for themselves,

then return to the enclave to support the community. On the first review of the data, I found

two consistent pathways: returning to the enclave after graduation, and using education to benefit the family, clan, and enclave. I highlighted each pathway in a different color and annotated in the margins of the written transcripts what each quote was an example of.

When all transcripts were coded, I identified specific quotes from participants based on codes that included density and size of the enclave, composition of the enclave, salience of the enclave, parental and sibling influence, influence of violence and subsequent isolation in the enclave, segregation of races and ethnicities in the enclave, post education pathways, then applied them to the paper by comparing the annotated paper copies with the digital file of the transcripts, and copying and pasting the quotes into the digital file of the study. As I used each quote, I circled, then drew a line through the quote on the paper copies to prevent duplicate use of quotes in the results. Additionally, I highlighted the utilized quotes in the digital files to indicate they had already been used in the paper. Together, this analysis allowed me to identify patterns in the transcripts that contributed to educational attainment and apply them to the results section in an organized manner.

Chapter 4 – Results

Results of the Interviews

Insights from the interviews strongly supported the frameworks I developed in the literature review, although the data took me to areas that refined and extended some aspects of these frameworks.   In this section, I use the theoretical framework to organize my discussion of the results. I begin by focusing on the ethnic enclave effect.

Ethnic enclave theory contends that the influence of an enclave on its members is dependent on the salience, composition, and density of network ties of the enclave. Enclaves have more influence on individual outcomes when ethnicity strongly organizes daily activities (i.e., high salience), the composition of resources is richer, and network ties are denser. As hypothesized, the ethnic enclave theory strongly explained educational attainment in this population. The interviews revealed a high degree of a sense of ethnicity in the respondents, and a high level of influence of the ethnicity on the participants. The participants reported very little influence from the non-Hmong population due to the highly dense population structure, exhibited a high level of salience due to this structure, and reported that the composition of the enclave provided resources that made it beneficial and easy to stay within the enclave.

As expected from the literature review, the structure and function of the enclave acted as a shield or as protection from dominant culture discrimination and negative influences. Additionally, the structure of the enclave created a culture where the influence of the first generation on the beliefs and norms of the second generation was exceptionally high. This insulation and influence occurred due to the dense social ties of the enclave, the multitude of

those ties in the form of an above average number of siblings and clan members in the enclave, and the frequency of the interaction of those ties. As expected from the literature review, participants were encouraged by their parents to interact only with other Hmong children, and neighborhoods, schools, and religious institutions frequented by the participants were dominated by Hmong in South Oroville. All but one participant belonged to either one of the two Hmong-Christian churches in the enclave, or still practiced Hmong Shamanism with their family.

The small geographic area of South Oroville reinforces the social ties of the enclave. Participants reported they lived close to Hmong cousins and clan members, often within walking distance from their own home, and interacted with those clan members and siblings almost exclusively during childhood. Take, for example, Kub, who is the 11th of 14 children in his family from Southside. As expected from the literature review, the size of his immediate family, and the close proximity of his cousins, who lived on the same street, facilitated the maintenance of the social ties within the Hmong community in Southside.

> Coming from a Hmong community, we're all about family so we tend to live next door to each other so when someone needs help we're always there to help. I would say there was a lot of people around but now we've expanded and everyone's gone to different places, so I don't know about now but back then there was a sense of family and a big community that was within one community.
>
> … Once a month we like to keep track of everybody and how everybody is doing. Honestly even though we're like in different cities and different parts of the country, we tend to have like family reunions once a month just so we can keep track and updated in your life and stuff.

- Kub, age 21

The density and social ties are a purposeful structure created by the first generation immigrants in the population. The Hmong community in Northern California has been shifting since the first Hmong migrated to the area in the 1970s; this group migration is often fueled by the movement of one member of the clan, usually a prominent member of the community.

> The main reason was the pastor. The Hmong pastor that was in Willows, the church in Willows… they moved to Oroville, so it was ideal that we moved along with them. So that is why. We followed him and we came to Oroville.

- Vaj, resident of Southside

After I interviewed Sua, Paj, and Maiv, I discovered that the three women belonged to the same clan. Unknown to me prior to the interviews, Sua and Paj are sisters, and Maiv is their first cousin. Their fathers, plus two more brothers, followed each other to South Oroville in order to be closer to other family members and Hmong. The brothers purposefully all settled within one or two blocks of each other, and each brother had relatively large families. The cousins were encouraged by their parents to play with their cousins and other Hmong children in the neighborhood, which increased bonding within the enclave. I asked Paj and Sua if they felt close to their cousins and extended family.

> I just feel like I'm definitely very close-knit with my family and I do consider my family some of the best friends that I have.

- Paj

> We were a tight-knit group…I ended up hanging out with mostly Hmong kids.

- Sua, the 10th of 11 children

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As expected from the theory, social ties played an important role in the first generation Hmong transmitting their values and beliefs to the second generation. An unexpected catalyst for the close ties and bonding of the enclave was the presence of gangs and gang violence in South Oroville. The effect of violence in the enclave was a constant, underlying theme in the interviews that influenced all aspects of the enclave, including why the population was so dense and why the population became so insular. As Waters (1999) predicted, gang violence in the Hmong population in the 1990s in South Oroville was widespread and catastrophic for the community. The 1.5 generation became immersed in this violence because the first generation did not grasp the problem; parents allowed their children to have childhood freedom in the neighborhood. Children were allowed to play with whoever was out to play in the 1990s, but then the gang violence started, older siblings got shot, got into drugs, killed people, and went to prison. The response from the Hmong in South Oroville was to become more insulated and isolationist in outlook. Second generation children were forbidden from playing outside in the neighborhood, children were prohibited from playing with children outside the ethnic group, and older siblings reinforced their parent's rules in many and frequent ways. This isolationism created as a response to endemic violence created a unique structure within this ethnic enclave, it is the 'why' this population is denser than other Hmong populations and why the network messages are so powerful.

We see this in the story of Ceeb's eldest brother, who was involved in gang activity in the 1990s, and who was shot in gang violence when he was in his teens. Ceeb's parents responded with increased vigilance of safety and isolation from the non-Hmong community.

We would just head home. Our parents would be there to pick us up. That's where I saw we were different. We were kind of stuck between...trying to make friends and

trying to do well in school. Constantly going through that battle. We would always get lectured by my parents, 'don't go make friends with the wrong people.' For example, my eldest brother, with the gangs and stuff. They were scared that possibility would happen again. So we would go home immediately after school, after that. We had a safe haven of our own at our house. We had a big enough yard to play. There were a lot of us siblings, so we would just go out in back and just play. I mean, the older ones were just there to watch the younger ones. We would grab a ball and kick it around. Ride bikes. Just live our lives as kids.

… They [Ceeb's parents] were just afraid, since that incident. They were just really, really afraid.

- Ceeb

Had it not been for the influence of the network of ties due to the dense structure of the enclave, and the large family sizes of the enclave, negative, non-Hmong influences may have overtaken the enclave. When Vaj told his family that he wanted to join a gang, his parents disapproved, but it was his six older siblings who lectured him repeatedly on the perils of gangs, and conversely, the benefits of education.

You know about the "Ancient S?" So they looked cool, they had like these baggy pants, they had backward hats; they were just tight, cool. So I went home one day and I told my siblings and my mom and dad. I was like, "Mom, Dad I want to be an 'Ancient S.'" And then my brothers and sisters they were like, "what?!" And I was like "Yea, I want to be 'Ancient S' like those guys they were cool. They're in a gang and I want to be like that." And then they lit me up. I was like lectured; it was just brutal. It was like the worst lecture I've ever had. They told me about all the stuff like

to get in a gang you get jumped and if you die, you die...they pretty much kept me straight. If it wasn't for them you know, I probably would have joined a gang because I…It felt like protection, it felt like it was family, relevant, and so I was straying away from what family actually is to what gang is so they kept what family is and what gang is separate. And my siblings and parents, you know, there were a lot of us, 12 of us inside a house and sometimes there wasn't enough food going around, we didn't have enough food to go around, not enough money, clothing. Just academic, education materials. And it was tough living through those times. We didn't have enough but if I were to do it all over again, you know, just be poor, but still have my siblings, I would probably go through all that misery again. Just because I don't think I would be here today if it wasn't for them, I would've gone down a different path.

- Vaj, resident of Southside

The density of the network and the violence of race-based gangs left members with a high degree of awareness of the divide between the Hmong enclave and the non-Hmong community in South Oroville.   To further understand how this high degree of awareness of the ethnicity is fostered and maintained in the enclave, the following section details specific examples from the interviews that highlight salience, composition, and density of the enclave.

Salience of the Ethnicity within the Enclave

How does the Hmong culture influence and structure the daily life of second-generation Hmong in South Oroville? As hypothesized, the ethnic enclave comprehensively organized the lives of members. The influence of the enclave was pervasive in all areas of life, from adult children expected to be at dinner every night with their parents, to

expectations of how the role of women in the birth family would change after marriage, to the wide-spread use of the Hmong language with both family and friends, the lack of friends and relations outside the Hmong culture, and expectations of children based on sibling order and gender.

All respondents reported that Hmong was their first language, and they still regularly use Hmong with their friends and family. Vaj is a 23-year-old college student, majoring in the social sciences. He grew up in Southside, which is the most impoverished and crime-ridden area of South Oroville. Vaj and his family, which includes nine brothers and sisters, plus his mother and father, moved from neighboring Willows to Oroville to be closer to their pastor and church family.

> So all my class, pretty much half the class were Hmong students. That really allowed me to really keep my language and learn English at the same time. But still be able to use my Hmong. Had the class been all Caucasian kids, and been surrounded by Caucasian kids, I probably would have used my English but probably would have lost my Hmong. I still speak Hmong, still fluently. Unfortunately for a couple of my friends who grew up in a more Caucasian society/community; they do not speak Hmong anymore. So they have actually lost their Hmong language.
>
> -   Vaj, resident of Southside

Daniel, whose parents moved the family out of South Oroville to a "better" neighborhood a few miles away while he was in middle school, reported that even when he moved to the overwhelmingly Caucasian neighborhood, where no other Hmong families lived, he maintained his Hmong group of friends in school at Oroville schools. Daniel's parents did not allow him to play outside in the new neighborhood due to fear of the

surrounding, mostly Caucasian, neighbors. I asked Daniel if he felt a separation between races in South Oroville.

> Yes, there was definitely strong separation. Most of the Hmong students would hang out with the Hmong students; we usually don't branch out unless we needed to. We stayed very close. In my AP courses in high school, you have one side that's all the Hmong kids, and then the other side, that's all the other kids. It was like that in all my AP courses. Quiet Hmong kids here, all the other kids here.
>
> - Daniel, former resident of Southside

Participants repeatedly stressed the importance of religion in their families. Participants who identified as Christian described their parents and the first generation as dedicated and devout Christians, often using the church structure as surrogates for traditional clan structure, relying on other members of the church for support, following members of the church in order to stay close to other Hmong families, and expecting their adult children to attend church as well. Participants who identified as Shaman expressed deeply held beliefs in the traditional Hmong spiritual practices, and the importance of following traditions set forth in the beliefs. Shaman participants reported that they regularly meet with their extended family to perform rituals of healing and blessing, and also followed rituals for marriage and funerals, among other ceremonies. Shaman animist sacrifice is practiced with the help of the clan, and dictates when and how the clan gathers.

Participants reported that both in the neighborhoods and at school, there was separation between races based on parental influence and structure of social organizations that influenced who they interacted with most consistently. The school, parent, and self-imposed segregation created an enclave where children were placed in Hmong-centered

classes at school, and parents dissuaded children from interacting with non-Hmong, which created a salient Hmong ethnic group for the participants of the study.

Composition of the Enclave

Beyond the role of ethnicity, I investigated how the composition of the enclave shaped attitudes and behaviors. The ethnic enclave theory argues that the socioeconomic status of an ethnic group might be influenced by the resources the enclave possesses that can help provide basic needs for immigrants. Menjivar (2006) found that enclaves who are unable support new immigrants when they resettle due to their own level of poverty, force individuals in the enclave to seek assistance elsewhere. On the other hand, Wilson and Portes (1980), argued that members of thick ethnic enclaves seek out or return to enclaves, where immigrants are given preference in employment opportunities and where immigrant businesses are given preference by the ethnic members, which reinforces the social ties in the enclave. As hypothesized, the composition of the enclave provided unique resources for the Hmong community in South Oroville, from free child care to spiritual guidance. Resources of the enclave encouraged people to stay close to each other, which in turn strengthened the enclave. Ceeb, for example, reported that when his family first moved to South Oroville, his family relied heavily on his clan for basic needs, transportation, and assistance with understanding how to function in the United States.

