

**FOREIGN MOTHERS' CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MATERNAL
INVOLVEMENT IN THEIR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION: CASE STUDY OF A
COMMUNITY IN SOUTH KOREA**

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Cross-border marriages, which typically involve female marriage immigrants (so-called “foreign brides”), have increased in South Korea in recent years. Only a limited number of interracial children from those marriages currently attend the extremely homogenous South Korean schools yet, but more are expected to do so in the near future. This dissertation explores the process of foreign mothers’ involvement in their children’s education, particularly their access to, and use of cultural and social capital. I present a conceptual framework, “The process of foreign mothers’ involvement in their children’s education,” To help understand these mothers’ experiences regarding their children’s education Twenty foreign mothers were interviewed in a rural community in South Korea about their social and cultural capital surrounding their home-based and school-based involvement in their children’s education. Social events that foreign mothers attended were also observed, and ten additional people were interviewed including foreign mothers’ spouses, friends, neighbors, and Korean language teachers,. Findings show that most foreign mothers took the roles of the major caregivers’ and educators’ in their family, had high aspirations regarding their children’s education, and were therefore willing to support them. Frequently, however, foreign mothers were perceived by both themselves and their family members as incapable of properly engaging in their

children's education. Given their immigrant background, their knowledge of Korean language and culture were presumed to be insufficient. Nonetheless, they were expected to be involved in their children's education in the manner of South Korean mothers. Their original languages and cultures were often considered irrelevant for their children's development. Accordingly, most foreign mothers appeared to be frustrated with the standard of parenting that required them to emulate South Korean mothers. The exception to this was a minority who refused the monolingual and monocultural ideologies or who were already proficiency in Korean language and culture at the time of immigration. Most foreign mothers' social relationships were restricted within the boundaries of geographic proximity or the same ethnic groups and rarely included native South Koreans, which explains their limited information channels. In some cases, Korean language teachers and families acted as bridges for mothers to Korean society. Findings increase the understanding of immigrant mothers' experiences in South Korea and provide important education policy implications.

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For all brave women named “mothers”

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the effect of social and cultural capital on the way female marriage immigrants involve themselves in their children's education. Female marriage immigrants (female immigrants), immigrant mothers or foreign mothers in this study [also referred to as "foreign brides," "picture brides," "bride immigrants," or even "mail-order brides" in the literature (Constable, 2003, 2005; A. E. Kim, 2009; Kojima, 2001; H.-K. Lee, 2008; Wang, 2007)] refer to recent female immigrants who migrate to South Korea through interracial marriages with native Korean males. Due to the unique migration pathways, which are believed to involve professional marriage agencies and/or monetary compensations for the brides' families (Han & Seol, 2006), female immigrants in South Korea are portrayed frequently as victims of male chauvinism and an exchange economy (Kwon, 2008). Likewise, their native Korean spouses are regarded as failures in the domestic marriage market (Freeman, 2005, 2006) and their interracial children as low achievers who are frequently bullied in school mainly because their mothers are "foreigners" (Seol & Yoon, 2008; Song, Ji, Cho, & Lim, 2007).

At the same time, the influx of racially, culturally and linguistically diverse students into the education system has generated changes and challenges in South Korean schools because the education system has been developed in a unique, homogeneous

context. Examples are the need to change the contents of school textbooks, such as the definition of “Korean people,” which has been a very exclusive term for only “native Koreans,” or the inclusion of multicultural components in the public education curriculum to promote tolerance and the understanding of diversity (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008, 2009; Oh, 2008). The transformation of public education is particularly important to accommodate students from diverse backgrounds properly since academic success can lead to better educational and job opportunities (Bourdieu, 1986; Lewin, 2010). Likewise, children who do not fully enjoy educational opportunities can be cast aside, forming a vicious cycle of marginalization (H. Park & Jacob, 2011).

However, equal education opportunities cannot be ensured if education policy is solely focused on the process of learning that occurs at school, because the scholastic achievement of children not only reflects each child’s academic ability or investment, but also is substantially affected by familial factors (James Samuel Coleman, 1988; Lareau, 2000; Lareau & Conley, 2008; Lareau & Horvat, 1999). In particular, the role that parents can play is crucial, in that effective parental involvement in children’s education can help overcome the effect of poverty, lower socioeconomic status, or racial barriers in education (Bhattacharya, 2009; Hango, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Whereas some parents take strategies that empower their children’s education effectively, not all do, and passive or ineffective parental involvement may hinder children from successfully performing in school. Furthermore, the maternal role is especially important because mothers are more likely to take the primary responsibility regarding children’s

education in most societies (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Sheldon, 2002), although fathers' roles in children's development are equally crucial (Hango, 2007, p. 1388).

