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Master's Thesis of Public Administration

**The Effect of Family Social Capital on
the Academic Achievement of
Multicultural Children in Korea**

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February 2020

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Abstract

The Effect of Family Social Capital on the Academic Achievement of Multicultural Children in Korea

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This research investigates and describes the effect of family social capital on the academic achievement of the children with a multicultural background based on James Coleman's notion of social capital. Using the wave 2 to wave 6 datasets of the Multicultural Adolescents Panel Study, the study examines how parental presence, as well as their interests, encouragement, and care on children, affect children's development pertaining to education. Quantitative analysis with random effect panel modelling is used as the primary research methodology. The results suggest that the parent-child discussion, monitoring, direct involvement and educational expectation as of family social capital are significantly positive on the academic achievement of multicultural children while family structure, maternal

working and parental participation in PTO do not affect academic achievement. Family social capital is more influential on the academic achievement of multicultural children than socio-economic resources and teachers. Therefore, it is recommended to provide a parent education programme for multicultural parents to cope with the different demands of multicultural children by their school grades. Not only providing the number of new programmes for multicultural parents, but it is also necessary that the schools encourage multicultural parents to participate in more school events.

KEYWORDS: Family Social Capital; Academic achievement; Multicultural Children; Multicultural Adolescents Panel Study

STUDENT ID: 2017-24148

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background

Multiculturalism is no longer an unaccustomed phenomenon in the Republic of Korea (hereinafter referred to as Korea). The increase in international marriage since the 1990s and the influx of foreign labour boost the residing foreign population to 2.37 million in 2018, representing 4.5% of the total Korean population (Ministry of Justice, 2019). A change in demographics and a reduction in prejudice against international marriage^① contribute to the generalisation of international marriage. In fact, around 8% of total marriages in South Korea (23,773 cases out of 257,622 marriages) were identified as marriage with a foreign spouse (Statistics Korea, 2019).

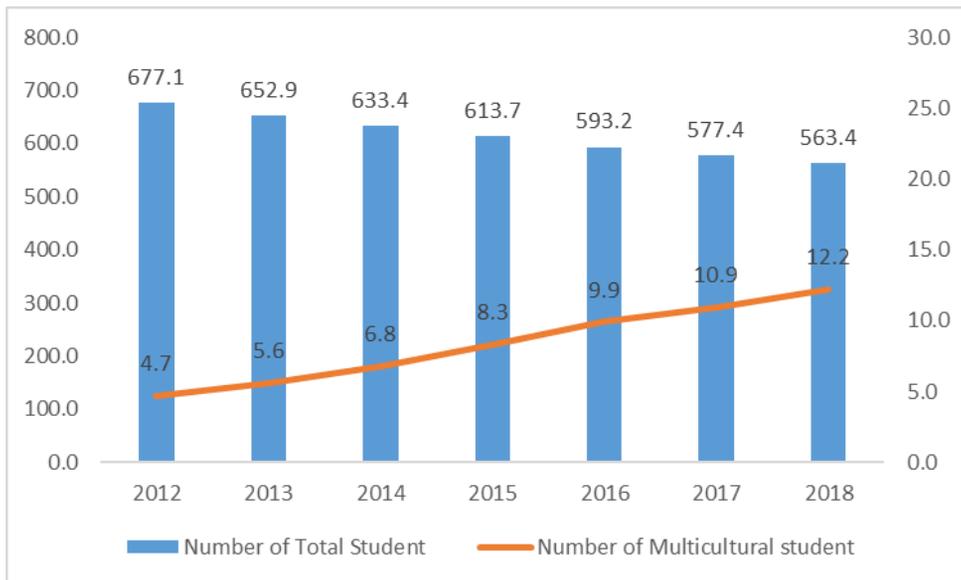
As the number of multicultural household increases, so does the number of multicultural children. According to the Ministry of Interior and Safety (2019), the number of multicultural children was 226,145 in 2018. Among them, the school-aged multicultural children count to be 122,212 in 2018 (Ministry of Education, 2018) meanwhile the number of school-aged multicultural children was counted as 46,954 in 2012. This is in contrast to a decrease in the number of school-aged non-multicultural children from 2012 to 2018. Naturally, the ratio of multicultural students to non-multicultural students has increased from 0.7% in 2012 to 2.2% in 2018 (Ministry of Education, 2018). Given that 5.5% of a new-

① According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, and Korean Women's Development Institute in 2019, 89.2% of respondents answered that they can marry with a foreigner and more than 70% answer that multicultural family is an acceptable form of family to be a partner of themselves or their children (news1, 2019)

born child in 2018 was from multicultural families (Statistics Korea, 2019) and 51.8% of multicultural children are still pre-school aged (Ministry of Education, 2018), the number and ratio of multicultural students in public education are expected to continue the increasing trend in the future.

<Figure 1> The number of total students and multicultural students

(Unit in 10,000)



*Source: Korean Educational Statistics Service

With increasing importance, the Korean government has been supporting the multicultural child through ‘Master Plan for Supporting Multicultural Families’, ‘Basic Plan to Youth Policy’ and ‘Basic Plan to Foreign Resident’ and ‘Multicultural Education Support Plan’^② (Yang and Kim, 2017). Among various policy goals for multicultural children, education is a key goal (Nam and Kim,

^② Multicultural Education Support Plan has been implemented every year since 2006 to integrate multicultural student to be adapted to Korean society. Now, the support plan expands to cover the customised education for multicultural students and to reinforce education on the multiculturalism for the majority (Yang and Kim, 2017).

2011). The capacity building being a core strategic objective, the government specifically focuses on Korean language, school life adaptation and educational support of multicultural children (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2018a; Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2018b; Ministry of Justice, 2018; Ministry of Education; 2019).