> We were there to support each other. The whole time. We only wanted to improve ourselves. We wanted what was best for us. Whenever we were in trouble, our cousins next door helped us out and we helped them out. If we had trouble in school, if we had trouble in life, if our car broke down, they were there to help out. That really made things possible. Because when we first moved here, my parents had no

car. So getting food, they would have to walk miles every day to buy groceries, and walk back. At the same time, they would have to take us to school as well. So, our cousins, they were living here longer than we were so they were able to help us, transport us to school.

- Ceeb, age 22

Childcare was an important issue for the participants who are parents. Being in close proximity to extended family and clan members meant that grandparents became the primary childcare providers for working parents and parents who were attending college.

Zeb, who was interviewed with his wife, expanded on the importance of being close to family, rather than being close to work or school. He works in a neighboring community, which is a 30-minute drive from his home in the Oroville area. I asked why he and his family did not move to the city he worked in, since it was a shorter commute. Zeb and his wife expressed a desire to be close to his family so the grandparents could care for their children. Being able to access childcare within the enclave means that Zeb and his family rely on the enclave more, and strengthens the bond with the enclave.

Maiv married while in college, and was pregnant in her last year of her Bachelor's degree. She would go on to complete a Master's degree, and after college, works full time outside of her home. I asked Maiv about who cared for her child while she was in school, and while she works today.

For my oldest child, my last year, my mother-in-law she provided the childcare then my husband took a break from school so I could get my master's. So he was actually the one who took care of the baby.

- Maiv, 27, mother of two

I asked Koob, who identified his family's religion as Shaman, how close knit his

family is, which brought up an element of why some Hmong families live close to each other

that might be different than other groups.

In the Hmong community, you're really close with your cousins, because, due to our

religion, we need a lot of hands; a lot of our cousins to help us out to practice our

traditions and all those things. So, I feel that really helps us keep close ties and

everything like that.

- Koob, age 20

Jala heard explicitly from her mother to not move away from her extended clan

members so she would be close to family who could help her prepare rituals, her wedding,

holidays, and funerals.

I would say it just really depends on the family and how close you are with them, and

how big the event is. For example, if it's like a ceremony, like a blessing ceremony

for a child then, or like yesterday, that was for my nephew; he was like 6 months and

it was just like a blessing for him and it was kind of tiny, it wasn't like the big ones.

But if it's like, for example, for someone's health or like you know in order to help

their spirit feel a little bit better, feel more appreciated, then those are way bigger

ceremonies. The hand tying ceremony, those are a lot bigger than blessing ceremonies

pretty much. So it really depends how big the family wants to go to.

- Jala

The composition of the enclave provides essential services to the members of the

clan, which strengthens the ties between the community members. The enclave relies heavily

on the network of the Hmong to influence younger clan members and to get things done.

Density of Social Ties in the Enclave

The ethnic enclave theory posits that the influence of the enclave varies depending on the strength and density of the social ties within the enclave, and the size of the enclave. The theory argues that highly dense, small enclaves weed out ideas and influences that are contrary to the ethnicity's values, and reinforce the messages and norms of the ethnicity from many pathways within the ethnicity. The influence of the enclave is dependent on the density of the group that consists of a size that can maintain cultural barriers and also keep contrary values out of the area. As expected from the ethnic enclave theory, the structure of the Hmong enclave in South Oroville consists of dense networks that create a repetitive cycle of similar messages transmitted to the second generation, and prevents contrary values from influencing the enclave.

Although the area of South Oroville is fairly spread out in some areas, the area known as Southside and the area around Las Plumas High School are densely populated. Paj and her younger sister, Sua, grew up in the neighborhood around Las Plumas High School, which Paj described as "compact," with "very clustered, and small" houses. Although her neighborhood was a mix of ethnicities, Paj played only with Hmong children in the neighborhood, partly due to the density of the neighborhood and how close other Hmong children lived.

> I usually played with Hmong kids. It wasn't like a huge population of Hmong people but it was heavily dominated by Hmong people. My friends' houses were pretty much just walking distance for me all the time. All of my cousins live in the same area too and so we would go to their houses a lot and so everybody was within walking distance.

> - Paj, age 23

Paj's younger sister, Sua, discussed the density of the first neighborhood the family moved to in the United States.

There were other Hmong families. We used to live in apartments and there would be a ton of Hmong families just in the apartments. There would be my aunts and uncles; we would cluster in one area together. After we got older, we moved into homes [in South Oroville], then we kind of separated from each other, but we were close in distance to another. I was also closer to other Hmong families that weren't my aunts and uncles.

- Sua, age 19

Kub moved from Oregon to South Oroville as an infant; he is the 11th of 14 children. The density of the neighborhood in South Oroville allowed him to play only with other Hmong children and his own clan members.

Growing up, my cousins lived around the block, so I would go to their place all the time. …I used to run across the street and just play tag or something, like, "hey, do you want to play today? Power Rangers, okay, cool, I'm in. I'll be the Red Ranger."

- Kub

Vaj, who grew up in Southside, reported that although there were other races and ethnicities in his neighborhood, the closeness of other Hmong families allowed his family to interact with only Hmong families and rely on other Hmong.

Only five families were Hmong [in the surrounding neighborhood], so we were really surrounded by Caucasian community. Nobody spoke English, so we weren't able to communicate with them [Caucasians]. They didn't speak Hmong so they weren't able

to communicate with us. So we were like neighbors, but really, we were just living kinda like individually.

…If they [other Hmong families] needed help, we helped them out, so I feel like it was easier to communicate with each other, than to go out and reach out to Caucasians when we didn't know anything about how the lifestyle was, what their culture was like. So we kept it in within ourselves. We wanted to reach out, but we didn't know how, or have the capability to do it.

- Vaj, resident of Southside

The first generation of the Hmong population in this enclave is demonstrably very tight knit; the first generation seek out other Hmong to live by, and they have almost no influence on their daily activities that are not Hmong. The participants played only with Hmong children in the neighborhood, kept to themselves within the Hmong groups at school, and saw their siblings as the most important people in their lives for emotional support. They go to Hmong church or are Shaman, eat traditional Hmong food, live agrarian lifestyles and grow the majority of their food, rely on their family and clan for child care and elder care, and turn to their siblings and cousins to bridge the cultural gap between the enclave and the dominant culture and its opportunities. The network provides most of what its members need on a daily basis.

Parent and Sibling Expectations of Participants

As expected from the ethnic enclave theory, the first generation and other multiple enclave sources transmitted messages, norms, and values to the second generation in the enclave that would influence educational attainment. The interviews provide evidence to support this hypothesis, with participants reporting that they heard messages of high-

educational expectations from their parents and siblings regularly throughout their childhood, and also reporting that those messages directly influenced their decision to attend college.

> Of course they expected all my siblings to go to college, and of course do well, and to become a doctor or something important…my dad, he always told us, he'd be like, "out of all the kids, I want at least one of you guys to become a doctor"…my dad would always tell us how disappointed he was that none of us were doctors yet, or anything like that. That was just one of his selfish ambitions back when he was young… when we were young. But the expectations were high, my dad always expected us to do good, always expected straight A's, or just…he always wanted us to surpass our siblings or other kids to always do better. A lot of it was hard for us, because at a young age we kind of really despised our parents, or kind of despised a lot of things. A lot of it was, too, there was a lot of pressure for you to do good again. You felt like you didn't want to put yourself in a boat of having that pressure on your shoulders.

> - Koob, age 20

Koob was somewhat resentful toward his father for what he perceived as unreasonable educational goals for himself and his siblings. The expectations created stress for himself and his family, and strained his relationship with his parents. Of all the respondents, I perceived Koob to be the angriest. He felt trapped by the expectations placed on him, and became visibly agitated toward the end of the interview. I perceived this as a sign that the expectations were incredibly high, and were reinforced relentlessly throughout Koob's childhood by his parents, and particularly his father.

Ten of Ceeb's siblings attended college, with three becoming medical doctors, two serving their communities in public service, one who served in the military in addition to attending college, and the 12th, still in high school at the time of the interview, planned to attend a university in pursuit of at least a bachelor's degree. When I asked Ceeb how important education was to his parents for he and his siblings, he replied,

> It was everything, to be honest. They would be there home, every day, to feed us, gave us time to do our homework. They couldn't help us do the homework, but they knew they could find people to help us, so they would do that. Pretty much do anything to help us succeed. Of course, we got lectured a lot but we got through. It was through our determination, just seeking, just to become a better person to be able to help our parents because of all the things they've done for us.
>
> - Ceeb

Four of Zeb's six siblings, plus Zeb, all earned Bachelor's degrees. Only Zeb's oldest sister, who was born in Laos, is in her late 30s, and was expected to marry in her teens, and Zeb's developmentally delayed, older brother, did not earn Bachelor's degrees. I asked Zeb how important education was to his parents.

> Huge. Huge. They didn't know the ins and outs of education, but they would always preach "school, homework, school, homework. Read. Write." I always remember my mom, not yelling, really, but with a raised voice, "do your homework! Or read! Read!" Not knowing what goes into it, she just knows education is the key.
>
> - Zeb, resident of South Oroville

The role of siblings was multifaceted. Sibling expectations about education, the life path of the participant, and surrogate roles as parents and friends influenced respondents in

various ways. Some siblings actively participated in motivating their siblings to do well in school, helping them with family study sessions, helping with homework, and encouraging their siblings to go to college. Vaj, the 7th of 10 children, remembered, fondly, gathering with his siblings to study together. Vaj's older siblings watched over the younger siblings, assisting them with homework assignments, helping them learn English, and making school an important part of each day. This focus on education helped Vaj do well in school, and find school relatively easy. It also reinforced the idea from many siblings, that education was important, and was the path to greater economic stability and success.

> My siblings would always play school, because we couldn't get enough of school! So we would come home, and we would play school. My oldest sister, would be like 'teacher'. So we'd always have this mentality that education was really fun, and education would get you places.

>   -   Vaj, resident of Southside

This influence of siblings was magnified by one aspect usually associated with negative outcomes for educational attainment (Baranowska-Rataj et al, 2015): family size. Participants in this study had a higher than average family size compared to other Hmong in California, and larger family sizes than other families in South Oroville (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). These participants came from 13 families with an average of 9.38 children in each family (a total of 122 second-generation Hmong were represented in this study). The average family size of a Hmong family in California was 5.71 and 8.39 in South Oroville (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010[7]), while the average family size for the participants in South Oroville was 11.38. How does this affect the messages from siblings and parents? In this population, it

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[7] Selected Social Characteristics in the United States, California and South Oroville

means that instead of hearing the same message from four or five different influential people, the message comes from nine or ten different people, repeated as the most important goal, from birth. Older siblings might not hear the message as frequently because they grow up with fewer older siblings, which is also supported with the educational patterns in this population, but younger siblings hear the message over and over, from the many siblings looking out for their wellbeing, reinforcing parents' messages of educational attainment.

These findings support the hypothesis that messages from the network, in this case the parents and siblings, positively influenced the participants' educational attainment. However, the interviews revealed limitations to the ethnic enclave theory. Specifically, the theory did not fully explain the role of social capital of network ties, and ties from outside the enclave that influenced educational attainment, which from the responses of the interviews, appeared to play an important role in educational attainment. I went back to the social science literature on social capital to further explore the influence of social capital on educational attainment.

Ryabov (2009) used Bourdieu's theory of social capital to examine the influence of peer social capital on educational attainment of immigrant youth. He used the concepts of bridging social capital and bonding social capital, then examined social capital through the "strength of weak ties" perspective. Ryabov (2009) found that bonding within the network, and peer social capital, had a greater predictive rate for educational achievement for immigrant youth than for native youth, and that achievement of peers was a statistically significant predictor for academic achievement in both the native and immigrant population. Ryabov concluded that bonding social capital better explains academic achievement than bridging social capital in peer relations. This study supported Ryabov's conclusions, and

found that bonding within the network, particularly with siblings, had a positive influence on educational attainment for the participants. But bonding within the network theories led me to theories of bridging weak ties across two networks, which, on first glance of the interviews, seemed to influence educational attainment in the participants as well. I went back to the literature to examine how bridging between the dominant culture and the enclave might explain educational attainment in this population.

Social Support Outside of the Enclave for Pursuing Higher Education

Bridging the Dominant and Minority Culture

The role of resources outside of the enclave, and how well participants navigated the dominant culture network brought me to theories of social capital in relation to weak ties that allow people to tap into resources outside the enclave that would facilitate educational attainment.

Burt (1992) argued that people are generally constrained to stay within their own network, and only those who are able to bridge the gap between two networks are able to tap into the opportunities of each network. This bridging between two networks makes the bridge privy to the information of both networks, and also valuable as a conduit of information and thus more powerful, between the two networks. Gonzalez (2006) concluded that bridging is the most influential concept in determining educational attainment. This study found that bridging the enclave and dominant culture was influential on educational attainment.