In the case of interracial families in South Korea, immigrant mothers are depicted repeatedly as the cause of their interracial children's low academic achievement (Jae-Bun Lee, Kang, & Kim, 2008; Oh, 2005; H. Suh, 2007b), rather than as the agent who may alleviate the challenges that their children face at school, mostly due to the lack of their Korean cultural or linguistic proficiency. However, research in many countries shows that not all immigrant families are marginalized in terms of their children's academic performance; some equal or surpass the dominant groups, despite the cultural or linguistic difficulties that they face in their adopted countries (S. J. Lee, 1996; V. E. Lee & Croninger, 1994; Y. Park, 1991). Many studies attempt to explain the various levels of academic achievement among immigrant students, and how parental factors are related to the different performances among culturally or linguistically challenged students (Carreón, Drake, & Barton, 2005; Fung & Liang, 2008; Li, 2006; S. M. Park & Sarkar, 2007; Sabatier & Berry, 2008). Joining in these academic efforts to discover factors that influence immigrant parents' involvement in their children's education, I focus on interracial families in South Korea, engaging in an exploratory study of the nature and configuration of foreign mothers' involvement in their children's education.

Among the many factors that female immigrants face in their life contexts, which may influence their maternal involvement, the primary focus of this study is on the nature and scope of female immigrants' social and cultural capital. First, I identify three seminal components of social capital based on a thorough literature review: social relations, memberships, and resources and information acquirable through social relations

(Bourdieu, 1986; James Samuel Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998, 2000; Putnam, 1995, 2009). The social capital of immigrant mothers will be explored focused on these core elements.

Second, I borrow from Bourdieu's cultural capital theory (i.e. Blackledge, 2001; Goldthorpe, 2007; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Lareau, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2008; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Reay, 2004). Instead of attributing the sophisticated concept of cultural capital to some limited cultural experiences such as "high brow cultural activities," which only restrain the contribution of the original theory (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, pp. 579, 597), I closely examine "the micro-interactional processes" through which immigrant mothers negotiate their maternal roles within the surrounding socio-cultural context.

Besides these two sociological theories, I also draw a framework from Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) studies that explains the parental/maternal involvement process by suggesting variables to measure deciding factors, such as parents' motivational beliefs and life contexts. By identifying these variables, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) sequential structure explicates the decision making process of parents and/or mothers' involvement in their children's education. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) framework has been adopted as well as empirically tested in many papers (e.g., Anderson & Minke, 2007; Green, et al., 2007; Hoover-Dempsey, et al., 2005; Walker, et al., 2004; Walker, et al., 2005). The synthesis of these three theories allows the comprehensive explanation of immigrant mothers' involvement in their children's education.

This study contributes to the understanding of the mechanisms through which social and cultural capital are used for the intergenerational transmission of values

especially for the creation of human capital. It is focused on the case of interracial families in South Korea. In particular, this study investigates the scope and characteristics of female immigrants' social and cultural capital and their influences on these immigrant mothers' maternal involvement patterns in their children's schooling. The findings of this study provide important strategic implications for educational policies to better support the academic success of students from various cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in South Korea.

1.1 CONTEXT AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1.1 Multiculturalization of South Korean society

The influx of newcomers

South Korea, which has been racially, linguistically and culturally “homogeneous” for over five thousand years, is now transforming into a multicultural country with the influx of immigrants from various places (A. E. Kim, 2009), especially from developing countries in Asia (M. Lee, 2006a). Although the proportion of immigrants is relatively small compared to that of other OECD countries yet (see Figure 1), the number of immigrants continues to increase in South Korea (Roseveare, 2010). The size of the “foreign population,” a term broadly adopted in the government's documents to indicate “non-native Koreans” regardless of their current citizenship, has been rapidly increased in the last decade, and now over a million “foreign” people reside in South Korea,

accounting for about 2.3% of the country's total population (Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2010).