Despite the government efforts, some multicultural students face difficulty in adapting to school life and in the curriculum. According to the National Survey on standard academic level in 2013, 13%, 13.5% and 8.5% of multicultural students in the middle school did not meet the standard academic level in Korean, Mathematics, and English whereas the percentage of non-multicultural students with below standard academic level were only 2.4% in Korean, 5.7% in Mathematics and 3.3% in English (Yonhap News, 2015). Additionally, the low academic achievement of multicultural students is indirectly captured in the recent 2018 National Survey of Multicultural Families. The enrollment rate of multicultural children decreases as the school level increases. Compared with non-multicultural children, the middle school enrollment rate was 5.1%, the high school enrollment rate was 4.5%, and the higher education enrollment rate was 18.0% lower for the multicultural child (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2018c). Among drop-out children^③, 64.6% of respondents said the difficulty of school study is the main reason for un-adaptation to school life (Ministry of Gender

③. According to Framework Act on Education, Article 8 (Compulsory Education), Elementary education for 6 years and secondary education for 3 years are compulsory education in Korea. However, students can be granted a delay or exempted under the certain conditions (with granted-delay (Diseases, a long term absence, unrecognised study-abroad or overseas travel). These particular students are on supernumerary school register, which is basically considered as a drop-out in the compulsory education (Korean Education Development Institute, 2017, pp. 54; Enforcement Decree of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Article 29)

Equality and Family, 2018c).

Academic achievement is important in Korean society since it leads to an overall assessment of an individual and determines the future life and career path (An, 2003; Jung, 2012). Because of its strong correlation with the future social class and status, there have been many studies on the academic achievement (Jung, 2012). Many factors contribute to the academic success of a child. Among them, a family factor is an indispensable factor, a concept that encompasses parental socio-economic status and educational attainment, and involvement in a child's education (Coleman, 1988). The researchers had concentrated on the financial capital (typically measured by wealth and family income) and the human capital (typically measured by parental educational attainment) in promoting academic achievement (Kim, 2000; An, 2003; Tsuyuguchi, Kuramoto and Kido, 2013; Kim & Kim, 2016).

However, the increasing number of studies asserts that family social capital can have a positive significant effect on children's academic achievement regardless of their parent's financial capital or educational attainment (Coleman, 1988; Furstenberg and Hughes, 1993; McNeal, 1999; Israel, Beulieu & Hartless, 2001). The positive relationship between family social capital and a child's academic achievement has been upheld in Korea. Kyung-Keun Kim (2000), Woo-Hwan Ahn (2003), Hyun-joo Kim and Byung-hoon Lee (2005), Jin Hee Lee (2007), Hee Chang Lee and Jung Hee Kang (2010), Young-Ran Kim and Min-Jung Kim (2016) concluded that family social capital is beneficial on academic achievements of the Korean adolescents.

Nevertheless, the influence of family social capital on the academic achievement of multicultural children is rather elusive. The empirical works have

been only partially examined the effect of family structure, parent-relation and educational expectation (Oh and Kim, 2018), family structure, maternal working and maternal supports (Jung, 2012), and monitoring (Park, 2017). This is paradoxical since a weakening parent-child relationship among multicultural families is manifested in the recent indices. According to the 2018 National Survey of Multicultural Families, more multicultural families experience structural deficit. 16.5% of married immigrant respondents are divorced or separated in 2018, which was only 4.5% in 2015 (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2015; 2018c). The intergenerational communication is increasingly severed that the percentage of multicultural children who do not talk with father and mother respectively increases from 7% in 2015 to 8.2% in 2018 and from 3.4% in 2015 to 10.3% in 2018. Furthermore, multicultural children are less satisfied with the relationship with their parents in 2018 than in 2015. The average mean response decreases from 3.94 in 2015 to 3.59 in 2018 for fathers and from 4.24 in 2015 to 3.82 in 2018 for mothers. This results in a widened gap with non-multicultural children who score 4.00 and 4.35 as how much they are satisfied with the relationship with father and mother respectively. (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2015; 2018c).

1.2. Purpose of research

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to assess the effect of family social capital on the academic achievement of the multicultural children in Korea using Coleman's concept of social capital in the family. The relationship between family social capital and academic achievement of multicultural children is still weak in explanation due to a limited analysis in quantity and contents. Through the

comprehensive examination of social capital in the family, individual and comprehensive impacts of family social capital would be investigated. Moreover, this paper specifically uses panel data from the Multicultural Adolescents Panel Study (MAPS). Previous studies are conducted based on single-year period data that the time factor is imperceptible to the cross-sectional analysis. By doing so, this paper will find important implications for the academic success of the multicultural children and suggest a policy recommendation.

This paper will consist of 5 chapters. Followed by Chapter 1 introduction, Chapter 2 will review the concept and existing studies on the multicultural family in Korea, academic achievement and social capital. Then Chapters 3 and 4 will describe the methodology and variables of this research and analyse the results of an empirical test on the effect of family social capital on the academic achievement of the children from multicultural families. Finally, Chapter 5 will summarise the findings and attempt to make a policy recommendation to improve the academic achievements of multicultural children.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 The Definition of Multicultural child

The term ‘multicultural child’ is incoherently referred to among different grounds. Article 2 of the Multicultural Family Support Act legally defines the term ‘multicultural family’ (Definition)^④ as a family comprised of Korean national and marriage immigrant or neutralised person. Because the Multicultural Family Support Act regulates at least one person of a family member must have a Korean nationality, the multicultural child generally refers to a child from an international marriage family and does not include a child whose parents are both foreigners. Yet, this definition of multicultural family is criticised to be too narrowly interpreted for school and related institutions to respond the reality. Ministry of Education applies the expanded definition of multicultural students by including domestically born and immigrated children from the international marriage family (including North Korea refugee child) and foreign child (Baek, 2018). On the grounds that the Ministry of Education’s definition is more widely referred to in the researches on the multicultural child in education, the multicultural child in this paper will, therefore, denote a definition made by the Ministry of Education.

^④ The term "multicultural family" means any of the following families:

A) A family comprised of immigrants by marriage defined in subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea and persons who have acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea pursuant to Articles 2 through 4 of the Nationality Act;

B) A family comprised of a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea pursuant to Articles 3 and 4 of the Nationality Act and a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea pursuant to Articles 2 through 4 of the aforementioned Act;

2.2 Family Social Capital

The concept of social capital is originated from the neoclassical idea on the economic importance of the interaction and exchange between the individuals within a social structure (Field, 2003). Since first proposed by Hanifan (1916) as the potential to meet social needs formed through exchanges between the individuals, the term, social capital, has been defined in diverse approaches and perspectives. Among them, the notion of Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman are most frequently cited (Field, 2003; Rogosic and Baranovic, 2016).

Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”. Because social obligations and connections form social capital, the volume of social capital held by an individual depends on the size of the network and the individual’s own capital in that network (Bourdieu, 1986). Under his notion, social capital reproduces social inequalities (Dika and Singh, 2002). Like a capital being invested in hope of return, social capital works as an investment in relationship and network with the expected return of benefits from such network and relationship (Field, 2003). As the investment to institutional resources, social capital is used in maintaining and reproducing the ruling class, strengthening the group cohesion and preserving such position (Dika and Singh, 2002).

On the other hand, Coleman’s definition of social capital focuses on the functional aspect. Social capital is any resource that facilitates the individual or collective action within the structure, emanated from networks of relationship, reciprocity, trust and social norms (Portes, 1988). Social capital, like financial

capital and human capital, capacitated with productive activity but is differentiated to be inherent in a social structure that shares trust or norms like family, school, and community (Coleman, 1988).

There is a commonality of the emphasis on the social relationship in the definition of both Bourdieu and Coleman but differences are evident (Dika and Singh, 2002). Bourdieu explicitly distinguishes the resources obtained through social capital from the ability to obtain resources by the membership while it is obscured in Coleman (Portes, 1988). Another distinction is the orientation of social capital. Bourdieu is interested in social capital as a tool of reproduction of the class whereas Coleman considers social capital as a positive social control, which helps the advancement of a person's life (Dika and Singh, 2002).

This thesis adopts Coleman's definition of social capital since his interpretation is the most widely used in the educational literature (Dika and Singh, 2002; Rogosic and Baranovic, 2016). Among various structures of the relationship highlighted, this paper is particularly interested in a family, a primary source of social capital to adolescents (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1993; Crosnoe, 2004). Family social capital inheres in the parent-child relationship (Coleman, 1988; Israel et al., 2001). The greater family social capital reflects more time and attention spent by parents in communicating, monitoring and supporting children (Parcel and Dufur, 2001). As such, family social capital is an intangible resource of parents used in the socialisation process of children (Parcel and Dufur, 2001).

To form social capital, the structure and process are accentuated, where the structure denotes an opportunity, frequency, and duration of interactions between parents and children while the process represents a quality of parent's

attention to the children (Coleman, 1988). The existence of adult family members is an indispensable condition in the creation of the social capital inasmuch as social capital emanates from the relationship between the child and the surrounding adults, and between the adults (Coleman, 1988; Kim, 2000). The social capital is known to be more affluent in families consist of two-parents than single-headed households because the later structural families have absences of subjects for children to establish the relationship (Coleman, 1988). On this interpretation, parental absences due to divorce or working are believed to be a form of the family deficit.

Nevertheless, the creation of family social capital is difficult without a solid bond and trust in the parent-child relationship. Children may not benefit the affluent financial and human capital inhibited in families if the strong parent-child relations are not embedded. Coleman (1988) evidences that the endeavours of immigrant mothers distinctively contribute to the outstanding academic achievement of Asian immigrant children. Parental involvement refers to the parent's active participation in children's education, requiring various levels of resources to invest (McNeal, 1999; Benner, Boyle and Sadler, 2016). Parental involvement can be categorised as home-based involvement, school-based involvement and academic socialisation (Esptein 1987; Benner et al., 2016). Monitoring and checking homework are examples of home-based involvement that parent's activities to complement school-based learning at home. School-based involvement requires parent's participation in activities at school such as participation in school organisations, volunteering in the school, a meeting with teachers. McNeal (1999) specifically sub-classifies school-based involvement into parental participation in the parent-teacher organisation (PTO) and direct

involvement in educational support practices. Direct involvement in educational support practices is parent's engagement for a child's schooling, where parental participation in PTO is more parental practices for school. Lastly, academic socialisation encompasses parent-child discussion on education and parent's educational expectation.

2.3. Relationship between family social capital and academic achievement

In exploring the correlation between family social capital and academic achievement, previous studies generally have conducted studies from the aspects of family structure and the parent-child relationship.

The studies on family structure concentrate on the effect of the existence of parents within the family (Coleman, 1988; Sun, 1998; Israel et al, 2001; Leonard, 2005). A comparison between two-headed parents and one-headed parent is most frequently referred. The absence of adult family members would reduce the opportunity for the children to accumulate social capital, therefore negatively influence the scholastic achievement of the children (Coleman, 1988). Coleman (1988), Sun (1998) and Israel et al. (2001) explore that non-traditional family structure, including parent's divorce and family size are negatively associated with academic achievement. However, the presence of two-parents does not always bring the same results as abovementioned. Leonard (2005) criticises that parents spending substantive time with children at home may not be always positive on adolescent's education using cases of both parents on welfare benefits. The strong

parent-child relation is manifested in their educational eagerness and supports for children but the lack of retained financial and human capital makes social capital redundant.

The relationship between working mother and child's academic achievement has shown mixed results. Muller (1995) exerts that mother's participation in the labour market is likely to lead to a decrease in educational involvement and support for her children, therefore link to a negative effect on the academic achievement. Yet, the counter-argument is made that the decrease in the quantity of time spent on child education can be offset by the increase in the quality of time spent with children (Hsin and Felfe, 2014). Goldberg, Prause, Lucas-Thompson and Himsel (2008) review 68 studies and conclude that the effect of maternal employment on the academic achievement of children is predominantly non-significant under the condition of separating achievement outcomes. Hence, mother working does not relevant to the academic achievement of the children.

The Korean case studies generally indicate the negative effect of working mothers on their children's academic achievement (Lee, 2002; Jeon and Lim, 2016). It may reflect Korea's reality of inflexible working hours and the responsibility of parenting and childcare being still on women. Economic activity and childcare are an opportunity cost of each other where one needs to be chosen in Korea (Jeon and Lim, 2016). In fact, 42.3% of women on career break have decided to discontinue their careers for childcare and education in 2019, which has been increased from 31.9% in 2014 (KOSTAT, 2019).