Social support outside of the enclave in the form of university programs and government financial aid had almost universal impact on the educational attainment of the interviewees. However, these influences that originated outside of the enclave were powerful, but only in the context when coupled with the network within the ethnic enclave. College

preparation programs and government funded financial assistance to attend college positively influenced educational attainment. Those who were introduced to these programs by their siblings, cousins, or other Hmong community members were the most positively impacted. Participants who were the most effective at bridging between the dominant culture and the minority culture with college prep programs and awareness of financial assistance to pay for school earlier in their high school career, reported an easier time with the college experience, and greater expectation for pursuing a college degree. Participants bridged the dominant and minority culture through Upward Bound, Educational Talent Search, and with government funded financial aid.

Working at the university where a significant number of Hmong students attended school provided unique informal observation opportunities throughout this study. Most of these opportunities were planned outings to scheduled Hmong events on campus, chatting informally with Hmong students in class, but also, some observation happened spontaneously, and without any prompting or influence from me. One such event was the end of the summer celebration for Upward Bound. The following section takes an ethnographic approach to understanding the event.

Upward Bound

From my office on the sixth floor, just above the tree tops of the Valley Oaks, cheering voices echo from one of the quad areas just below my window. Loud Spanish music and squeals of joy mingle with the intermittent cheering of the crowd. It is an unseasonably cool evening in the Northern Sacramento Valley and the sun creates shadows as I peer East toward the Sierra Mountains, and I realize, I haven't left my building in more than seven hours. The elevator takes me to the first floor, and I walk toward the sound of the music, out

the double glass doors, walk a few dozen feet to the dancing crowd. This is the last night of the Summer Upward Bound Program on campus, and tonight is a celebration. Almost all of the 100 or so students in the program this summer did well enough in their summer classes to be rewarded with an end-of-year party. The students, all high school students getting a taste of college life, have gathered in the grassy quad beneath the Oaks, just outside of the dormitory they have lived in for the past 6 weeks. Streamers decorate the low hanging trees above the partygoers. Speakers set up in the quad blast Mexican music, and a student/DJ cheers for the crowd and calls them to dance. A group of a dozen or so teen girls, long dark hair flowing, stomp their feet gleefully in time with the up tempo beat, and sing loudly in Spanish.

The Upward Bound director recognizes me as I walk closer to the quad, winks and smiles, talks for a few minutes more with a student, before wandering toward me. "I heard the music," I tell her, "I had to check it out."

She smiles warmly, looks over the crowd of teenagers like a proud mother. "They are celebrating," she tells me. A blond teenaged boy approaches us; he's got a brightly colored string stretched between his hands. He waits while Maria, the director, finishes speaking to me. He offers the string to her, a gesture of friendship, a small piece of string to tie around her wrist as a reminder of him, and of her impact on him. Her smile radiates as she says, "just give me two minutes." Her wrists are already adorned with at least a dozen pieces of string. The boy smiles and walks away. I tell Maria goodbye, and wander back toward the edge of the party, watch for a moment more, and make my way back to my office.

The significant, positive role of Upward Bound became apparent early in the interviews.

Choj, who entered college in 1995, explained the role that Upward Bound had on his education, his career, and his life when I asked him '*what role do you think Upward Bound had?*'

Tremendous! For this area, tremendous! It's a tremendous program. I would say if I didn't accidentally get in the program, like I told you, I would have never been here…

- Choj, Upward Bound Alumni

The importance of the Upward Bound program cannot be overstated for these participants. Vaj was introduced to Upward Bound in the 8th grade, the earliest entry for students to be accepted into the program. Prior to Upward Bound, Vaj was not committed to college.

So this Upward Bound program, you know, it really had an impact on going to college. That was the program that helped you how to fill out financial aid. I wasn't really good at English at the time, so they really broke it down, there was some translator who had already been through it before and helped you fill out the application. So pretty much I owe all my college education to Upward Bound, because they have like the biggest impact in having students go to college.

- Vaj, Upward Bound Alumni

At one point, college seemed something otherworldly. It didn't seem possible. But going through Upward Bound, the experience, talking to my older siblings about their experiences, it really just broke down that wall and made everything possible.

- Ceeb, Upward Bound Alumni

Zeb, a man in his early 30s who is married, has two children, and earned a Master's

Degree, participated in the Upward Bound program. He is also the younger brother of Lee, who also participated in the program. Zeb credits his sister with helping him navigate college life, through her own experience with Upward Bound. I asked Zeb what influence Upward Bound had on his college experience and life.

> Huge! Upward Bound is huge in my life. I credit them for helping me get where I am right now…They helped facilitate, educate me on the process. Even just applying. Uh, you know letting me know about fee waivers, little things like that.
>
> …I did the summer program for one summer. It was fun! They did it in a way that they got a lot of information. And they wanted us to have fun. They didn't want it to be boring, going to class all day. They wanted us to have fun but also incorporated an education component.
>
> - Zeb, Upward Bound Alumni

How Upward Bound functions seems to be a significant factor in its success in getting students to college, and then keeping them in college. Upward Bound introduces the idea of college to students and helps students apply to colleges.

> And so I felt like my parents never really talked to us about college a lot of us learned about college from programs like ETS and Upward Bound. And so that's kind of where we got information about college and how to apply for college and they were the ones who actually talked to us about why you should go to college.
>
> - Paj, Upward Bound Alumni

In addition to weekly meetings with Upward Bound counselors on each high school campus, Upward Bound hosts high school students for six weeks each summer at the Chico State campus. Upward Bounders live on campus during the week, living in the residence

halls, taking college classes, and interacting with other Upward Bound participants. This structure allowed students to become comfortable with the idea of college, and made college an expectation, instead of just another option.

They made it, like, easy and possible. Before, I was like, "You know, college…I might, or I might not get it, and its competitive…. What if drop out? I can just come and work…And Upward Bound was like, "No! Don't drop out after high school and go to work; go to college, straight." So they were like…also like… tough love. Making sure you don't stray off and never come back. That was one of the main goals, making sure that students know college is possible, it could be financed, and it is not the scary boogie man under the bed.

…It was really successful, it made it like, we were in high school at the time and looking at the window and just seeing college students and not being a part of it. But Upward Bound made it possible to like, we were actually socializing the college life, and living the college life, and we were like… "you know? This college life is kinda easy, we can do it". So they made it feel like we could do it, and we did. We're in college now.

- Vaj, Upward Bound alumni

The network-sibling effect of Upward Bound surfaced when I asked, "how did you learn about Upward Bound?" This effect, which is an aspect of the enclave's network effect, played a significant positive role in academic success.

A lot of my siblings went to Upward Bound. They really encouraged me to go to Upward Bound, 'cause they had a really great experience at Upward Bound. It kind of

prepares you for college, kind of gave you an experience of how everything is going to go.

- Koob, Upward Bound Alumni

If you say that Upward Bound has a big impact in this area, cause a lot of Oroville High School students are from South County. Even if they didn't do Upward Bound themselves, they are highly influenced by an Upward Bound alumni like myself. Whether it's their first cousin, brother or sister, uncle, because we are the uncles of some of those kids, they were highly influenced by Upward Bound, maybe not directly but indirectly in some shape or form.

- Choj, Upward Bound Alumni

This was a pattern I observed in several participants. Participants often cited their siblings and cousins as the gateway to Upward Bound. Question: How did your brother find out about Upward Bound?

Honestly I think it was from my cousins because I don't know where my cousins heard but they signed up and they convinced my brother to go and I guess my brother liked it and he convinced me to go.

- Kub, Upward Bound Alumni

Perhaps the most striking example of the power of the network-sibling effect and of Upward Bound for educational attainment was Ceeb, one of 12 children.

Ceeb: A lot of us went through Upward Bound. All the siblings that are doctors went through Upward Bound.

Marianne: You have three siblings who are doctors?

Ceeb: Mmhmm.

Marianne: And all went through Upward Bound?

Ceeb: So three of my oldest siblings, my oldest brother and my two oldest sisters didn't go through Upward Bound, but everyone underneath them went through Upward Bound.

Marianne: So out of 12 siblings, the first three didn't go through Upward Bound, but all 9 afterwards went through Upward Bound all through Oroville High School. Wow. That's pretty impressive.

Marianne: How did you hear about Upward Bound?

Ceeb: Through my siblings. By the time we got through middle school, high school, it was for sure we going to Upward Bound. You have to. It was just built into me. Of course I applied. We have a long history with Upward Bound and they knew our family sought through higher education so I was accepted.

Upward Bound played an integral part in the academic success of a majority of the participants, but the effect of Upward Bound was more pronounced in families where the Hmong social network facilitated introduction into the program, and when siblings and cousins pressured participants to get involved with the program.

College preparatory and college assistant programs were not the only source of resources outside the enclave that influenced educational attainment for the respondents. Government subsidized financial aid programs also influenced participants' decision to attend college.

Financial Assistance through State and Federal Grants and Work Study

The estimated cost of attendance at California State University, Chico, who live with their relatives, is $16,278 (California State University, Chico, 2016a) in academic year 2016-

17. Students with an expected family contribution [EFC] of $0 with no assets can expect to receive multiple types of grants and financial assistance to pay university tuition, fees, and living expenses while enrolled in their undergraduate education. Students with an EFC of $0 qualify for Federal Pell Grants in the amount of $5,818, either Cal Grant or State University Grant of $5,472, Cal Grant B of $1,656 (California Student Aid Commission, 2012), and Work Study of up to $3,500 per academic year, for a total financial grant packet of $16,446 per academic year. Students with additional need can also apply for summer work study, with hourly wages $10.00 - $10.85 (California State University, Chico, 2016b) per hour for up to 40 hours per week during summer break from the end of May until the middle of August.

Not all states are so generous with grants, which do not need to be repaid. While California offers over $7,000 in grants in addition to the federal grants, the state of Kansas offers, on a limited basis, only $100-$1,500 (Kansas Board of Regents, 2016) per year to financially needy students. Even though Kansas offers lower grant amounts, and to fewer students, than California, tuition at Kansas state public universities is higher than at California state public universities. The expected cost of attendance, including tuition, fees, books, room and board, and Kansas State University for an undergraduate student in 2016 was nearly $18,000, nearly $2,000 more than the estimated cost of attendance at Chico State, also a public university.

All participants were on public assistance, which means that those participants all had Expected Family Contributions of $0.

> We didn't have a lot of money. There was no savings, we didn't inherit anything. So
> we were pretty much on food stamps and government support and so I felt like
> college was almost impossible especially when they say you have to pay for school. I

was like college, "You have to pay for school?!" And I was like, "How am I gonna do this, I don't have any money?" Then my brother went to college and he learned about financial aid and everything; all the services that was provided for low income or first year scholarships.

- Vaj

Kia, who is one of six sisters, expanded on the financial aid award that she received while attending Chico State. A combination of financial aid awards from the university, local scholarships, and the opportunity to live at home with no rent, made it financially possible for Kia to attend college without taking loans.

College choice for Daniel was determined by the financial aid package that each college offered. Daniel was accepted at colleges in both the California State University [CSU] system and in the University of California [UC] system. Estimated cost of attendance at UC Davis, which was Daniel's first choice, in the 2016-17 academic year, was just over $27,000. Even though Daniel's family had an EFC of $0, the estimated grant award at UC Davis was $18,628 for the academic year (University of California, Davis, 2016), which did not cover the expense of the UC. Daniel chose a California State University college due to the financial assistance he received from government sources.

Some participants saved money from financial aid in their bachelor's degree to apply toward tuition in their graduate work. I asked Lee, age 38, how important financial aid awards were for her to go to college and if she had to take loans out for college expenses.

Oh! Especially since I went to Chico State instead of Butte [community college] where it's cheaper: completely. I wouldn't have been able to do it without loans, financially. I didn't have to [take loans] until the end for one master's class.

Of Ceeb's 11 brothers and sisters, all but 3 siblings graduated from college. Three of

Ceeb's siblings are medical doctors. I asked Ceeb how his family afforded college, plus

graduate school.

A lot of us went to Chico State because it was close by because you could save a lot

of money and to start saving money to go to post-bachelor school, so that's what they

did. They went to Chico State and got their bachelor's degree and saved enough

money to attend masters or doctors.

`   - Ceeb, 11ᵗʰ of 12 children

A combination of financial advantages presented themselves to the participants,

including lower living expenses than the average college student because all participants had

the opportunity to live rent free with family members, lower tuition in the CSU system than

at comparable universities both within the state and outside the state, and higher financial aid

packages than at colleges outside of California. The role of financial assistance in this

impoverished population was critical to educational attainment. High levels of poverty

actually facilitated educational attainment, as students who were not in poverty would not

receive as much financial aid, or would have been forced to work and divide their energy

between school and work, which would negatively affect college completion. Those

participants who understood and used government financial aid the most effectively, in

essence understood that network the best, were able to use the grants most effectively, pay

for their undergraduate degree fully with grants, and save grant money to pay for graduate

degrees as well. In this population, financial aid not only facilitated undergraduate degrees,

but also graduate degrees.

Post-Education Pathways

The latter portion of the interviews focused on the post-high school pathways of participants, their siblings, and classmates. Although this section asked specific questions about these pathways, the topic of post-high school pathways emerged from questions posed earlier in the interviews as well.