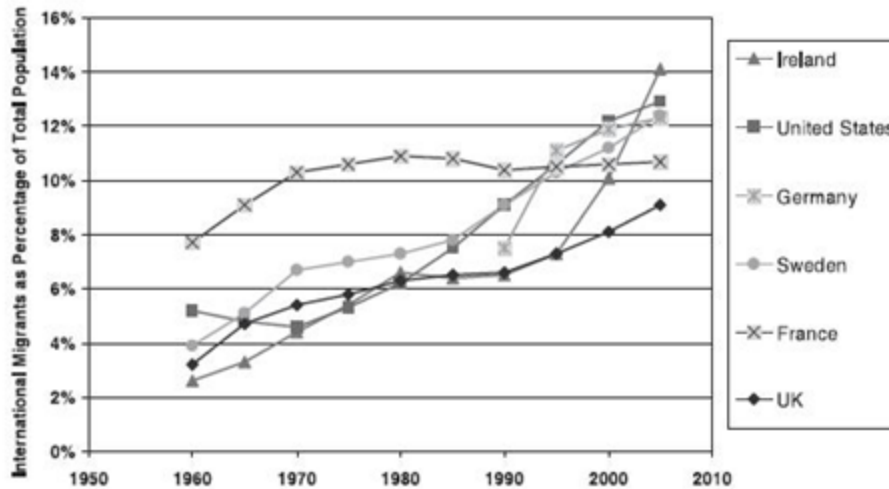


Figure 1. Growth of immigration in selected OECD countries, 1960-2005

Source: Putnam, R. D. (2009). Diversity, social capital, and immigrant integration: Introductory remarks. National Civic Review, 98(1), 4

The “foreign population” who bring multicultural components to South Korea can be categorized into three sub-groups: foreign laborers, marriage immigrants and North Korean defectors (refugees). First, the number of foreign laborers is more than half a million, and MOST of them are manual workers who play a crucial role in the South Korean manufacturing industry. Because of the increasing number of foreign laborers, Lee (2006) argues that South Korea, which was once regarded as a labor exporting country, has become a labor importing country (p. 429). However, foreign laborers’ lives and their future in South Korea seem to be not so bright, particularly because of the difficulty to keep a long-term legal status by overcoming the strict limitations set by Korean government (M. Lee, 2006b).

Second, the number of North Korean refugees has been increasing (Figure 2). The accumulated number of North Korean defectors in South Korea was 16,009 in 2009, with

MOST of them having entered the country in the last decade (H.-s. Kang, 2009). In terms of ethnicity, culture, and language, North Korean refugees are in a unique situation. Their mother tongue is Korean, as is their ethnicity, but given the rapid change of South Korea over the past six decades, the two Korean societies have become quite different. In addition to the socio-cultural and economic differences between two Koreas, people from the two societies show some physical and linguistic differences as well. For example, North Korean students may be physically disadvantaged because of severe malnutrition prior to immigration (H.-k. Lee, 2006). Moreover, the northern accents and dialects often distinguish these students from their southern counterparts and become one of the barriers that North Korean students face at school (ibid.). Given these differences and their ensuing challenges, the experiences of North Korean defectors as well as their influence on South Korean society seem similar to those of the rest of the “foreign population.” However, North Koreans are not always classified into the same category as other type of “foreign” people in academic research or in governmental policy because of the special political and historic background of Korea and the similarity of North Koreans to South Koreans. Also, North Korean defectors often do not want to be considered as foreigners in South Korea; they identify themselves as just “Koreans.” (Jae-Boon Lee, 2010, p. 23)



Figure 2. Number of North Korean defectors arrived in South Korea

Source: Ministry of Unification of South Korea. (2009). Available online at: <http://www.unikorea.go.kr>.

Last but not least, marriage immigrants construct the second biggest “foreign” group after the foreign laborers’ group in South Korea; the number of marriage immigrants in 2010 was 181,671 and comprised about 16% of the total foreign population of South Korea (Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2010). Among the marriage immigrants, 56,584 obtained Korean citizenship by 2010, which makes tracking down the exact number of marriage immigrants and their interracial children difficult. Similar to the case of foreign laborers, who do not have substantial knowledge of Korean society and its language, these marriage immigrants start to learn about Korean society and its language after they marry native Koreans. However, different from foreign laborers who are regarded as temporary visitors in the South Korean society, most marriage immigrants’ legal status is stable and they are assumed to spend the rest of their lives in South Korea by the South Korean society. Also, unlike other types of “foreign” people who do not necessarily build families and have children in South Korea, the majority of marriage immigrants establishes families right

after their arrival in the country and has children who are current or future students in the South Korean education system. Given the numerical dominance as well as the increasing visibility of interracial families among the various “foreign population” in the country, the primary focus of educational policies regarding multicultural families has been on the interracial family thus far.