The educational expectation is generally positive on improving the

achievement of children (Furstenberg and Hughes, 1995; Mau, 1997; Sun, 1998; Israel et al., 2001; Yokohama and Holloway, 2010; Boonk, Gijsselaers, Ritzen and Grand-Gruwel, 2018). The higher educational expectation reflects parent's acknowledgment on the importance and the value of education as a means to improve child's life, therefore motivates parents to support on child education (Byun and Kim, 2008)

Parental general supervision of children's academic progress and monitoring of children have been also reported to produce similar positive results (Ho and Willms, 1996; McNeal, 1999). Ho and Willms (1996) find that school and academic-related conversations between parents and children have a beneficial effect on the academic achievement. Furstenberg and Hughes (1995) claim that parental participation in school activities such as volunteering, interview with the homeroom teacher, a teacher-parent meeting is positive on academic achievement. Yet, parental involvement is not always associated with positive academic achievement that some forms are negatively associated with the achievement. Boonk et al. (2018) find that the academic pressure and tight monitoring have a negative correlation with academic achievement in their meta-analysis study on the relationship between parental involvement indicators and academic achievement.

There are a number of scholars who conducted research regarding a similar matter with the case study of Korea and their results were similar to the articles that were discussed above. Kim (2000) finds that family social capital affects children's academic achievement after controlling socioeconomic factors that are conventionally known as the most influential factor in the academic achievement of the children. He specifically accentuates the parents' expectation

on education level and their support for learning activities influenced their children's academic achievement.

On the other hand, An (2003) finds school talk, school event attendance and family climate operate significantly in academic achievement among elements of social capital. He also concludes that parent-child relation has a greater moderating effect than the family background. Lee (2007) evaluates financial capital, cultural capital and social capital within and outside of the family affect the academic achievement. She concludes that parent's interests in their children express through educational expectation and intimacy and monitoring has a greater effect than the parent's socioeconomic status and family structure.

2.3.1. The case of multicultural children in Korea

The multicultural family case in Korea which is the main research group of this paper mainly focuses on the smaller portion of the family social capital. Jung (2012) finds that maternal support and mother's educational attainment is positively correlated with the academic achievement of the children with a multicultural background while paternal educational attainment, family income, and maternal employment status are disassociated. Park (2017) demonstrates that parental monitoring has a direct and indirect impact on the academic achievement of multicultural children in the evaluation of the structural relationships between the factors influencing the academic achievement of the multicultural student. These results reaffirm the consistency that children are benefited if parents understand, embrace and are affectionate (An, 2003). On the other hand, family income is unexpectedly insignificant to the academic achievement of multicultural

students. Oh and Kim (2018) find the significant academic gap between multicultural students and non-multicultural students in both elementary and middle school even after controlling variables of backgrounds and personal experiences. In particular, parent's educational expectations, parent-child relation, and family structure do not influence both elementary and middle school students with a multicultural background.

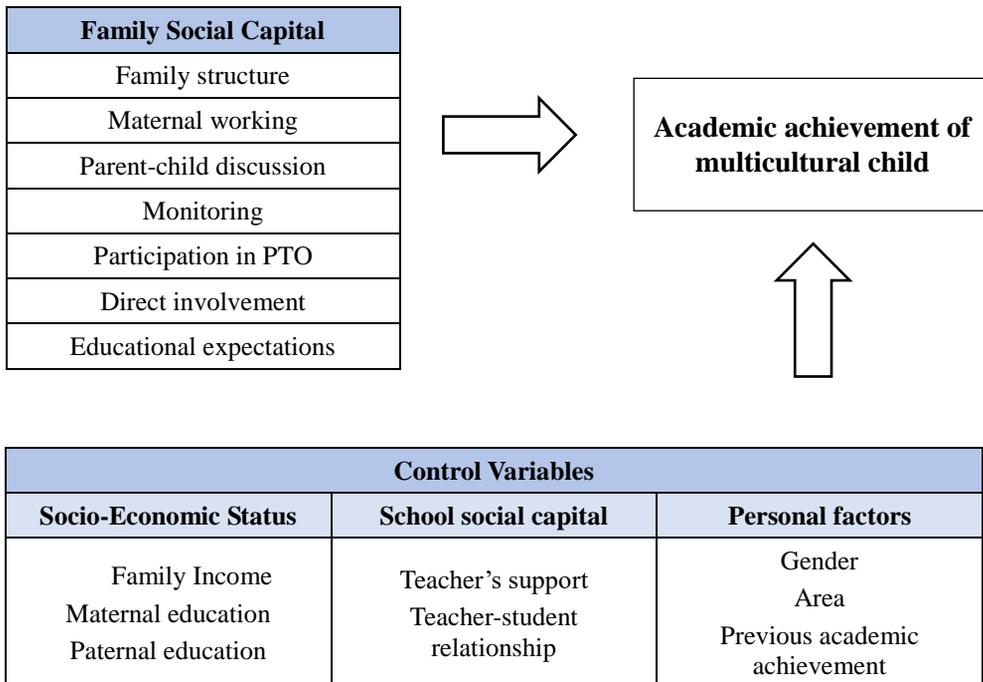
In summary, the correlation between the family social capital and the academic achievement of the multicultural children generally aligns with the case of non-multicultural family. However, most of the previous studies on the multicultural family emphasise the impact of the subtypes of the family social capital on the academic achievements and there is no quantitative analysis that aggregates the number of different subtypes into the one model. This paper attempts to generate a quantitative model with the number of different subtypes of the family social capital to figure out whether the entire family social capital affects the academic achievement of the multicultural children. This model has a number of benefits. The most important benefit would be controlling the number of different family social capital and finding a precise impact of each measurement on academic achievement. By doing this, it is expected to figure out whether there is the same mechanism between the family social capital and academic achievement in both non-multicultural and multicultural family cases. Furthermore, it would be possible to evaluate whether the impact size of each measurement is different between the non-multicultural family and multicultural family. In the next chapter, this paper will describe more detail of the research design and methodology to supplement the benefits above.

Chapter 3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1. Theoretical framework and hypothesis

This thesis analyses the effect of family social capital in the family on the academic achievement of multicultural children after controlling socio-economic factors, school factors and personal factors. The following framework shows the structure of the dependent, independent and control variables, which is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Theoretical Framework



Based on the framework, the following hypothesis is to be evaluated.