Carr and Kefalas's (2009) theory-typology leads us to expect that individuals self-select into different post-high school pathways based upon messages they receive from community members and family, and these pathways can lead young people to either stay or leave the community. Carr and Kefalas (2009) found that young people who self-select higher education are more likely than their peers to leave the community for educational opportunities. Over time, these processes create a "brain drain" from their home communities. Carr and Kefalas (2009) has an element of social network theory, arguing that the network transmits different expectations and grants different opportunities to each person in the community that influences each person's post-high school pathway. These networks, comprised of parents, siblings, peers, and teachers, counselors and other school personnel, identify and then socialize or groom each individual for varying post-high school paths.

As I discussed earlier, I found that participants did have different post-high school pathways, and that the network of parents, siblings, and clan transmitted expectations of high levels of education effectively to the second generation. However, contrary to the Carr-Kefalas theory-typology, participants did not perceive a difference in individual messages and opportunities from the network. There were differences in post-education plans of the participants, but the Carr-Kefalas model did not fully explain those variations in the participants, their siblings, or their classmates. In essence: I found that the outcomes were different even though the messages from the enclave were very similar.

One of the most unexpected findings in this study was the lack of influence participants perceived from their high schools and teachers. From the Carr and Kefalas theory, I expected that participants would hear different messages and perceive different opportunities from their teachers and other school personnel. Participants, whether high-achieving or average students in high school, felt little difference in how their teachers talked to them about college compared to other students or siblings. Only one participant experienced exceptional influence from teachers. No participant felt the teachers, counselors, or school officials gave them different opportunities than other students in their schools. For example, when I asked Kub if his high school offered any direct programs or opportunities to explore college, he replied, "there was no program in Oroville that targets the API community to pursue higher education. All we had was the teachers like 'hey, you should go to college; it's good for you" but as for what are our steps to get to college, that we had to do for ourself."

Contrary to Carr and Kefalas' theory, the majority of the participants did not see school personnel or teachers as influential in their individual decision to go to college, and felt very little support and encouragement on an individual level to go to college. The only individual support that surfaced in the interviews from teachers came in the form of suggestions regarding the type of college students attended: of the 16 respondents, the two highest academically performing reported that they were encouraged by teachers to attend more prestigious universities than the local colleges. All other participants failed to perceive a difference in the way their teachers discussed college or post education pathways.

Participants perceived Upward Bound and Educational Talent Search as separate from their high school, even though some Upward Bound and Educational Talent Search

services were conducted at their high schools. Participants reported that they were not

recruited by school personnel or teachers into these programs, and any recruitment by

program representatives was class by class, not individually based. Overwhelmingly,

participants were introduced to ETS and Upward Bound through the Hmong network of

cousins and siblings. The motives of the network are not known, but the outcome is apparent:

once a family was introduced to one of these programs, all younger siblings were more likely

to become involved in these programs regardless of academic aspirations, performance, or

gender.

Next, I explored the extent to which the typology identified by Carr and Kefalas

(2009) helped to understand the types of pathways motivated by educational attainment that

were taken in this population. I wanted to understand who was staying in the South Oroville

area, and if there was a relationship to educational attainment that might affect the

sustainability of the town. I began with the question, "what are your plans after you complete

your education?"

Achievers

As hypothesized, several participants fell into this category of the Carr-Kefalas

typology, but none more than Daniel, whose aspirations were to become a lawyer so that he

could become an advocate for the Hmong community and disenfranchised groups. Daniel felt

little obligation to stay in the Oroville area to care for his parents as they age. Daniel

identified his family as more progressive than others, and had resources that other

participant's families did not have. Daniel's father earned a Master's degree and worked for a

government agency, which provided retirement benefits. As such, Daniel felt free to leave

Oroville in search of opportunities not available in his home town. I asked Daniel if he felt

any obligation to stay in Oroville to care for his parents.

> No, I don't. I've talked to my parents a lot and they want me to move out when I
>
> graduate. "We're kind of done with you now; you get your degree and you move
>
> out." They understand that Oroville doesn't have the opportunity or resources to grow
>
> because it's such a small community. There's not a lot we can do other than get an
>
> education and go out in the world. My parents advocate to go out there, find your
>
> passion. If you get married, that's also an obligation you have to tend to. It's your
>
> family now. I'm not planning to get married; I want to do the advocacy that I can
>
> right now that I'm so young and have the strength to do so. So I don't feel like I have
>
> an obligation to live in Oroville.
>
> - Daniel, age 21

Koob, who is the 10th of 12 children, plans to leave the Oroville area once he

completes his education in engineering. His family's newly acquired financial stability has

changed the family structure, and other siblings care for his parents, which means Koob can

seek opportunities elsewhere.

Maiv, who moved out of South Oroville to a neighboring college town, got married,

and had two children, earned her master's degree and worked as a college advisor, reported

that she had no desire to return to South Oroville. I asked Maiv why she would not want to

return to South Oroville.

> It's not an environment I want to raise my kids in and not only that, I just didn't like
>
> growing up in Oroville in general just because I like the big city, not too big, but kind
>
> of the city feel. I mean we have WalMart and I appreciate my Barnes and Noble and

Michaels and my Target and also because of that and employment purposes; you can't find anything in Oroville. Just for all those reasons, and I like the resources that Chico State has to offer the community and I want my kids exposed to that kind of stuff and so for all those reasons, I wouldn't want to go back.

- Maiv, age 27

Stayers

While seven of Koob's nine siblings completed college and sought opportunities elsewhere, two did not go to college, and both stayed in South Oroville. I asked Koob what the siblings who stayed in South Oroville chose to do after completing high school. Koob replied, "One of them takes care of my grandma at home. The other one works at the casino." Working at one of the two casinos in town was a popular option for many of the classmates, friends, and siblings of the participants. The casinos offered one of the only businesses that provided full time work for over minimum wage. Other regularly mentioned employment opportunities for stayers included working at WalMart, the local grocery stores, and in fast food restaurants.

Kha Lee's family did not have the typical Hmong family structure or influence, nor did her family have clan members in the Oroville area. While the average Hmong family size in the United States is larger than other groups, and all other participants reported having clan members either in Oroville, in California, or elsewhere in the United States, Kha Lee has no living blood related aunts, uncles, or cousins in the United States that are known to the family. All of Kha Lee's parents' brothers and sisters are either deceased or still in Laos or Thailand. None of Kha Lee's older siblings participated in Upward Bound or attended college, Kha Lee did not participate in Upward Bound because she had no network

connections through other Hmong to the program, and Kha Lee was an average student in high school. Additionally, Kha Lee lived in the most diverse neighborhood of all the participants, had the most diverse set of friends in school and in the neighborhood, and her parents were the least protective of who she and her siblings played with. All but one of Kha Lee's seven older siblings chose to stay in the Oroville area after high school; Kha Lee's older sister moved out of South Oroville when she became married. The lack of ties to the larger Hmong community in South Oroville seemed decrease the traditional expectations on Kha Lee and her siblings, and make her family fit the Carr-Kefalas model more than other participant's families.

> They are all in Oroville; they are all in different parts of Oroville I would say. My brother was working in Sacramento or Roseville. He would always travel; he met his wife there. I would say they were there not even 3 years, and they moved into Oroville because he wanted to be close to the family. So all, except for my married sister, are in Oroville.

> - Kha Lee, age 25

Sua reported that many of her non-Hmong classmates stayed in Oroville and chose to go straight to work instead of college. Her Hmong friends were more likely to go off to college, but still many chose work over college.

> It was like they chose Butte College or work. There wasn't some that went far. A few left to Berkeley, Arkansas and Chico State. But a lot of time, they're at Butte or working. These are those who weren't in Upward Bound. They knew about college, but they were more focused on making money or doing something else.

> - Sua

Seekers

Carr and Kefalas identified seekers as those people who could not afford college, and escaped their small hometowns in search of greater opportunities and experiences. Many seekers in the Carr-Kefalas typology left rural areas with the assistance of the military, and without a college degree due to financial limitations. The participants in the present study did not have the financial limitations of not being able to afford college, and all who were seekers waited to leave until after they were finished with their bachelor's degrees. Despite this, the seekers in this study still had the desire and intent to leave the rural area for the same reason: to find something more, which is different than the achievers, who leave for specific socioeconomic opportunities.

Vaj was the typical seeker of the Carr-Kefalas typology. He expressed a deep desire to explore the world, bigger opportunities, and more education after his bachelor's degree. Vaj did not feel the strong obligation to stay in South Oroville to care for his aging parents, largely due to the status as a middle child, and instead, had a wealth of ideas of how he might spend the years after earning his bachelor of arts degree.

> So what I plan to do after my bachelor's degree I'm gonna try and explore the world and see what's out there. And then just jump for it, go for it with everything I have, everything that I have learned and just try to make as much money as I can but also try to have as much fun as I can.
>
> - Vaj, 7th of 10 children

Paj was also a seeker, desiring to leave for something bigger in the world, than her small hometown.

> I would probably go somewhere else to do that because I feel like Oroville is such a small market that I feel like I couldn't really grow there. So I would want to go to

places like LA or New York where there's a larger market for the film industry. But I would want to come back, I feel like I want to build myself up but I want to come back to the community as well because I know that Oroville such a small community that I feel like it's very limiting when it comes to what you want to do because there's not a whole lot of opportunities for different career choices.

- Paj

In addition to Vaj and Paj, several siblings of the participants could be classified as seekers. Kha Lee's older brother enlisted in the military after high school, as did one of Ceeb's brothers.

Returners

Returners fall into two groups: high-flyers and boomerangs. The most prominent type of participant in this study most closely fit the Carr-Kefalas of the Returning High-Flyers, people who go off to earn their college degrees, then return to the Oroville area to work and contribute to the town and the Hmong community. Ceeb's brothers were a prime example of the returner trend. Of Ceeb's 11 siblings, 3 became doctors and one became a police officer, of which all but one doctor returned to the area to contribute to the community. Ceeb himself wants to complete his education in biology in order to act as an advocate and help his Hmong community, although he has a desire to travel before settling down. Ceeb had no commitment to return to South Oroville, but did not completely exclude moving back to the area once he completed his education.

Sua also fit the typology for the returner-high flyer. She had a strong desire to return to the Oroville area, even though she was still early in her college career.

I guess one of the most tangible plans was as soon as I graduate with bachelor's degree and go back to Oroville. I want to work for Friday Night Live. They work with youth and do a ton of retreats and leadership building. I want to become a professional and work in that environment and empower our youth.

- Sua, 10th of 11 children

None of the participants fit the second type of returner, which was the returner-boomerang. All participants had either finished their college education, or were well on their way to finishing their degree. Participants did discuss siblings and friends who could be classified as boomerangs, though. Almost all participants knew classmates, had siblings, or had friends who had left South Oroville to pursue higher education, only to return within a few years to start families or work in the local casinos, fast food, and retail jobs.

Many of us came to college. Unfortunately, not all of us graduated. I see some of them working at like the casino and stuff like that which kind of breaks my heart because we started here together, you know, I wish we could have held hands and walked through this whole journey together.

- Maiv, earned Master's degree

Xia had many friends from high school that started college with her, but many left school to return to South Oroville.

I notice a lot of my friends who go to Chico State dropped out. A lot of my friends who came here at the same time as me, I don't see them anymore [at Chico State]. But I do have a lot of friends I still see. I believe education is a very powerful tool. They work at WalMart and FoodMaxx. I saw them a couple of times; the majority at

WalMart. One dropped out and moved to Sacramento and got her CNA; I think she's

doing pretty well now. The other friends I have noticed, they all go back to working

fast food, or WalMart, or FoodMaxx.

- Xia, resident of South Oroville

In the Carr-Kefalas model, those with higher levels of education generally left the

rural towns in search of greater socioeconomic opportunity, leaving those behind who were

less educated, and less likely to contribute to the financial growth of the town due to a brain

drain effect. I hypothesized that participants of this study would receive different messages

from the enclave, and follow different paths after high school. These findings do not support

that hypothesis; using the Carr-Kefalas model to analyze patterns of post-education paths

failed to consistently predict any of the typologies. The paths of each participant, their

siblings, and Hmong classmates were tempered by other factors within the enclave, which,

collectively, explain and predict this ethnic enclave's post-education pathways more

consistently. There was some support of the main typologies of the achievers, stayers,

seekers, and returners, but those typologies were overshadowed by the Hmong typology,

which posits that gender expectations and the birth order of siblings influenced post

education pathways to a greater degree than other factors. The primary gap of Carr-Kefalas

in explaining post-education pathways for this study lies in the difference of modern and

traditional cultures. Carr-Kefalas' typology explains the modern world, but fails to account

for the traditional culture of this Hmong enclave, that has different motivators than modern

cultures.