Identifying multicultural families in South Korea

At its initial stage of multiculturalization, South Korean society did not have proper expressions to indicate racially or culturally diverse populations distinguished from “native South Koreans,” and most of the ordinary terms that have been used could be racist in nature. In response to the rapid change of the racial composition of the country, the Solidarity for Sound Families (건강시민연대, *gungangshiminyeondae*), a coalition of thirty domestic nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), suggested in 2004 an invented term, the “multicultural family (다문화가정, *damunhwa gajeong*),” to replace racist expressions that had been used to label people from different ethnic, racial, or cultural backgrounds (Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development, 2006, p. 1; E.-A. Park, 2007, p. 4). Since then, the term, “the multicultural family,” has been predominantly used by the mass media, NGOs, government bodies, and scholars. Compared to other expressions such as “foreign population” or “foreign people,” which also frequently appear in governmental documents or the mass media, but are more restrictedly used for people whose language or ethnicity is not “Korean,” the word “the multicultural family” holds a broader concept that encompasses all types of people in South Korea including North Korean defectors, but excluding “native South Koreans.”

However, even if the concept of multicultural families was originally created with a clear aim to minimize any stereotype against culturally and ethnically diverse members of society, racism continues to prevail. In other words, the racist ideology of people seems not have been eliminated that quickly, even if racist expressions have been replaced with a “neutral” word, namely “the multicultural family.” The term “multicultural family” is already loaded with negative images and attitudes in the South Korean society, given the manner of its common usage in the mass media and academic works to name the nonnative Koreans as victimized or marginalized populations (i.e. Joh, 2006; M. S. Kim, 2009; Kwack & Kim, 2009; J. Lee, 2009; E. Park & Yi, 2009; Shin, 2008). The stereotypes against culturally, ethnically or linguistically diverse people have been simply transmitted to the brand-new term of multicultural families, while the presumably neutral word has developed its operational meaning in the “homogeneous” societal context of South Korea. That is, although South Korean society is transforming into a multicultural society, at least in a demographic sense (A. E. Kim, 2009), the social and cultural understanding of diversity, which is crucial for a genuine development of multicultural society, is not at that level yet.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development of South Korea (KMOEHRD) (2006) defines the multicultural family as “the form of family which comprises people whose ethnic and cultural background is different from ours [native Koreans]” (p. 1). The definition of the multicultural family given by the KMOEHRD draws an interesting line between the “multicultural family” and the “native Koreans” by indicating native Korean culture and ethnicity as “ours.” Although the Ministry might not intend to distinguish “them” from “us” in this definition, it reflects an

important reality of South Korean society. Because the otherness of people who have different cultural and ethnic backgrounds is so deeply embedded in the thoughts of South Korean people, even the government officially uses the expression, “our” instead of “native Korean.” Moreover, no researchers who cite the definition have questioned the usage of “ours” by the government.

In addition, the definition and usage of the word, “multicultural family” varies in research. For example, Park (2007) and Hong (2006) have adopted the term exclusively to indicate interracial families, while other researchers name the interracial families as “international marriage families” (Seol & Yoon, 2008). Chang (2008) uses the term in a unique way to indicate North Korean refugees, whereas Suh (2007a) defines the term as a general concept embracing any person whose ethnic, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds are different from those of the “native South Korean.” As I briefly mentioned earlier however, North Korean defectors are predominantly considered as a separate group distinct from other multicultural families in government documents as well as in academic studies (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008; Korean Ministry of Unification, 2009).

Currently in the transition to a multicultural country, South Korea is experiencing a myriad of confusions, which in part shows the lack of readiness of the society for the transition. In particular, confusion in the nomenclature of nonnative residents in policy documents as well as in the mass media show that these newcomers may not be properly accepted by wider society yet. It is also not easy to find studies that recognize the diversity that may exist within each group as well as among the three groups listed above. The differences within the foreign mothers or their interracial children tend to be ignored

in educational policy instruments even more frequently, although they receive the MOST intense attention from policymakers among the various “foreign” populations.

1.1.2 Female marriage immigrants and their interracial children

For some women from developing countries, marriage can be a means to migrate to developed countries. Commonly referred to as “marriage migration,” this unique form of migration through marriage appeared first in European and North American countries, and then in Asian developed countries such as Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore (Constable, 2005; Kojima, 2001; Wang, 2007; Wang & Chang, 2002). Some countries that once sent their young women to the “richer” countries a couple of decades ago might now receive “foreign brides” from developing countries, such as the case of South Korea. Thus, one may even argue that the phenomenon of marriage immigrants is some of an unexpected outcome of economic development in the receiving country.

The perception of foreign mothers

In South Korea, the drastic increase of the number of interracial families started in the beginning of the twenty-first century (Figure 3), which may be related to the boom in commercial matchmaking agencies for international marriage arrangements in South Korea. (Seol & Yoon, 2008, p. 3). These matchmaking agencies, which were small in size and historically targeted arrangements among native South Koreans, started to extend their business to interracial marriage arrangements between Korean men and foreign-born women because of the difficulties in the domestic market at that time (Han & Seol, 2006, pp. 12-13). These small matchmaking agencies had to change the focus of their business to international market because they were not able to compete successfully

in domestic market with the emerging large-sized matchmaking companies at that time (ibid).