Hypothesis: Family social capital will have a positive influence on the academic achievement of a multicultural child

3.2. Research data and methodology

The analysis is based on the data from Multicultural Adolescents Panel Study (MAPS) which is collected by the National Youth Policy Institute to examine the effect of social capital in the family on the academic achievement of multicultural children. Purposed to objectively grasp the characteristics of multicultural adolescents in comparison to non-multicultural adolescents, MAPS has been conducted for six years from 2011 to 2016. Fourth-grade multicultural students in elementary school and their mother at the time of construction in 2011 were extracted as survey subject through a two-stage stratification sampling and a probability proportional extraction sampling. Students provided information on individual and family background characteristics, school experiences, extracurricular activities, attitudes about family and school, and future plans. Mothers provided the personal experience of migration and individual family characteristics.

This study analyses the five years of panel data of multicultural students from wave 2 (fifth grade in elementary school) to wave 6 (third grade in middle school) in consideration of time effect. Wave 1 is excluded since the academic achievement a year prior to the sample is unavailable. Some parts of data are excluded in my data set due to various reasons such as (1) Non-responding, (2) partial response, (3) Twin, and (4) If family income is unknown. In conclusion, the

sample for the examination of the effect of family social capital on the academic achievement of the multicultural child is ultimately composed of 6210 cases.

For panel data, the panel fixed effect model and panel random effect model are the two most commonly used analytic models. Hausman Specification Test verifies which model is more appropriate to analyse the panel data. After running the Hausman specification test on Stata version 14.2, it is found to be appropriate to run a panel random effect model rather than using the fixed-effect model. Therefore, the panel random effect model will be used as a method of analysis in this research.

3.3. Variable measurements and descriptive statistics

To analyse the characteristics of family social capital that influence the academic achievement of multicultural children, the following variables are constructed (Table 1). The dependent variable is the average score of Korean, English, mathematics, social science and science measured on a five-point scale. Independent variables consist of family structure, parent's monitoring, parental interest and supports, educational expectations and parent involvement in school activities.

Table 1. Main variables and measurements

| Variable | | Composition | Cronbach's α |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| Dependent variable | Academic Achievement | The average of Korean, English, Math, Social Science and Science in 5-item Likert scale (1=Very poor ~ 5=Excellent) | |
| | | | |
| Independent variable | Family social capital | Family status (Dummy; 1=Two parents, 0=other family status) | |
| | | Maternal working (Dummy; 1=employed, 0=unemployed) | |
| | | Parent-child discussion (7 questions) | 0.9441 |
| | | Monitoring (3 questions) | 0.8542 |
| | | Parent participation in PTO (3 questions) | 0.7995 |
| | | Direct Involvement (5 questions) | 0.7732 |
| | | Educational Expectation | |
| Control variables | Personal factor | Gender (Dummy; 1=boy, 2=girl) | |
| | | Area (1=Major city, 2=Small to Medium city, 3=Rural city) | |
| | | The average score of Korean, English, Math, Social Science and Science in 5-item Likert scale in the previous year | |
| | Socio-economic factor | Average monthly family income (log) | |
| | | Maternal education | |
| | | Paternal education | |
| | School factor | Teacher's supports (3 questions) | 0.9365 |
| | | Teacher-student relation (5 questions) | 0.8880 |

3.3.1. Dependent variable

In the MAPS, a multicultural child is asked to self-evaluate its own academic achievement on the five subjects of Korean, English, Mathematics, Social Science and Science. Answers are on a 5-item Likert scale of “Very poor” (1), “Below average” (2), “Average” (3), “Above average” (4), “Excellent” (5). The average score of the five subjects was calculated, a higher score refers to the higher level of academic achievement by multicultural children.

3.2 Independent variable: Family Social Capital

“Family status” assesses whether the family is in the traditional structure of two-parents. In the MAPS, family status is asked in the parent’s questionnaire as their marital status with the spouse. An answer is based on the classification of “Married” (1), “Divorce” (2), “Separate” (3), “Bereave” (4) and “Cohabit” (5). Because this paper aims to examine the effect of parental presence on academic achievement, the responses are converted into dummy variables of “two-parents family” (1) if the original response is “married” and “other types of the family (0)” for all other responses.

“Maternal working” is to see whether a mother is employed. MAPS asks mother’s occupation based on “Managers” (1) and “Professionals and related workers” (2), “Clerks” (3), “Service Workers” (4), “Sale Workers (5)”, “Skilled Agricultural, Forestry, and Fishery Workers” (6), “Craft and Related Trades Workers” (7), “Plant, Machine Operators and Assemblers” (8), “Elementary Workers” (9), “Armed Forces (10) “outside of profession such as students,

housewife, etc.” (11) and “No classification” (12). The response of “outside of profession such as students, housewife, etc.” will be converted into dummy variables of “Unemployed” (0) and else other responses are into “Employed” (1).

“Parent-child discussion” is measured by seven questions, asking children’s recognition of family supports and understanding them. Questions include “My family seems to help each other a lot”, “My family seems to understand me well”, “My family seems to share what we have”, “My family seems to give me strength and courage when I have a hard time”, “My family seems to listen to my thoughts”, “My family seems to treat me as an important person” and “My family seems to have lots of interest in me”. Answers to these questions are on a 4-item Likert scale of “never” (1), “somewhat not” (2), “somewhat so” (3), “very much so” (4). A higher score indicates that children recognise solid parent The Cronbach’s α is 0.9441 for the seven questions on the parent-child discussion.

“Monitoring” is assessed by three questions under the MAPS section of “relationship with parents”. The questions ask children’s recognition of how much their parents are aware of what they do including “Parents know where I go after school”, “Parents know how I spend my time” and “Parents know when I come back from hanging out”. Answers to these questions are on a 4-item Likert scale of “never” (1), “somewhat not” (2), “somewhat so” (3), “very much so” (4). A higher score indicates that parents actively perceive the child’s activities. The Cronbach’s α is 0.8542 for the five questions on monitoring.

“Parent’s participation in PTO” consists of questions asking parent’s participation in group activities among parents at school such as “Parent

Conference”, “Parent Education” and “Volunteer activities at school”. Answers to these questions are on a 4-item Likert scale of “None” (1), “Once in a year” (2), “2-3 times in a year” (3), “More than four times in a year” (4). A higher score indicates that parents actively perceive the child’s activities. The Cronbach’s α is 0.7995 for the five questions on Parent’s participation in PTO.