The Hmong Typology

Two factors influenced post-education pathways more than any other in this study,

and were universal for all participants in the study: gender and a desire to stay close to family members. The main predictor of post education pathway and intent to stay in the community was gender. Every participant indicated that whether people attended college or not, their intention to stay in South Oroville or not was determined by their gender and subsequently, marital status. In the Hmong culture, women, universally, are expected to move to wherever their husband is located. Women with college educations, women who married during high school, women with graduate degrees, and male participants, all intended and expected women in their family to follow their husbands.

> I asked Xia what would influence her decision to stay or leave South Oroville.
>
> Xia: The only reason that I would move from Oroville is if my family is moving. My dad said if I can't find a job, I could still find another job that is out from Oroville, but they still want them to stay with them.
>
> Marianne: What if you get married?
>
> Xia: If I get married, that's the only option.
>
> Marianne: You would follow your husband's family?
>
> Xia: Yes, yes, it's always like that.
>
> Xia and I discussed the role of males and females in her family, particularly the oldest and youngest brothers, in regard to who would care for her parents as they age.

> In my family, my parents can take care of themselves. But yes, that's pretty much her role. Either the oldest daughter in law, or the youngest daughter in law takes care [of her husband's parents]. Mostly it's the oldest daughter in law who is put into that position. There's a lot of responsibility within Hmong daughter in law.
>
> - Xia

There was a clear divide in the gender expectations in Kha Lee's family, whose family was the least educated in the study. The gendered expectation was rooted in the belief that women will eventually leave the birth family, and no longer contribute to the success of the family.

Honestly, my dad will prefer my brothers and them to go get an education compared to his daughters, because, like, we're going to take off and get married, so we won't benefit him.

- Kha Lee, first child to attend college

I asked Kha Lee what the obligations are of a woman in the Hmong culture once she marries.

In the Hmong culture, we believe, you, as a daughter, you are supposed to go and support them [the husband's family]. You benefit them. You are supposed to help that family to be rich, or to be, on top of the world. Make them successful. When my brother married a Hmong wife, she's supposed to come and help my family for us to be successful.

- Kha Lee, 8th of 11 children

Daniel, who was one of the youngest and most progressive participants, and whose father had earned a master's degree, had similar expectations of his sisters, who also attended college. When I asked Daniel why his older sister transferred to another university mid-way through her bachelor's degree, he replied, "Well, she got married." Daniel's comment about his aunts was, perhaps, the most definitive about the role of women and their post-education pathway. I asked Daniel if all of his siblings had the same opportunity to attend college. He replied that all of his siblings, including his sisters, had been given the opportunity to attend

college, but that was not the same for his aunts, who were in their mid-20s at the time of the interview.

> Yeah. They weren't so fortunate. They got married. You are considered outside your family now because you got married. They have the other family's obligations to take care of.
>
> - Daniel, age 21

To the contrary, males, especially the youngest and oldest male sibling, were expected to stay close to their parents, and care for parents as they age.

I asked Zeb if he felt a responsibility or desire to care for his parents. He responded, "I think both. It's my duty as one of the sons to take care of them, and then I want the best care for them. Who's gonna give the best care? It's going to be family." Zeb and his wife both felt a deep desire to care for his parents, and this desire and obligation, in turn, influenced his post education plans. "As long as my parents are still alive, we are going to be here with them [in South Oroville]. Once they are gone, we'll see, I don't know."

As the oldest son, Choj felt a deep obligation and desire to help his parents and siblings, which limited his mobility and caused him to stay in South Oroville until just a few months prior to the interview, when he moved to a nearby neighborhood with his wife and children. Choj expressed a desire to provide financial assistance to his adult siblings and parents, and help his parents with everyday needs such as taking his parents to appointments and interpreting for them as needed with non-Hmong speakers.

> … You need to take care of your parents. I think the oldest or the youngest [sibling]; everybody in the middle is free. It's either the eldest or the youngest family, you know, takes care of the family. So that's the obligation.

- Choj, 39, oldest of 12 children

The second aspect of the Hmong Typology was the desire to stay close to family members, which in turn influenced the willingness to move away from the area for economic opportunities. Regardless of gender and a sense of responsibility of caring for aging parents, the majority of participants expressed desire to be close to their parents, siblings, cousins, or clan members after they completed their education.

Xia felt an almost debilitating desire to stay with her family in South Oroville, even though that would mean fewer options for graduate school.

I want to find a job, save some money, and find what I'm passionate about before I go. For now, I'm not really sure what I'm passionate about so I don't want to go get my master's yet. I want to work in the field that I'm majoring to see if I like it. The only problem is those programs are in the Bay Area and so that, is still difficult problem for me because I love to live with my family. I don't really know if moving out would be- it would give me new experience, but I tend to stick around with my family. It would be homesick for me. But then, for my goal for now, is just to find a job in my hometown and work and see what I'm passionate about.

- Xia, resident of Southside

An underlying factor that fueled this desire to stay in the community was religiosity, which played an unexpected role in post education pathways. Respondents who were traditional Shaman reported that they were much less likely to want to leave the community than those who were Christian. Shaman respondents reported that they were encouraged by their clan to stay in close proximity to other clan members specifically to have help in preparing for Shaman-based ceremonies such as blessings, funerals, and weddings, which are

a regular occurrence in the community. Shaman participants reported gathering with their clan members at least once a month for ceremonies and rituals. Christian participants, on the other hand, expressed a desire to stay close to their families, but also reported that their fellow church goers acted, somewhat, as surrogates for traditional clan relations. Additionally, labor intensive rituals and ceremonies that are core to the Shaman faith are largely absent from the Christian faith, which negates to need to have clan members in close proximity to help prepare for gatherings and be present to honor the subjects of the rituals and ceremonies. In this manner, religiosity influenced post education pathways.

Contrary to education expectations, post education pathways were highly influenced by gender expectations in both the older siblings and younger siblings. Universally in this population, females expected to leave their families and town behind once they married and males expected to stay to help their parents and siblings, except if there were already enough males in the family to help the parents. And again, birth order matters: the oldest son and youngest son are expected to care for the parents. Male siblings in the middle of the birth order can wander a bit. Females do not wander at all; they expect to go wherever their husbands are. This expectation was consistent even in the youngest and most modern participants. Additionally, contrary to the Carr-Kefalas brain drain theory, instead of being motivated to move away from the community to pursue socioeconomic opportunities, participants were motivated by a desire to stay close to their family and clan, and consequently, education attainment did not influence their decision to remain in the community.

Given these findings, what does the future of the Hmong in South Oroville entail, and how will educational attainment and socioeconomic change in the enclave affect the community of South Oroville? I address these questions in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 5 – Discussion and Conclusion

This study began as an examination of the barriers to education faced by second-generation Hmong in an impoverished ethnic enclave in rural, Northern California. In my role as a lecturer at a nearby university, I had the opportunity to interact and observe many Hmong students in my classes. Given what I knew about the town of South Oroville and the Hmong population, I assumed that second-generation Hmong in the community would face a proverbial uphill battle to achieving a higher education.

My assumptions were challenged by my initial Census data research, which showed that second-generation Hmong in South Oroville, particularly the 18 to 24-year-old cohort, had exceptionally high levels of educational attainment. I began looking more closely at the data. Frankly, I thought the data were wrong: that the numbers were incorrect, or that the population misinterpreted the question about educational attainment on the Census form. What other explanations were possible? Surely, this population could not have the second highest educational attainment level in the U.S. of any Hmong group (second only to neighboring Chico)? At the same time that I examined the Census data, I found Maihoua Lo's (2014) research, based in northern California as well, which supported the Census findings by saying that 72.9% of her participants had either attempted college or earned a college degree, and I realized that my question was not about barriers to education, but about what facilitated educational attainment in the population, which helped me develop my first research question: what explains the high level of educational attainment in this population?

The interviews supported ethnic enclave theory. Higher levels of education in this population were closely associated with a highly dense set of social ties within the community that transmitted strong expectations for educational attainment. Additionally, I

found that social ties to key organizations outside the enclave contributed to educational attainment, and those participants who navigated both the in-network ties and out-network ties were most successful in navigating the college environment.

The second research question also emerged as a result of examining the Census data. As discussed in Chapter 2, South Oroville experienced "white flight" between 2000 and 2010, which left a less-educated population in its wake similar to many other rural areas in the U.S. experiencing rural "brain drain." Recent literature on brain drain supports the expectation that although white flight is happening in rural America, ethnic minority in-migration and higher fertility rates partially counteract the brain drain of young, educated whites moving to city centers where more opportunity exists (Carr and Kefalas, 2009). Given the high education level of the Hmong population and the rapid white flight, my second question became clear: how would the young, educated Hmong in the population use their education? Would they stay, would they leave? Would they falter and return to South Oroville? Would this population facilitate the socioeconomic rebound of the area?

The interviews revealed some support for the Carr-Kefalas typology, with most of the participants and their siblings or clan members fitting into one of the Carr-Kefalas categories, but only up to a point. Participants did not fit the Carr-Kefalas theory regarding messages perceived from parents, teachers, or schools, and did not follow the same post-education pathways that corresponded with each typology. I found that siblings were more important than parents and school officials in exerting influence on the participants' educational attainment, a finding that does not fit well within the Carr-Kefalas typology. Carr and Kefalas paid little attention to the role of sibling influence, but siblings seem very important in this study. Due to family size and a wide range of ages between the youngest and oldest

siblings, siblings provided more direct influence on participants. While this does not perfectly fit the Carr-Kefalas typology, it does expand the typology to include more avenues from the community that might influence educational attainment. Despite not fitting these aspects of the theory, I did find that there was some variation between the participants in their desires for post education paths, which was subtle and ultimately tempered by factors that were dictated by the enclave. The results found that post education pathways were determined more on the Hmong typology. In the Hmong typology, post education pathways are determined by gender, and a desire to stay close to the family fueled by a strong sense of collectivism, discussed below.

There is some evidence that ethnic minorities are repopulating rural communities, but the findings here suggest that the trend may not last long. In this study, even with fairly recent migration to the community in the 1980s and 1990s, selective out migration is already occurring. This study found that as the participants and their families adopted more American values, they were more likely to leave the area as whites had in the previous decade. One of the striking conclusions of this study was how quickly the population is shifting their core values. Every participant detailed a family structure where the oldest siblings, often in their 40s, were still very traditional and followed traditional Hmong customs, while the youngest siblings, some as young as 14 years old, were completely modernized and Americanized. Hmong modernization in this rural ethnic enclave is occurring within a generation or so. While brain drain theories might posit that ethnic minorities will replace whites in the long term to create a rural rebound (Carr and Kefalas, 2009), I am skeptical.

Sustaining rural communities largely depends on the ebb and flow of workers into and out of the place (Zhang, 2014). South Oroville has received a 1-2-3 migration

combination punch that affects long term viability of the community. The first punch was the in-migration of Hmong immigrants to the community. In the 1980s and 90s, first-generation Hmong immigrants migrated to South Oroville, boosting the community's population, but these immigrants were less-skilled, and had lower levels of education attainment than the native South Oroville population, and significantly lower than those whites who fled South Oroville in the white flight between 2000 and 2010. This migration trend in South Oroville supports Zhang's (2014) conclusions about other rural communities in the American Midwest: a loss of social capital [educational, skills] might occur if the most highly skilled and educated of the population leave and are replaced with less educated or less skilled migrant populations.

The second punch came with the flight of whites from South Oroville: whites left behind also were the least educated of the community (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), which lowered the collective potential contributions to the community of those left behind in the community. This loss of the most highly educated whites means a loss of social capital and lower potential for economic sustainability.

The third punch is occurring right now, with increased trends in education in the replacement, Hmong, community, and indicators both from the Census data and the interviews that suggest that the 18-30-year-old respondents and the same cohort of Hmong in the community are selectively leaving South Oroville for other opportunities. The youngest of the second generation in this study indicated that Americanization has changed social ties. The replacement community, which is more highly educated than their elders and the native white population, does not possess the social ties that hold other rural communities together, and is more likely to leave the community in search of greater economic opportunities.

The 2000-2010 flight of the most educated and skilled Whites in South Oroville, the projected exodus of the most highly educated Hmong found in these results, and the high number of educated Hmong in the community, is concerning given the social and economic consequences to the community. Carr and Kefalas (2009, p. 24) argue that long-term, selective out-migration of the most highly educated youth in rural communities negatively affects the long-term viability of those communities. Zhang (2014) found negative economic consequences due to the outflow of rural youth who were more highly skilled and educated than people who moved into the same rural areas during periods of brain drain. In essence, due to the relatively high rate of education in this Hmong community, that is unique compared to other rural Hmong communities in the United States, and unique in other rural communities in the United States, more young Hmong might leave this community than even Carr and Kefalas projected in their study for whites, where only a small fraction of the youth leaves. In South Oroville, 70% of the Hmong youth are attempting college.