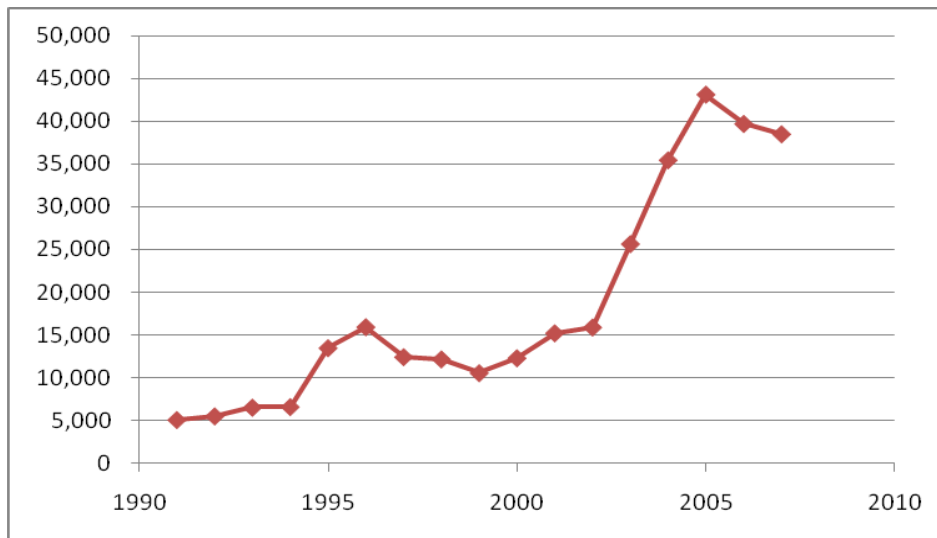


Figure 3. The yearly trend of interracial marriage in South Korea

Source: Based on Korea National Statistical Office (1991-2007)

The circumstances of interracial families are complex involving racial/ethnic, linguistic and cultural as well as gender and patriarchal elements—not only within the broader South Korean society, but also within each family. However, because of the relatively short history of marriage immigration, governmental policies and academic research on these marriage immigrants have been mainly targeted to promote their socio-cultural adjustment in the Korean society (i.e. Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development, 2006; Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008, 2009; Oh, 2008).

The type of policies that South Korean government has enacted can serve as a barometer of the way these female marriage immigrants have been perceived in South Korean society. Governmental policies thus far have been more likely to focus on providing short-term cultural excursions or basic language trainings (Jae-Bun Lee et al.,

2008) rather than programs to develop and enhance these women's skills or capability to help them to perform their roles better in the society. They may not be expected to fulfill their roles as citizens, mothers, spouses etc. since the society does not consider these female immigrants as "genuine members" yet. In fact, these women are often portrayed as obstacles that hinder their children's intellectual development mostly because their Korean language skill or cultural understanding is considered inadequate (Joh, 2006; M. S. Kim, 2009; C. N. Suh, 2010). As a result, academic or policy efforts related to foreign mothers and their interracial children usually aim to mitigate foreign mothers' lack of proficiency in Korean language and culture. On the contrary, those mothers' heritage languages and cultures seem to be regarded as something needs to be replaced with those of Koreans as quickly as possible.

It is interesting to compare the portrayal of Korean female marriage immigrants in Japan by one Japanese scholar (Kojima, 2001) to the argument of some Korean researchers on female immigrants in the contemporary South Korean society. Less than a decade ago, a Japanese feminist researcher labeled South Korean female marriage immigrants in Japanese society as "Mail-Order Brides" and negatively portrayed them as though these women were forced to "escape from the social stigma attached to single women in Korean society" (Kojima, 2001, p. 200); this is far from an accurate description of women's social status in South Korea in the beginning of the twenty-first century. Surprisingly, even a feminist scholar's argument, which is presumably in support of "foreign brides," fails to acknowledge these women as autonomous beings, who decide their own fate and can even move across borders of their own will; such an argument is

more likely to label the women as helpless entities who are utilized by male chauvinism, the patriarchal structure, and an exchange economy (Kojima, 2001).