“Direct involvement” consists of questions asking parent’s participation in school activities such as ‘Interview with homeroom teacher’, ‘Open class’, and ‘Various school volunteering activities’, ‘School festivals’ and ‘One-day teacher’. Responses to these questions are on a 4-item Likert scale of “None” (1), “Once in a year” (2), “2-3 times in a year” (3), “More than four times in a year” (4). A higher score calculated for answers indicates that parents are more actively participating in the school activities. The Cronbach’s α is 0.7732 for the five questions on direct involvement.

“Educational expectation” measures parent’s expectation on how far their children to attend educational institutions from “Elementary school” (1), “Middle School” (2), “High School” (3), “College” (4), “University” (5), “Graduate school” (6). A higher score of educational expectation means parents are expecting their child to attend higher educational institutions.

3.3.3. Control Variables

A. Personal factors

Gender is converted to dummy variables of “Male” (1) and “Female” (0). The area is responded to the scale of “Major city” (1), “Small and Medium city”

(2) and “Rural city” (3). Previous academic achievement is referred to respondent’s academic achievement in the previous wave, answered on a 5-item Likert scale of “Very poor” (1), “Below average” (2), “Average” (3), “Above average” (4), “Excellent” (5). The average score of the five subjects was calculated for use.

B. Socioeconomic status of the family

The correlation between socioeconomic resources and academic achievement has been reconfirmed. The monthly average income is expressed in the form of a natural logarithm in order to minimise the statistically uneven distribution. Parent’s education level is measured in the category of “Below middle school” (1), “High school” (2), “College” (3), “University” (4) “Graduate School” (5).

C. School Social Capital

Teacher’s support consists of questions asking ‘I think I am close to my teacher’, “My teacher helps me well”, “I think my teacher likes me”, “I think my teacher is interested in me”, “My teacher will worry if I am sick or something happens to me” and “My teacher seems to recognise me as an important person”. Responses are on a 5-item Likert scale of “Not at all” (1), “somewhat not” (2), “On average” (3), “somewhat so” (4) and “Very much” (5). A higher score calculated for answers indicates that students perceive their teachers being very supportive.

Questions on teacher-child relations include “I greet my teacher when I meet”, “I am comfortable with talking with my teacher”, “I am glad to see my

teacher outside of school”, “My teacher is very nice to me” and “I hope my teacher to become my homeroom teacher once again next year”. Responses are on a 4-item Likert scale of “never” (1), “somewhat not” (2), “somewhat so” (3), “very much so” (4). A higher score calculated for answers indicates that students have formed a good relationship with their teachers.

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion

Table 2 on the next page illustrates the descriptive statistics of the sample. The educational expectation has a mean of 4.04 indicating that multicultural parents desire their children at least to graduate university. The mean score of the parent-child discussion is 3.20 that multicultural children perceive high family support through communication and interests. Multicultural children also respond to a monitoring score as 3.24, meaning that parents are well aware of what they do. The number of parent's participation in PTO of multicultural mothers is 1.42 on average and in child-related school activities is 1.52, indicating that multicultural mothers visit school less once a year on these purposes.

From the results, it is found that multicultural parents have a high educational expectation and shown great supports and interests on their children, but are particularly passive in attending activities happening at school. The previous studies on multicultural families and marriage immigrant mothers commonly point out low socio-economic status, employment status and the experiences of family deficit (Byun and Kim, 2008; Youn and Kim, 2013), the lack of Korean language ability and unfamiliar Korean culture (Oh, 2005) and a worry on their children to be tagged as multicultural (Choi, Lee, Lee and Lee, 2017) as the contributors to the low participation rate in school-based activities by multicultural mothers.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics

| Variable | Obs | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min | Max |
|-------------------------------|-------|--------|-----------|-----|------|
| Academic Achievement | 6,210 | 3.24 | 0.74 | 1 | 5 |
| Korean | 6,210 | 3.58 | 0.85 | 1 | 5 |
| English | 6,210 | 3.03 | 1.11 | 1 | 5 |
| Mathematics | 6,210 | 3.03 | 1.09 | 1 | 5 |
| Social Science | 6,210 | 3.26 | 0.99 | 1 | 5 |
| Science | 6,210 | 3.28 | 0.97 | 1 | 5 |
| Family structure | 6,210 | 0.93 | 0.25 | 0 | 1 |
| Maternal working | 6,210 | 0.63 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 |
| Parent-child discussion | 6,210 | 3.20 | 0.56 | 1 | 4 |
| Monitoring | 6,210 | 3.24 | 0.59 | 1 | 4 |
| Direct involvement | 6,210 | 1.52 | 0.46 | 1 | 4 |
| Parent participation in PTO | 6,210 | 1.42 | 0.58 | 1 | 4 |
| Educational Expectation | 6,210 | 4.04 | 0.39 | 1 | 5 |
| Gender | 6,210 | 1.51 | 0.50 | 1 | 2 |
| Area | 6,210 | 2.05 | 0.75 | 1 | 3 |
| Previous academic achievement | 6,210 | 3.30 | 0.72 | 1 | 5 |
| Mother Education | 6,210 | 2.49 | 0.90 | 1 | 5 |
| Father Education | 5,931 | 1.99 | 0.92 | 1 | 5 |
| Family income (log) | 6,210 | 235.47 | 114.95 | 0 | 2800 |
| Teacher support | 6,210 | 3.73 | 0.89 | 1 | 5 |
| Teacher-student relation | 6,210 | 3.09 | 0.58 | 1 | 4 |

The mean of the family structure is 0.93, which indicates most of the multicultural families are two-parent families. The majority of mothers in the multicultural family responded as working. The mean of paternal educational attainment is 1.99 while maternal education is 2.49.

Table 3 illustrates the statistical estimates to investigate the effect of family social capital on the academic achievement of multicultural children. Parent-child discussion, monitoring, direct involvement, and educational expectation are found to be statistically significant while family structure, maternal working status and parental participation in PTO are insignificant on the academic achievement.

More specifically, monitoring is appeared to have the greatest influence ($\beta=0.1309$) on the academic achievement of multicultural children. This result conforms to other previous studies that children benefit from the parent's attitude of understanding, embracement and trust with affection (Ah, 2007; Park, 2017).