Throughout the interviews, an unexpected dialog surfaced that I initially attributed to the high level of educational attainment and the Carr-Kefalas theory. When I asked several respondents where they moved to after college, many noted that they had moved to the community of Thermalito, another community within the greater Oroville area whose boundaries were less than a mile from South Oroville, just across a bridge, but with a slightly better reputation, lower level of gang violence, and a newer low income housing community. When I inquired about the structure of the Hmong community in South Oroville, most respondents were quick to report that, "there's no Hmong left in South Oroville; they all live in Thermalito." By the end of the interviews, I suspected that a shift from South Oroville to Thermalito was not only likely, but probable, given the preponderance of participants who

mentioned clan members and other Hmong who had moved, and who discussed the racial

composition of the high schools in the larger Oroville community. The Census numbers of

the South Oroville community and the number and percentage of schoolmates that

participants reported did not match up. I decided to go back to the Census data to examine

recent population trends in the greater Oroville area, and examine school enrollment in the

greater Oroville area to see where Hmong students are enrolled currently.

Figure 7 Oroville School Enrollment by Race 2015
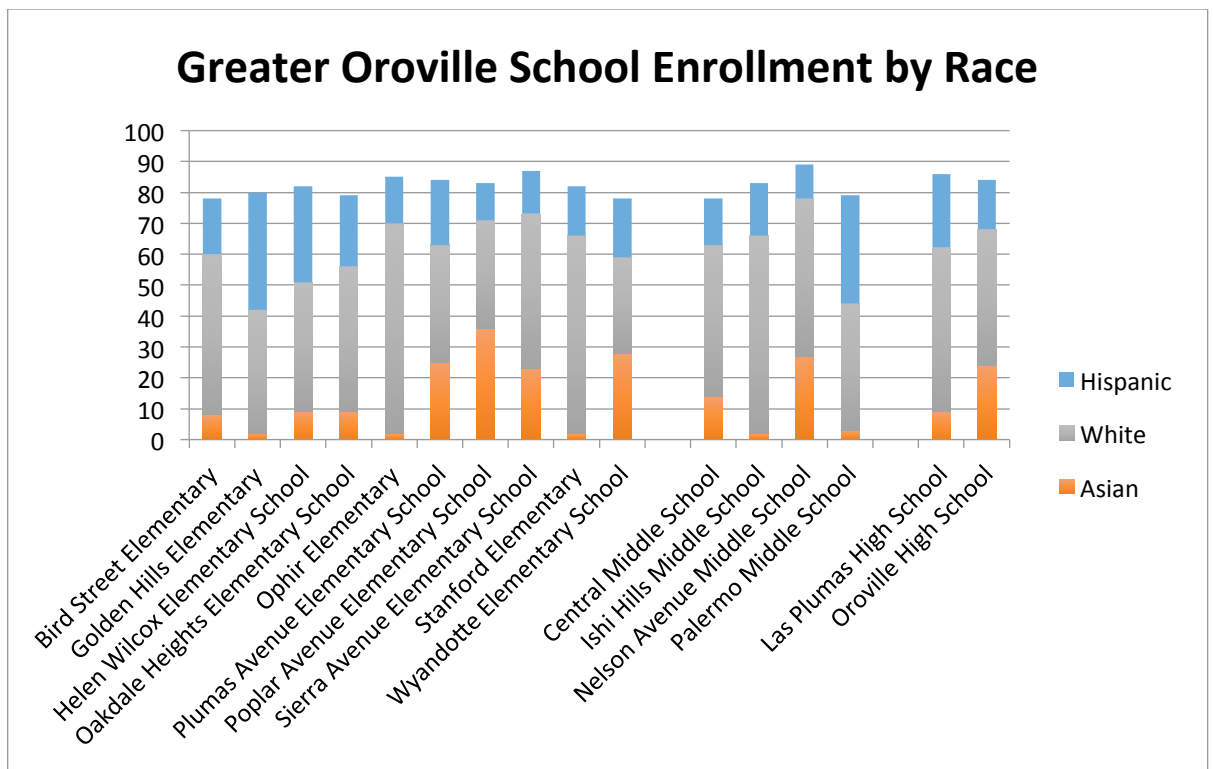
Source: www.greatschools.org

I found that, as participants had mentioned repeatedly throughout the interviews, the

Hmong from South Oroville appear to be moving out of South Oroville. Additionally, I

analyzed Census data from 2011 to 2014, and found an increase in the number of Hmong in

Thermalito in that time, from 459 in 2011, to 963 in 2014. Some of this is due to natural

increase due to births in the community, but given the statements of the participants, I suspect that more Hmong are migrating to Thermalito from South Oroville and other areas outside of Oroville. This is supported by examining the overall increase of Hmong in the greater Oroville area, which includes both South Oroville and Thermalito, in the same time period from 2011 to 2014. In 2009, there were 1,698 Hmong in the greater Oroville area, and by 2014, there were 2,986 Hmong in the greater Oroville area (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 2014).

Given what I knew about the Hmong moving in clan based patterns, I suspected that there might be clustering in certain neighborhoods in Thermalito. To examine this, I graphed school enrollment in the greater Oroville area and found that four elementary schools and one middle school, had a higher concentration of Asians than other schools in the area. Three of the four elementary schools (Poplar Avenue, Plumas Avenue, Sierra Avenue, and Nelson Middle School) are all located in Thermalito; Hmong make up 76% of the Asian population in Thermalito. The fourth elementary school is on the border of Southside, in South Oroville, next to the historically Hmong concentrated neighborhood discussed in the findings. Poplar Elementary reported that 36% of its students were Asian. These findings expand our understanding of the Carr-Kefalas typology in understanding how rural communities change due to socioeconomic mobility opportunities, but also, fits with the Hmong typology and the history of clan-based Hmong migration patterns. These trends suggest that instead of individual or a cohort based movement pattern, the Hmong migrate en masse, which could accelerate brain drain and cause more rapid flux in community structure, and therefore disrupt long-term rural communities more seriously than first theorized by brain drain models.

This potential outmigration of the replacement population of Hmong is especially noteworthy given trends toward stagnant income and employment among the larger, white population in South Oroville. In 2000, the South Oroville Hmong population earned about 82% of the household income earned by Whites; by 2010, the Hmong population in South Oroville earned about 90% of White household income.

Figure 8 Median Household Income in South Oroville 2000 – 2010
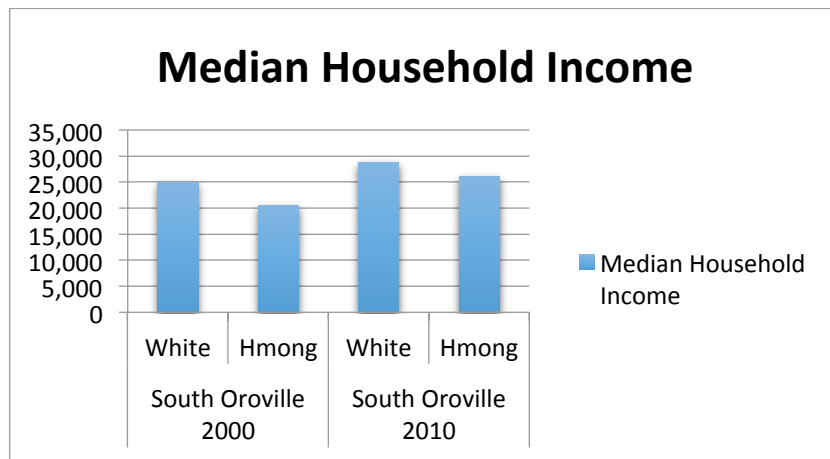
In addition to increased levels of educational attainment, an examination of workforce participation might explain the narrowing gap of income in South Oroville between Whites and Hmong. In the same period between 2000-2010 that household income narrowed, participation in the workforce among Whites stayed almost the same, while participation for Hmong increased from 40.1% to 60.1%. While the rate of employment increased for Hmong from 2000-2010, employment decreased for whites. Perhaps most interestingly, the rate of Hmong family poverty decreased by 13% between 2000 and 2010, while family poverty for whites increased by over 5%.

Figure 9 Workforce Participation and Poverty 2000-2010 in South Oroville by Race
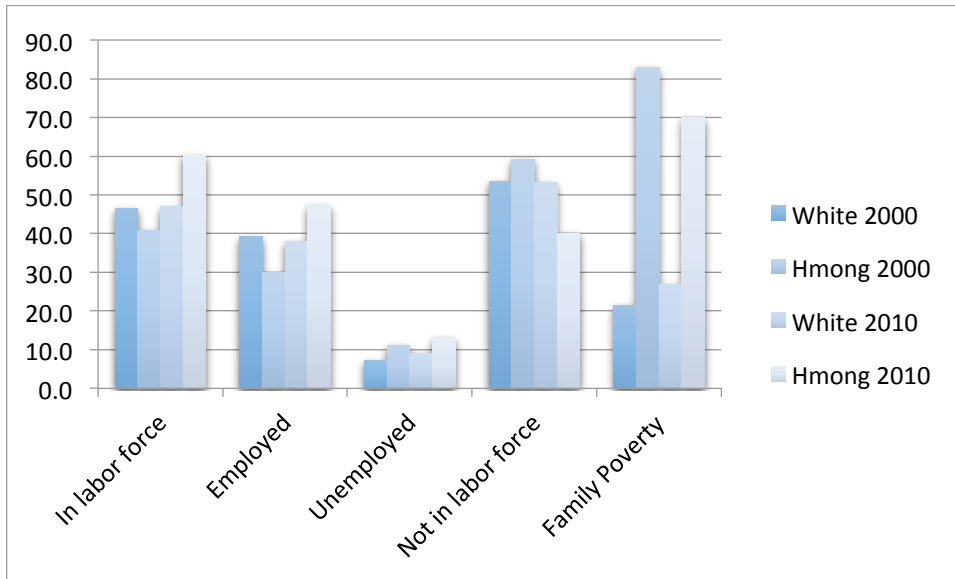
The population of Hmong that have the most potential for contributing to the community due to higher levels of educational attainment, and by bringing more people into the workforce, are likely to leave South Oroville. In contrast, the population of Whites in South Oroville has less potential due to lower levels of educational attainment, and over time, increased unemployment rates, and subsequent increased rates of poverty. These findings strongly support Carr-Kefalas' brain drain theory where the youth with the most potential self-selects to leave rural areas for more potential, although this also adds a perspective of racial divide of brain drain not anticipated in this study. Future research might investigate this racial disparity. Regardless, these findings stir serious concerns for long-term sustainability and viability of the South Oroville community.

Collectivism in the Enclave

It became apparent early on in the interviews that there was something beyond repetitive networked messages about college attainment and social support outside the enclave that influenced the motivation to attend college among second-generation Hmong in

South Oroville. I found that I had danced around the 'Why' question, as I had started calling it, for the majority of the interviews. Participants used phrases such as, "I felt like I had something to prove and felt like I wanted to give back to them [parents]. That is why I always give back to them," said Vaj, one of ten children and "I just want to help them out for all that they have done," said Sua, one of eleven children. When I asked respondents how their parents had supported their education through elementary, high school, and college, almost half of the respondents mentioned that their parents or mother had cooked for them. Bai reported that even when she had moved away from home for college and was living with her non-Hmong boyfriend, "They used to cook for me all the time. If I was coming home, she would cook for me." Even Lee, in her late 30s and divorced, living in her own home, reported that her mother takes care of some of her needs, "My mom takes care of me. Yesterday I was gardening and looked down and saw the mint leaves that she planted for me had been hacked back. I was like, 'oh, my mom's been here.' She'll drop off food, or call and say, 'do you want this? I'll cook it for you, just come and get it.' She's my rock more than anyone." Daniel reported that, "my mom is always, constantly cleaning, cooking, always busy with the household chores, making sure we are fed, we are taking showers." Unfailingly among the participants, each felt that their parents had done so much for them to succeed that they needed to repay them for their sacrifices by doing well in college, and either taking care of their parents as they age or in some way contributing to the Hmong community as a way to "give back" for the opportunities they had been given.

There were indications from early interviews of a unique sense of obligation to repay their parents for the struggles they had endured through immigration, and this obligation

fueled the desire for education. As example, Vaj described the struggle his parents endured to ensure that he and his siblings succeeded:

> …just watching how my parents struggled with all my siblings, going to school and college late… and coming home and my mom and dad always looking for a job. It was like, if I go and do this stuff [become a gang member], all the stuff that they sacrificed, will be for nothing if I just take this path and just mess my life up. I felt like I had something to prove and felt like I wanted to give back to them. That is why I always continue with my education…And my parents—my mom and dad always stressed that, you know---they wanted us to have a good life. They did not want us to be living how they are.
>
> … My mom and dad. I think they invest so much in us, and they would want us to be… They wouldn't want to see us living the life that they lived. So that is one of my major reasons why I always continue my education. It would break their heart if I was living the same life they did. I didn't want to do that. They've already suffered enough already, and I don't want to it. That's why I want to be the best I could be.
>
> - Vaj, resident of Southside

Zeb, one of 7 children, became emotional when discussing why he went to college. Zeb felt a debt of gratitude and obligation to pay his parents back for the struggles that his parents endured in their path to the United States, and the hardship they suffered in the Secret War. This gratitude and obligation was the main motivator for Zeb to do well in school, earn a Master's degree, and return to South Oroville to care for his parents as they age.