Similarly, studies on female marriage immigrants in South Korea by Korean researchers such as Oh (2005), Joh (2006) and Suh (2007b) are based on the assumption that female marriage immigrants are passive or even helpless subjects, which resembles the way Kojima (2001) depicts Korean women married Japanese peasants. That is, female marriage immigrants in these two countries, regardless of individual women's characteristics, are perceived as vulnerable victims of the force of global economy. Even acknowledging the important issues these studies uncover such as the commoditization of intimate relationships such as marriage or humanitarian matters that arise, the basic assumptions that they make are problematic because of the embedded cultural and racial insensitivity. The way that female marriage immigrants are presumed to be homogenously marginalized people in literature may be related to the unequal relations between the sending countries and South Korea, which may also influence some domestic power unbalance between spouses. Seol and Yoon (2008) note the unbalanced relationships between Korean female marriage immigrants and their American spouses a few decades ago, which were correlated with the economic disparity between the two countries by that time. (pp. 112-113).

However, as Portes and Rumbaut (2006) state: "moving abroad is not easy, even under the MOST propitious circumstances. It requires making elaborate preparations, enduring much expense, giving up personal relations at home, and often learning a new language and culture" (p. 14). Therefore, there is a high chance that people who move across borders might own extra resources, whether the resource exists in the form of

economic capital or nonmonetary resources such as cultural or social capital. Without the knowledge of the complex immigrant procedure or without adequate monetary resources to pay the required expenses, migration would be hardly actualized. For example, the demographic information on immigrants in the USA shows that most immigrants in the States originated from “middle-income nations and among groups that are relatively advantaged with respect to the source population” (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006, p. 15).

The case of marriage immigration might be different from the mainstream immigration, in that brokers are involved frequently, whether a commercial agency, religious organization or even the South Korean government. However, regardless of the amount of these immigration women’s personal resources, they display courage and practical skills in moving to a foreign country, in that they have taken the extraordinary adventure to cross borders and to live in a foreign country by utilizing resources existing in the form of institutional assistance. Portes and Rumbaut (2006) use the term, “pioneer brides” (p. 3), to indicate South Korean women who established interracial families with Americans in the USA in the middle of twentieth century. Similarly, marriage immigrants in South Korea also can be called pioneers rather than vulnerable entities.

It is important to acknowledge the autonomy and individuality of each female marriage immigrant, instead of generalizing the characteristics of female marriage immigrants by ignoring variations within the group and adopting the descriptive information complacently, such as ethnicity, education, or economic backgrounds. Having the proper understanding of the experiences and characteristics of female marriage immigrants, policies would be enacted, which would support these people for their long-term residency in Korea effectively.

Educational issues regarding interracial children

As anticipated, the number of interracial children in South Korean schools started to increase recently. The number of interracial students in South Korean primary and secondary schools in 2010 shows almost a fourfold increase from 7,998 in 2006 to 30,040 in 2010 (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2010b, p. 1). In a numerical sense, interracial students are the major input that increases the racial, cultural or linguistic diversity in South Korean schools, in that over the 95% of students from multicultural families are interracial students; among the total 26,015 multicultural students, 24,745 are interracial children (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2009). Also, the number of interracial students in South Korean schools is predicted to increase with the continual growth of interracial marriages in South Korea.

In general, interracial students are reported to perform academically low at school (J. W. Kim, Lee, Bae, & Heo, 2005; E.-H. Lee, 2008; Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008). Poverty might be “an overarching risk factor” (Bhattacharya, 2009, p. 3) among the many socioeconomic, racial, and cultural factors (Collins, 1998) that affect the low academic achievement of minority students at school. According to the Korean Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs (2005), 52.9% of interracial families are supported by the Livelihood Protection Law, which provides financial aid to the lowest socioeconomic group of the society. There is not enough available governmental data regarding the financial situation of the other types of multicultural families, i.e. foreign laborers and North Korean refugees. However, they are in similar socioeconomic situations to interracial families (J. W. Kim et al., 2005). The lack of economic resources may result in

the absence of parents at home to assist children with schoolwork, or even with basic needs such as providing sufficient nutrition (Bhattacharya, 2009).

Cultural, ethnic/racial and linguistic factors may also hinder multicultural families from supporting their children's academic success, since the adjustment to the traditionally homogeneous Korean racial/ethnic, cultural and linguistic environment does not seem to be easy for multicultural families. Research shows that even after several years in South Korea, and with no plans to return to their country of origin, Filipino immigrant laborers perceive themselves as temporary residents in South Korea (M. Lee, 2002, 2006a, 2006b); immigrant women identify themselves as "being unqualified" to teach their children mainly because of their "foreignness" (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008).

Moreover, it is highly probable that these multicultural families also lack social and cultural capital in general: studies reveal that families who dwell in low-income areas are more likely to have weaker connections with their children's school (Bhattacharya, 2009), and to possess fewer social or cultural resources to support their children's education (Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 1987). Also, the diversity within the multicultural family, which includes various ethnicities, social and religious groups, and so forth, complicates the issue.