Direct involvement is found to be positively associated with the academic achievement of multicultural children over the time period ($\beta=0.1217$). The effect of direct involvement is the second largest after monitoring despite the low frequency of participation. This result is consistent with the study of Ryu, Kim, Shin, and Han (2011) exerts that low-income and underprivileged parents are less likely to participate in school activities but are more effective if they participate.

However, the coherent effects have not been investigated in parental participation in PTO despite both happen in the school setting. This result is inconsistent with the study outcomes subjecting non-multicultural students such as Byun and Kim (2008) who find a significant achievement gap between non-multicultural students in the subjects of Korean language and Mathematics regarding parental participation in PTO.

Table 3. Family social capital influences on academic achievements

| Variable | Model 1 |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Family structure (dummy) | 0.0284 (0.0472) |
| Maternal working status (dummy) | 0.0062 (0.0153) |
| Parent-child discussion | 0.0403** (0.0157) |
| Monitoring | 0.1308*** (0.0142) |
| Direct involvement | 0.1217*** (0.0234) |
| Parental participation in PTO | -0.0068 (0.0183) |
| Parent's educational expectation | 0.0857*** (0.0193) |
| Gender | 0.0481*** (0.0146) |
| Area | 0.0024 (0.0102) |
| Previous academic achievement | 0.5448*** (0.0106) |
| Mother education | 0.0091 (0.0086) |
| Father education | 0.0316*** (0.0091) |
| Family Income (log) | 0.0200 (0.0156) |
| Teacher support | 0.0844*** (0.0114) |
| Teacher-student relation | 0.0482*** (0.0176) |
| Cons | -0.3512** (0.1289) |

* P<0.1 **P<0.05 *** P<0.0

The discrepancy in the effectiveness of parental participation in PTO may suggest dissimilarity in utilising these PTO and parental meetings for child education. PTO and parents' groups in Korea are internally cooperative but externally exclusive that a person can be accepted if only economically homogeneous, having similar levels of children's academic achievements or having exchangeable information (Park, 2009). Therefore, multicultural mothers may not be able to well blend in the meeting or effectively obtain information related to child education. Kim (2014) points out that access to the Korean parental group, a mainstream society, is not an easy process as a mother of multicultural children. Chinese national mother with 8 years of residence in Korea said that "there is a limit to be close with Korean mothers who already form a solid relationship" (Kim, 2014).

Parent's educational expectation has a significantly positive effect of 0.0857 on the academic achievement of the multicultural children. The outcome is in line with the studies of Byun and Kim (2008), and Chung and Jeong (2015) that higher parental educational expectation leads to a better academic achievement performance by children in all school levels.

Family structure is irrelevant to the academic achievement that there is no difference in impacts between two-headed and one-headed parents in the family. Such a result can be derived from the fact that most of the multicultural families maintain the family structure of two-headed parents. Maternal working does not affect academic achievement. Jung (2012) explains that unemployed foreign mothers may not effectively communicate with their children due to the Korean language proficiency problem. Moreover, regardless of working, if the employment

status is irregular, there may be no actual difference in time spent with children between working mothers and non-working mothers (Jung, 2012).

Family income is found insignificant to academic achievement. This builds up the arguments of the irrelevance between family income and the academic achievement of the multicultural children on the contrary to non-multicultural children (Jung, 2012; Park, 2017).

The effect of maternal education is irrelevant. Marriage immigrant mothers are hindered in teaching and transferring information and knowledge to their children due to the lack of Korean language proficiency and cultural differences (Oh, 2005; Jung 2012). The study of Oh (2005) clearly illustrates the worry of the immigrant mother from the Philippines who graduated from the university. She imputes children's poor writing and comprehensive ability to her responsibility.

“Children are very poor at writing and understanding sentences. It is all because of me. I have been lived in Korea for 17 years and I am still not good at Korean. So I could not even help with writing a diary.”

Paternal education is, in contrast, positively associated with academic achievement. This is reverse to Jung (2012)'s finding that paternal education is insignificant as a determinant of multicultural children's academic achievement. In Korean society with patriarchal characteristics, fathers are far from being entrusted with child education (Jung, 2012). However, the Korean father in a multicultural family is required to a greater role to complement their immigrant wife as the wives are shown to rely on them in child education (Bong and Bae, 2012).

“I want to explain but I cannot..... So I am so sorry for my child. If I don't

know, I look up dictionary or ask the husband.”

Teacher’s supports and affirmative relationships with children are also statistically important in improving the academic achievement of multicultural children. However, the coefficients of the teacher’s supports ($\beta=0.0844$) and relationship ($\beta=0.0482$) are lower than monitoring ($\beta=0.1309$) and direct involvement ($\beta =0.1217$). This can be inferred that a teacher is very important but the family exerts greater effects on the academic achievement of the children (Hwang, 2006; Dufur, Parcel and Troutman, 2012).

Chapter 5. Conclusion

This paper examines the effect of family social capital on the academic achievement of the multicultural children based on the 2012-2016 data sets of Multicultural Adolescents Panel Study collected by the National Youth Policy Institute. It concentrates on which subtypes of family social capital are particularly influential on child development over the time period. The next summarises the major findings and limitations, and then discuss the implications from the findings.

Foremost, parent-child discussion, monitoring, direct involvement, and educational expectation are upheld to have a powerful effect on the academic achievement of multicultural children. In particular, monitoring, as recognition of what children do, shows the greatest impact followed by direct involvement, educational expectation, and parent-child discussion. Given that the socio-economic status of the multicultural family is reaffirmed to be irrelevant on the academic achievement as concluded in the studies of Jung (2012) and Park (2017), a conclusion can be suggested that intergenerational closeness, love and interests from the parents are more important and significant than economic factors to the multicultural children.

On the contrary, the structural aspects of the family social capital such as family structure and maternal working are, unlike presupposition, insignificant on the academic achievement. This indicates that the parental efforts to care and maintain a strong relationship with children have a greater effect on the academic

achievement than the negativeness from the absence of parents due to working, divorce or bereavement.