> I felt like I had to fulfill something, do something, and their effort to come here to the United States. Laos, a war torn country, they pushed their way out of Laos, found

their way to Oregon. They didn't know where they were going; it was scary for them. I felt like I owed something to them. They pushed so hard for us, for us to come here and be nobodies...they wanted us to be somebody.

- Zeb, age 31

At first, I had difficulty identifying this common theme, but felt that this was something close to the opposite of a sense of entitlement. Participants were grateful for the most basic of provisions their parents gave them during childhood and beyond: food, shelter, and a place to study. From this lack of entitlement, a sense of altruism began to take shape in the participants; many reported that they attended college and wanted to help their parents primarily for the purpose of helping their parents and "for" their parents.

A pattern developed in the interviews surrounding a sense of obligation, mixed with desire to support respondents' parents, siblings, and community, and repay parents for their struggle to get to the United States. This sense of obligation seemed to drive ambition for the participants. A sense of collectivism, or acting for the greater good, surfaced prominently when Choj tried to explain why he attended college.

So it goes back to, not obligation, it goes back to the cultural thing, personal development: my WHY. A lot of these students, the reason they are succeeding is because their why. Kind of like, I don't know if you are Christian, but the WHY is greater than yourself. Because if the why is yourself and you don't want to get up at 5 in the morning, so what, who cares, that's just for me. Gosh, I can do anything I want, for me only. If I don't make it, I don't make it. But if it's my mom, you don't talk smack about my mom. My mom's an old fart, but don't say that about my mom. I can, but not you! She's a grumpy old lady, but I'm gonna take care of her. So that

why is beyond me, beyond my laziness, that why is beyond my procrastination, beyond anything the university is going to challenge me. Biology, Chemistry, 20-page paper. Simple. Why? You try to satisfy that old lady at the house. The WHY is great...the WHY is great in our community. And so when you compare it, I'm just making a random statement here, but when you compare it to other people in Southside, they got no WHY. If you ask them, they got no WHY. Their why is Me, Myself, and I, because they're not Hmong. They don't have the thought that, 'I am my brother's keeper'. And that sense of family goes as far as my group of druggies, as far as my group of gangsters, because they do not have family because if you grew up being an American, you're taught to be individual, you're taught to leave everybody behind.

- Choj, age 39

The participants felt an overwhelming sense of collectivism, where every action was performed to benefit the group instead of the individual. In this group, the greatest contribution that they could make was education, which would pull the family and clan out of poverty, and off of government welfare programs.

Over the course of the interviews, a traditional, deeply altruistic, and collectivist mentality in the participants emerged that was not fully explained by the theoretical framework I developed. I went back to the literature to examine theories that might help me understand how these forms of altruism might shape educational attainment and post education pathways in this population.

Participants repeatedly used the term "traditional" to describe the Hmong culture, and how the Hmong community in South Oroville functions. Xia identified that the "more

traditional" Hmong still purposely practiced traditional marriage and funeral rituals in order to maintain the culture and lamented the loss of the traditional society in which she grew up. "Its eye opening to recognize that you might not maintain your own culture because you are so modernized," Xia told me while discussing marriage and funeral rituals.

The enclave had a singular vision of acting for the good of the clan and the Hmong community, which, for this enclave, meant raising the collective socioeconomic status of the individual first, with college attainment. While older siblings were much less likely to go to college largely because they lacked role models, migrated to the U.S. later than younger siblings and likely did not have the opportunity to attend primary school as long in the U.S., and lacked the social network that helped facilitate the younger siblings going to college, in each family, there was one sibling or cousin who attended college and became the trailblazer to the younger siblings and clan members. The trailblazer in each family became the catalyst for the younger siblings and cousins, helped with schoolwork, pushed younger brothers and sisters to go to college, helped them navigate the college application process and subsequent college life. The higher up the sibling order, the more likely the younger siblings were to go to college because the parents realized college led to financial stability, which was for the good of the clan.

But because of the collectivist mentality, there was no perceived difference in gender expectations for going to college once the trailblazer set the path for the younger siblings in this study. Every respondent, except one, reported that it was an expectation for all of the youngest siblings to go to college, regardless of gender because in some way, they would be able to contribute to the success of the clan more significantly with a college education.

Again, I went back to the literature to attempt to explain this sense of collectivism, and found Emile Durkheim. Through this, I was able to identify that the underlying catalyst for higher education in the enclave was a sense of collectivism, with the primary goal of the enclave to raise the socioeconomic status of the enclave.

In analyzing Durkheim's theory of social cohesion, Collins (1988) surmised that "we can characterize an entire society (or any group within it) in terms of how much physical density of interaction there is within it, how much common focus of attention, and how much common emotional sentiment," the group has (Collins, 1988, p. 200). Durkheim (Collins, 1988; Giddens, 1974) theorized two different types of society, on the opposite ends of a social cohesion spectrum, that explain how and why cultures function. In the mechanical solidarity culture, the individual's needs and desires are less important than the collective's maintenance, whereas in an organic solidarity culture, individualism is the norm. Members of cultures based upon mechanical solidarity act first for the benefit of the collective; members of organic solidarity cultures act first for the benefit of the individual. Cultures based on mechanical solidarity share values, beliefs, and emotions, have a high levels of social density, are in constant contact with each other, see themselves as different than other cultures, and distrust non-members of the culture (Collins, 1988, p. 200-201). Durkheim's social cohesion theory effectively explains the structure of this enclave and how the enclave functions, with all participants acting for the collective, a common set of values and beliefs, a dense setting where individuals are in constant contact with each other, and isolating non-members, which reinforces the messages from the network.

Policy Implications

This research identified an area of policy that is severely lacking for first generation

and academically at-risk students, which are programs that identify and nurture those students in high school, and extend into college to facilitate college graduation. Programs such as Educational Talent Search and Upward Bound identify and support high school students, while programs such as Educational Opportunity Program [EOP], Raising Educational Awareness in Collaborative Hubs [REACH], and First Year Experience [FYE] assist at risk college students in staying on track to graduate. There was no program either in the community or at the local colleges that began in high school, and extended to college, that provided ongoing services and counseling for at risk students, despite the success of the above programs.

A recent study by The Pell Institute (2009) found that participants of Upward Bound were 50% more likely to attain a Bachelor's degree than non-Upward Bounders, 19% more likely to earn a post-secondary degree or credential, and 22% more likely to apply for financial aid. The Pell Institute study found that Upward Bound is successful in helping students achieve college degrees, but the program is limited in scope, and size of population it reaches. In the service year 2014-15, Chico State's Upward Bound office served 317 students from 18 high schools across the Northern California service area, north of Sacramento to the Oregon border. Of students served, 95% enrolled in college by the fall semester immediately after high school graduation (California State University Chico, 2016c). Chico State's Upward Bound Alumni office unofficially provides services to current college students who are Upward Bound alumni, such as a student lounge, a refrigerator for students to store their meals in while on campus for classes, and computer lab. This Alumni program is not standard in other Upward Bound programs in the United States, and this

program's full scope of services, such as virtual tutoring, are only available to 2 of the 18 high schools in the local program.

In college, first generation and low income students can apply to programs such as EOP, among several others at Chico State, that provide support services, tutoring, mentoring, and collaborative work environments in U-Courses, which are general education courses specifically for EOP participants, and First Year Experience courses. The retention rates of first year EOP students at Chico State in spring 2014 was 97%, much higher than Chico State's overall persistence rate of 83% (California State University, Chico, 2010) for the same year. In total, EOP served approximately 1,200[8] students at Chico State in academic year 2013-14 (California State University, Chico, 2014). Although these programs appear successful, the programs are limited, and there is no consistency from high school to college. Ideally, programs such as Upward Bound and EOP would be facilitated by one program that provides a bridge and consistency to students, to increase student success, and decrease time to graduation. Local high schools and colleges must begin to address this absence of a bridge program in order identify youth interested in college, and to help students succeed once they get to college.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research

This study was limited most significantly by access to the enclave. Although I had ample access to participants who attended college, accessing participants who had not attended college proved to be difficult. I attempted to use a snowball method of identifying participants who had not attempted college, but I was rebuffed repeatedly, even though my

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[8] EOP at Chico State enrolls approximately 210 new students each academic year; participants can be enrolled throughout their entire undergraduate career.

contact was a sibling or cousin of the desired participant. As an example, I spent several weeks attempting to contact one such participant, who was the cousin of one of the participants, and finally stopped my pursuit when I received an email that stated that the desired participant was embarrassed to discuss education, because it brought shame to her family that she had not attended college. Each prospective participant who had not attended college had a similar response. As a result, I was not able to more thoroughly make comparisons between college-educated and non-college-educated participants, as I had hoped to do. I intend to return to this community in the near future with an ethnographic research model in order to access the 18-30-year-old cohort who did not attend college to make comparisons between college educated and non-college educated second generation Hmong in the community.

The underlying question of why the *first* generation Hmong in South Oroville, many of whom were illiterate, or had only had 3-4 years of primary level education themselves, value education to such a degree was not answered in this study. We now know what explains the high education attainment in the second-generation participants, but the first generation question is still unanswered. Future research might include interviewing the first generation in this community to further explore why education is so important.

We cannot know, or even speculate, on the path that this cohort of second generation Hmong might take as they integrate into the dominant culture. There have been no long term studies of second generation Hmong and socioeconomic mobility, which leads to a particularly interesting longitudinal study model, that would track this cohort of 18-24-year-old Hmong. This longitudinal model would help us better understand how this cohort, the

first with very high educational attainment, used its education long term, and how that effects the sustainability of the community in the next 10 to 20 years.

Another unanswered question of this research is, "is this just a moment in time or place? An anomaly in educational attainment and pathways, or is this the norm for this population or the larger Hmong-American population?" To answer that, future research might investigate the educational attainment of the next cohort of 18-24 year olds in the enclave to see if the trend of high education continues.

This study is part of a long-term project that is designed to better understand the structure of the Hmong community and the long-term integration of the Hmong into American culture. The next phase of research moves to Northern Thailand, to rural Hmong villages, to further explore the social ties and collective structure of the ethnicity. Upon completion of the Thailand portion of the study, I will return to study South Oroville in a more ethnographic manner to further examine the social ties and collective structure of the ethnicity to better understand social mobility in the Hmong culture and in rural ethnic enclaves over time.

A confluence of factors influenced educational attainment in the respondents. Enclave influence and expectations, coupled with external federal and state funding, all impacted educational attainment. While parents had high expectations of educational attainment for the respondents, it was siblings who became the primary motivators to these respondents, and who strengthened the social ties within the network and as bridges to outside the enclave that facilitated educational attainment. I understand how ethnic enclaves work to help educational attainment in at-risk populations, but this population, and other lower-socioeconomic populations, need external funding sources to achieve their educational potential. Every

respondent reported reliance on federal and state grant opportunities to pay tuition, books, and living expenses, and the Upward Bound and Educational Talent Search programs are completely funded by government grants for high school students who are either are first generation college students or in poverty. Respondents repeatedly reported that they would not have been able to attend college without these funding sources, even with the emotional support and motivation from their clan.

Funding from the state and federal level needs to be improved, and expanded, to reach more students, both low income and in the middle class, to aid educational attainment. To put the current scope of aid in perspective for programs such as Upward Bound, consider the case of Oroville High School. Oroville High School has total student enrollment of just under 1,100 students, 24% of whom are Asian, overwhelmingly Hmong, which means most of the Asian population is a potential first-generation college student, one of the two criteria for participating in Upward Bound. More striking is the rate of low-socioeconomic status at the high school. Fully 75% of students at Oroville High School qualified for free or reduced lunch (California Department of Education, 2014), an indicator of poverty, and the second criteria for participation in Upward Bound and the only indicator to receive grants and work study in college that might fully pay for tuition and living expenses. Despite a high number of students eligible for Upward Bound and a high number of students who would be eligible for significant grant funding to attend college, Upward Bound has the resources to serve only 25 of the 1,100 students at Oroville High School each year, and only 18% (California Department of Education, 2014) of the graduating high school seniors completed all requirements to attend a California state university upon graduation. Federal and state funding to expand programs in high school must be explored and developed, as these

programs identify and support high school students, advise students on courses to prepare

them for college, assist in the college application and financial aid application process, and

introduce them to college through college visits and on-campus residency programs, all of

which serve to increase college attainment for this population, and other at risk populations.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Survey Protocol

Background Questions

SECTION I

Name _____

Addresses of your childhood home(s) and length of living at each address:
(If more than three addresses, please list the addresses where you lived the longest)

_____ How long? _____

_____ How long? _____

_____ How long? _____

What is your age? _____

How do you define your race or ethnicity?