However, educational issues regarding interracial children have not attracted intense attention from policymakers and education researchers until very recently (i.e. Y.-J. Lee, Seol, & Cho, 2006; Seol & Yoon, 2008). In response to the increasing social interest in this population lately, the Korean government has proposed some policy initiatives including the investment of 70 billion Korean Won (approximately USD 70 million) in its public education system to support this new group and to mitigate any

challenges that follow (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008). However, most of the educational policies that have been introduced and implemented thus far to address these issues are not based on empirical research or comprehensive data on the relevant people.

A majority of studies on interracial children are limited within the boundary of exploring the basic circumstances of their families except for only a small number of investigations on their educational experiences. Even though there has been a proliferation of studies on interracial families in the past couple of years, the sudden popularity of the issue around the country parallels a lack of coherence in research and policy implementations as well as an absence of in-depth analysis. In fact, even a part of the first comprehensive investigation of the government regarding interracial children's educational issues was conducted only recently, as explicitly stated within the report (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008).

Moreover, the preceding research tends to ignore variations among individuals and heavily rely on the descriptive information, such as ethnicity, education, or economic background. However, female marriage immigrants are diverse population (Seol & Yoon, 2008, p. 111): particularly there seems to be a great deal of variety in regard to their involvement in their children's education (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008). In addition, even though female immigrants may face more barriers than their domestic counterparts, which would hinder them from better assisting in their children's education, it does not necessarily mean that all female immigrants would demonstrate ineffective maternal involvement patterns, nor are they incapable to do so.

The increasing number of interracial families creates demands for policies that assist them in acquiring resources for their long-term residency, in that they are “Koreans” who are building up their families in South Korea, and the Korean society is thereby transforming to a multicultural society (A. E. Kim, 2009). However, studies that neglect the various underlying factors can give only a partial picture of the phenomena, and it is unlikely to implement educational policies that assist these people effectively without the comprehensive understanding of the population. Therefore, the existing research gap makes it more important to investigate the various factors surrounding foreign mothers for a better understanding of their experiences related to their children’s education.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The purpose of this study is to understand the nature and scope of female immigrants’ maternal involvement regarding their children’s education in relation to the type of social and cultural capital that these foreign mothers possess. The characteristics of these foreign mothers’ social and cultural capital will be investigated using concepts mainly borrowed from Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986), as well as from some scholars who apply these concepts in educational studies (i.e. Portes, 1998, 2000, Lareau, 1987, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). Also, this study will investigate the social and cultural factors that play important roles in the process of foreign mothers’ involvement in children’s education by drawing a conceptual model from Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, 2005). To fulfill the goal of the research, I propose two research questions:

- 1) What types of social and cultural capital do female immigrants possess in South Korea?
- 2) How does social and cultural capital influence the scope and characteristics of female immigrants' maternal involvement in regard to their children's education?

By discovering the characteristics of foreign mothers' social and cultural capital as well as factors that hinder or facilitate the accumulation or use of these non-material resources, I will contribute to the understanding of the educational experiences of such culturally, linguistically, and ethnically diverse populations in South Korea. Consequently, this study will offer strategic insights into educational policies to support the academic success of interracial students in South Korea.

2.0 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The globalization of the world economy influences the individual's choice on extremely private issues such as marriage and motherhood. Particularly, the way that interracial marriage was initiated, promoted, and has become popular in South Korea is a good example of the significant influence of globalization and the world economy. Although the government has played a crucial role in the popularization of interracial marriages in South Korea, the development of governmental policies in regard to these multicultural populations is at its initial stage. For instance, governmental policies across ministries, which have educational components, have been inclined to offer only Korean language or culture training programs to facilitate the adjustment of marriage immigrants to the society (S.-H. Park, Sung, & Kwak, 2008). Little is known about the historic backgrounds of interracial families in South Korea or about their experiences in school.

In the following section, the historical review of the background of interracial marriages in South Korea is provided. Demographic information of interracial families and their children is reviewed using comprehensive resources across ministries of South Korea. A variety of governmental documents are reviewed with an emphasis on their educational focuses. The annual educational policy plans of the Ministry of Education, and Human Resource Development and the Ministry of Education, Science and

Technology are extensively reviewed. Through these reviews of governmental data and documents, some educational issues of interracial populations were discovered.

2.1 MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES AND THEIR CHILDREN IN SOUTH KOREA

The initiation of interracial marriages by the South Korean government

International and/or interracial marriage became popular in South Korea for two reasons: first, the government initiated international marriage to solve the shortage of brides problem in rural areas (Freeman, 2006), which suggests the arrangement of international marriage was originally prepared and facilitated by the South Korean government; and second, the drastic increase of interracial marriage may be related to the boom in commercial matchmaking agencies (Seol & Yoon, 2008, p. 3). That is, by undergoing economic difficulties in the domestic market from the end of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty first century—difficulties closely related to the failure of South Korean government's economic policy in the global market—matchmaking agencies started to commercialize interracial marriage arrangements between Korean men and foreign-born women in order to improve their business (Han & Seol, 2006).