Furthermore, the study outcomes signify that the effect of family social capital persists regardless of the school grade of multicultural children. The implication of the existing studies is constrained to generalise because the analysis is based on the data from specific grades of the multicultural children. Whereas, this paper uses a panel dataset tracing the fifth-grade multicultural children in elementary school in 2012 until they become third-grade middle school students in 2016. Therefore, the result reaffirms that multicultural children, irrespective of school grade, are not being an exception of the fact children are positively grown up based on parents' interest, love and care on them through various means of expression such as communication, monitoring, and actions (An, 2003; Park, 2017).

Based on the findings, the following implications can be derived. A parent educational programme tailored to the life-cycle of children's needs for multicultural parents to cope with growing children. According to Cho (2010), a mentoring programme aids international marriage immigrant mothers in learning to nurture knowledge and information, establishing a good relationship with their children, and learning communication skills. As aforementioned, solid family social capital engages the higher academic achievement of a multicultural child regardless of age. A review of many studies indicates that the parents change their involvement as a child grows, rather than decrease (Boonk et al., 2018). Nevertheless, a mentoring and educating programme for the multicultural family in Korea concentrates its contents centred on infant and pre- or early year of school.

Multicultural parents with their children in middle school and high school are relatively neglected from the supports, experiencing difficulty in child education.

Second, direct involvement is significantly impactful on the academic achievement of the multicultural children despite the low participation. Hence, the school level of supports needs to be pursued to promote multicultural mothers' involvement at school. This has a thread of connection with the study of Ryu et al. (2011). They argue to seek school support and policy to induce active parental involvement in school activities as the correlation is positive. In particular, this paper recommends schools to focus on multicultural parent's involvements in school-based activities such as an interview with the homeroom teacher and the attendance at open class, one-day teaching and school festival since parents' direct involvements in educational process are demonstrated to hold a strong influence on the academic achievement of multicultural students while parental participation in PTO is found insignificant.

In the next research, it would be very interesting and important to conduct a study that examines the effects of maternal and paternal social capital on the academic achievement of multicultural children. In MAPS, the maternal response is only provided in the parental section while there is no separation of mother and father in children's responses related to family social capital. This limits the analysis of the maternal and paternal impact on the child development pertaining to education. Conventionally, a mother has been the main subject of nurturing and educating children in Korea. Nowadays, co-parenting becomes emphasised. In this respect, the role of the Korean parent, a father in this case, is very important to supplement a foreign parent who is inexperienced in the Korean culture and

language. By separately examining the influences of maternal and paternal social capital, it would provide deeper analysis on the effect of the family social capital on the academic achievement of the multicultural children, therefore provide tailored policies for multicultural families.

In addition, many scholars highlight the extra-familial relationships or networks such as friendship, school, and community as the other important foundations of social capital. However, this study minimally includes extra-familial social capital to concentrate on the effect of family social capital. In the next research, it would be useful to conduct a study examining the effect of family and extra-familiar social capital on the academic achievement of multicultural children in Korea. As a result, the comprehensive effect of social capital and which of social capital most affects the academic achievement of multicultural children can draw from the analysis. By doing so, this would allow to prioritise the policy directions in improving the academic achievement of the multicultural children in Korea.

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국문초록

가족 내 사회자본이 다문화 가정 자녀의 학업성취에 미치는 영향

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한국의 다문화 가구가 늘어남에 따라, 다문화 가정 자녀가 학령기 인구에 차지하는 비중이 커지고 있으며 앞으로 더 늘어날 것이라 예상된다. 하지만 다문화 가정 자녀는 비다문화가정 자녀보다 학업성취가 상대적으로 낮은 실상이다. 학업성취가 직업과 미래를 결정하는 데 중요한 역할을 하는 만큼, 다문화가정 자녀의 낮은 학업성취는 사회적 이슈로 떠오르고 있다. 다양한 요인들이 학업성취에 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났지만, 최근 많은 연구에서 가족 내 사회자본이 학업성취에 긍정적인 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타난다. 즉, 부모-자녀 사이의 관계와 친밀감이 높아질수록, 자녀의 학업에도 정의 영향을 미친다. 이러한 연구 결과에도 불구하고, 가족 내 사회자본이 다문화 가정 자녀의 학업성취에 미치는 영향에 관한 연구는 제한된 실정이다.

본 연구는 한국청소년정책연구원의 다문화청소년패널조사 2차에서 6차까지의 자료를 이용하여 가족 내 사회자본이 다문화 가정 자녀의 학업성취에 미치는 영향을 분석했다. 가족 내 사회자본의 세부변수로 가족구조(Family Structure), 어머니의 취업 여부(Maternal working)와 같은 구조적 요소뿐 아니라 부모님과의 대화(Parent-child discussion),

부모 감독(Monitoring), 교육적 참여(Direct involvement), 학부모 활동 참여(Parental participation in PTO), 교육적 기대(Educational expectation)와 같은 과정적 요소를 포함하여 종합적인 모형으로 분석하였다.

분석 결과, 가족 내 사회자본 중 부모님과 대화, 부모 감독, 교육적 참여, 교육적 기대는 다문화 자녀의 학업성취에 유의미한 정의 영향을 미치나, 가족구조, 어머니의 취업 여부 그리고 학부모 활동 참여는 학업성취도에 영향을 미치지 않는 것으로 나타났다. 그 외, 아버지의 학력, 선생님의 지지와 관계가 통계적으로 정의 영향을 미치지만, 가정소득과 어머니의 학력은 학업성취에 유의미하지 않은 것으로 나타났다. 종합적으로, 부모님의 자녀에 대한 사랑과 관심 그리고 지지는 가정의 경제적 지위나 학교에서의 지원보다 다문화 자녀의 학업성취에 더 큰 영향을 미치며, 이러한 영향력은 초등학생뿐 아니라 중학교에 진학한 후에도 그 영향력이 지속함을 확인했다. 본연구결과를 통해 다문화 가정 부모님을 대상으로 한 자녀 관계 개선, 학업 정보와 관련된 교육 멘토링과 영유아에 집중된 지원을 고학년으로 확대하여 자녀 학년에 따른 맞춤형 지원에 필요하며, 학교 차원에서 다문화가정 부모님을 대상으로 학교에서 이뤄지는 교육 참여 독력에 대한 필요성이 시사된다.

주제어: 가족 내 사회자본, 다문화 가정 자녀, 학업성취, 다문화청소년패
널연구