_____

What elementary school(s) did you attend?

_____

What middle school(s) did you attend?

_____

What high school(s) did you attend?

_____

What is your mother's highest level of education?

_____

What is your father's highest level of education?

_____

What is your mother's occupation?

_____

What is your father's occupation?

_____

If you attend(ed) college, what is your major?

_____

If you attend(ed) college, what college(s) did you attend?

_____

If you would like to receive a digital copy of the final report of this research, please provide an email address where I can send the report: _____

Educational Attainment Interview Questions

Opening statement: Thank you for participating in this interview. I am conducting research on educational attainment of second generation Hmong Americans in South Oroville. Your participation and experiences are important for understanding educational attainment and I encourage you to speak freely throughout the interview. I would like to audio record this interview to ensure that I accurately convey your words and ideas in the findings of this study; may I have your permission to record? Before we begin, do you have any questions?

SECTION II

Research Question: Influence of Ethnic Enclave on Educational Attainment

Loosely-Structured Interview Protocol

1. My family is from the Oroville area and when I was a child, my aunt lived in South Oroville over on Greenville Street; I visited her there often. What was it like for you growing up in South Oroville?

2. What was your neighborhood like?
   a. What type of area was it? Rural? Farming? Subdivision?
   b. Was it a place where kids played outside a lot or played at neighborhood houses or nearby parks?

3. Who did you live with?

4. Do you have siblings?
   a. How many siblings do you have?
   b. What are their ages?

5. Would you consider your extended family close knit?
   a. Did you live close to your aunts and uncles? Cousins? Grandparents?
      i. How frequently did you interact with those family members while growing up?
   b. How much of an influence did your extended family or clan have on your daily life?
   c. How much of an influence did your extended family or clan have on major family decisions such as where to live, when and who to marry, etc.?
      i. In what ways did your extended family or clan influence those decisions?
         1. Family/Clan meetings?
         2. Discussion between elder family/clan members?

6. Tell me about your life today:
   a. What is your highest level of education completed?
   b. Have you completed your education?
      i. When do you plan to complete your education?
   c. Do you plan to return to college or a technical school for more education?
      i. What degree or training do you plan to pursue or complete when you return to college?
      ii. What would influence your decision to return to college or not?
   d. Are you currently employed?
      i. What type of work do you do?
      ii. Is this the type of work you would like to do long term?
   e. How long have you worked at your current place of employment _____, months; _____, years? (skip if not employed)
   f. What is your marital status?

        i.   What is your spouse's education level and occupation? (skip if not married)

        ii. What is your spouse's occupation? (skip if not married)

    g.   Do you have children? How many? Age?

    h.   How frequently do you interact with your parents and siblings?

        i.   What activities does your extended family do together?

            1.   Church? Vacations? Weekly meals?

7. How important is education to your parents? Your siblings? Your neighborhood? Your high school? Your clan?

    a.   Regarding education, how did your parents talk to you when you were a child about their expectations for education?

8. How did your parents and family support your education in elementary and high school?

    a.   Did they provide:

        i.   A quiet place to study?

        ii. Verbal support for your education?

        iii. Promise of financial support for you to go to college?

        iv. Did they attend parent/teacher conferences?

        v.   Did they provide other support?

9. How much support did/do you feel from your parents and family to go to college?

10. How did/do your parents and family support your college education?

    a.   Did/do they provide:

        i.   (If respondent had children while in college) childcare for your children while you were in college?

        ii. Financial support?

        iii. Housing while in college?

        iv. Did your parents talk to you about college while you were growing up?

        v.   Other support?

11. How did/do your parents and family support your sibling's college education?

    a.   Did/do they provide:

        i.   (If siblings had children while in college) childcare for your children while you were in college?

        ii. Financial support?

        iii. Housing while in college?

        iv. Other support?

12. Did your teachers in high school and elementary school encourage you to go to college or follow a different path?

    a.   How did your teachers encourage you either to go to college or follow a different path?

        i.   Tutoring, counseling, writing letters of recommendation, assisting with college applications, other measures?

13. Did your high school offer programs, workshops, or opportunities that helped students prepare for college, such as a College Connection program or Advanced Placement classes?

    a.   Did you explore those opportunities? Why or why not?

    b.   Did you feel those programs were successful in preparing you for college or helping you decide to go to college?

        i.   How were those programs successful or helpful?

14. What do you think influenced you most to go to college or not go to college?

    a.   Why did you choose the college you attend(ed)? (skip if didn't go to college)

SECTION III

Research Question: How do second generation Hmong use their education?
Semi-structured Interview Protocol

1. What are your plans after you complete your education?
   a. What are your employment plans?
   b. Do you expect to stay or return to South Oroville?
   c. What would influence your decision to stay or return to South Oroville?
      i. Family/clan obligation? Work opportunities? Employment opportunities? Marriage?

2. What path did your high school classmates take after high school?

   a. Did most go to college? Go to work? Military? Start a family?

3. What path did your siblings take after high school?
   a. Did most go to college? Go to work? Join the military? Start a family?

4. Do you feel an obligation to help your family (parents, siblings, clan members) financially or as a caregiver?
   a. How would you keep this obligation?
   b. What would you do?
   c. How would that influence your decision to stay in South Oroville or leave?

5. How do you see your life in the next 10 years or so?
   a. Would you be working?
   b. In the military?
   c. Raising a family?
   d. Helping care for family or clan elders?
   e. Where do you see yourself living in 10 years?

That is the end of the interview. Thank you for your time. Now that the interview has concluded, do you have any questions or concerns about the interview?

Appendix B - Expanded Tables and Figures

Table 1 Educational Attainment of Hmong in the United States and South Oroville by Race, Age, and Sex

Hmong alone or in any combination (422) & (100-299) or (300, A01-Z99) or (400-999)	US				South Oroville			
	Census 2000		Census 2010		Census 2000		Census 2010	
	Estimate	%	Estimate	%	Estimate	%	Estimate	%
Total:	82,911		133,557		237		558	
Male:	41,680		65,815		131		272	
18 to 24 years:	12,360		21,833		42		159	
Some college, no degree	3,485	28.20	7742.00	35.46	20	47.62	117	73.58
Associate's degree	277	2.24	1,046	4.79	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	295	2.39	603	2.76	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	15	0.12	38	0.17	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		**32.94**		**43.19**		**47.62**		**73.58**
25 to 34 years:	11,531		18,487		37		34	
Some college, no degree	2,493	21.62	5,068	27.41	0	0.00	20	58.82
Associate's degree	1,176	10.20	1,540	8.33	17	45.95	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	1,555	13.49	2,613	14.13	6	16.22	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	284	2.46	607	3.28	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		**47.77**		**53.16**		**62.16**		**58.82**
Female:	41,231		67,742		106		286	0.00
18 to 24 years:	11,402		21,860		40		117	0.00
Some college, no degree	3,198	28.05	8,329	38.10	0	0.00	54	46.15
Associate's degree	469	4.11	885	4.05	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	324	2.84	1,132	5.18	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	43	0.38	145	0.66	0	0.00	19	16.24
Total		**35.38**		**47.99**		**0.00**		**62.39**
25 to 34 years:	11,278		19,425		31		59.00	
Some college, no degree	1,567	13.89	4,922	25.34	0	0.00	0	0.00
Associate's degree	767	6.80	1,994	10.27	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	922	8.18	4,018	20.68	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	204	1.81	598	3.08	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		**30.68**		**59.37**		**0.00**		**0.00**

Table 2 Educational Attainment by Race in the United States, California, and South Oroville by Race, Age, and Sex

	United States				California				South Oroville CDP, California			
	White alone		Hmong alone or in any combination		White alone		Hmong alone or in any combination		White alone		Hmong alone or in any combination	
	Estimate	%	Estimate	%	Estimate	%	Estimate	%	Estimate	%	Estimate	%
Total:	174,756,903		133,557		17,201,449		47,181		3,065		558	
Male:	85,164,390		65,815		8,521,444		23,293		1,683		272	
18 to 24 years:	10,758,951		21,833		1,138,618		7,725		244		159	
Some college, no degree	3,982,073	37.01	7,742	35.46	414,883	36.44	2,983	38.61	8	3.28	117	73.58
Associate's degree	479,174	4.45	1,046	4.79	49,311	4.33	441	5.71	18	7.38	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	815,504	7.58	603	2.76	72,068	6.33	142	1.84	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	48,365	0.45	38	0.17	4,556	0.40	6	0.08	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		**49.49**		**43.19**		**47.50**		**46.24**		**10.66**		**73.58**
25 to 34 years:	14,204,089		18,487		1,530,651		6,749		319		34	
Some college, no degree	3,157,828	22.23	5,068	27.41	347,955	22.73	1,763	26.12	115	36.05	20	58.82
Associate's degree	1,104,830	7.78	1,540	8.33	101,890	6.66	609	9.02	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	3,109,067	21.89	2,613	14.13	324,276	21.19	1,140	16.89	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	1,044,016	7.35	607	3.28	104,246	6.81	259	3.84	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		**59.25**		**53.16**		**57.39**		**55.87**		**36.05**		**58.82**
35 to 44 years:	15,444,366		11,339		1,598,004		3,616		336		70	
Some college, no degree	3,125,920	20.24	2,351	20.73	329,547	20.62	813	22.48	74	22.02	0	0.00
Associate's degree	1,223,523	7.92	1,254	11.06	103,309	6.46	345	9.54	12	3.57	6	8.57
Bachelor's degree	3,142,935	20.35	1,831	16.15	325,250	20.35	558	15.43	10	2.98	6	8.57
Graduate or professional degree	1,662,739	10.77	475	4.19	184,558	11.55	188	5.20	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		**59.28**		**52.13**		**58.99**		**52.65**		**28.57**		**17.14**
Female:	89,592,513		67,742		8,680,005		23,888		1,382		286	
18 to 24 years:	10,209,700		21,860		1,030,426		7,510		262		117	
Some college, no degree	4,260,887	41.73	8,329	38.10	431,905	41.92	3,282	43.70	72	27.48	54	46.15
Associate's degree	579,092	5.67	885	4.05	62,370	6.05	254	3.38	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	1,167,195	11.43	1,132	5.18	100,263	9.73	372	4.95	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	86,385	0.85	145	0.66	7,216	0.70	46	0.61	0	0.00	19	16.24
Total		**59.68**		**47.99**		**58.40**		**52.65**		**27.48**		**62.39**
25 to 34 years:	13,850,636		19,425		1,439,101		7,085		208		59	
Some college, no degree	3,130,753	22.60	4,922	25.34	334,713	23.26	1,724	24.33	12	5.77	0	0.00
Associate's degree	1,339,840	9.67	1,994	10.27	117,260	8.15	770	10.87	11	5.29	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	3,603,642	26.02	4,018	20.68	354,738	24.65	1,653	23.33	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	1,509,633	10.90	598	3.08	139,533	9.70	225	3.18	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		**69.19**		**59.37**		**65.75**		**61.71**		**11.06**		**0.00**
35 to 44 years:	15,279,503		10,482		1,531,795		3,143		331		64	
Some college, no degree	3,322,340	21.74	1,336	12.75	343,194	22.40	433	13.78	145	43.81	0	0.00
Associate's degree	1,614,914	10.57	641	6.12	129,942	8.48	121	3.85	12	3.63	0	0.00
Bachelor's degree	3,447,644	22.56	749	7.15	333,677	21.78	229	7.29	0	0.00	0	0.00
Graduate or professional degree	1,797,786	11.77	535	3.20	183,227	11.96	84	2.67	10	3.02	0	0.00
Total		**66.64**		**29.20**		**64.63**		**27.59**		**50.45**		**0.00**

Table 3 Educational Attainment of South Oroville Whites and Hmong, 2010

	South Oroville California	
	White alone	Hmong alone or in any combination
	Estimate	Estimate
Total:	3,065	558
Male:	**1,683**	**272**
18 to 24 years:	244	159
Less than 9th grade	0	0
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	123	0
High school graduate, GED, or alternative	95	42
Some college, no degree	8	117
Associate's degree	18	0
Bachelor's degree	0	0
Graduate or professional degree	0	0
25 to 34 years:	319	34
Less than 9th grade	0	14
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	82	0
High school graduate, GED, or alternative	122	0
Some college, no degree	115	20
Associate's degree	0	0
Bachelor's degree	0	0
Graduate or professional degree	0	0
Female:	**1,382**	**286**
18 to 24 years:	262	117
Less than 9th grade	0	0
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	80	0
High school graduate, GED, or alternative	110	44
Some college, no degree	72	54
Associate's degree	0	0
Bachelor's degree	0	0
Graduate or professional degree	0	19
25 to 34 years:	208	59
Less than 9th grade	0	16
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	59	43
High school graduate, GED, or alternative	126	0
Some college, no degree	12	0
Associate's degree	11	0
Bachelor's degree	0	0
Graduate or professional degree	0	0