Bourdieu (1986) argues that marriage might not be an exclusively private event but rather of the whole community because the introduction of new members might cause a redefinition or an alternation of the group identity or boundaries. However, the government's introduction of international and/or interracial marriage to the South

Korean society made the private event of marriage a societal event, not because of the governmental concerns about the change of racial or ethnic, cultural or linguistic landscape of the country, but more because of the economic or political needs of the country. By providing marriageable women from abroad, the South Korean government could partially ease the frustration of bachelor farmers (that is, those who do not have a prospective bride) and their families; furthermore, the matchmakers could continue their business even during the economic difficulties.

However, the change of the cultural and ethnic identity of South Korea, which is a natural consequence of the popularization of interracial marriage, was not the major concern of the governmental decision at the macro level. Thus, individuals who chose interracial marriages have had to cope with the resultant difficulties of living in a presumably homogeneous society with little support until recently. However, “the pioneers” of interracial marriages in South Korea are mostly people who have not had extensive experiences with diversity before, and thus their understanding of diverse cultures or ethnicities as well as proficiency in foreign languages might be limited. Therefore, the type of challenges facing these pioneering interracial families in South Korea might be even harder than other types of interracial families in a global context. Given the tough conditions that these interracial families have encountered in South Korea, we can discern how globalization and exchange economy can “accelerate the marginalization” of people who have been already identified as the non-dominant group (H. Park & Jacob, 2011) by influencing on their private choices and lives.

Therefore, the role of South Korean government to facilitate interracial families’ wellbeing in the country is not only crucial but also obligatory. Particularly, given the

importance of public education in terms of equal opportunities and social mobility (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 569), it is crucial to ensure that interracial families and their children can enjoy educational opportunities in South Korean schools without barriers. In the following section, I introduce the change of the racial landscape of South Korean education system, which has been brought about by the second generation of multicultural families, with a special emphasis on the educational experiences of female marriage immigrants and their interracial children.

The historic account of interracial marriages in South Korea

With the rapid globalization of the country, people's perception of diversity has changed, particularly young people's opinions of marriage in South Korea. A recent survey shows that 53% of single people in Seoul accept international marriage (Shim, 2008). However, the popular type of interracial marriage in South Korea does not necessarily reflect South Korean young people's understanding of diversity, since the currently dominated sort of interracial marriage in the country involves commercial matchmakers and economic compensation for the brides' families. Not many young educated people would be willing to do this. Predominantly arranged by professional brokers, interracial marriage has drastically increased in South Korea. On average, about 11% to 13% of the total marriages between 2004 and 2007 were international marriages, which is almost ten times more than the 1991 rate (Korea National Statistical Office, 1991-2007). Moreover, in most of the rural regions about half of the marriages performed in 2008 were international (Korea National Statistical Office, 2008).

Interestingly, it is the South Korean government, which officially initiated and promoted international marriage in order to find prospective brides for South Korean

bachelor farmers. At that time, *Chosunjok* (ethnic Korean) brides in China were exclusively sought (Freeman, 2005). Although *Chosunjok* is identified as one of the official minorities in China, the Korean government considers them as overseas Koreans regardless of their legal status (H. Park & Jacob, 2011). So the first wave of international marriages in South Korea, mostly arranged by the South Korean government, was international, but not interracial or interracial. Also, because of the relative similarity of *Chosunjok* to the native South Koreans in terms of appearances and language, *Chosunjok* brides' or their children's educational issues have not attracted substantial attention from the mass media or from the government.

Consequent to this governmental initiative, the commercial matchmaking agencies have boomed (Han & Seol, 2006), while a controversial religious group called *Tongilgyu* (unification church) has continued its "marriage missionary" as well; the so-called "unification church," which is distinguished from other orthodox religious groups in South Korea, has promoted interracial marriages based on the belief that interracial marriage is a critical way to promote world peace. With the help of these matchmakers, female immigrants could overcome the lack of resources which otherwise would have hindered their marriage migration; these resources include information, social network and economic resources, all of which are required for the expensive immigration process.

Interracial families in South Korea

Among the 125,087 marriage immigrants who had obtained South Korean citizenship by 2010, approximately 90% (109,211) are female immigrants (Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2010). The origins of these female marriage immigrants are diverse: about half of them are from China (Chinese 27%, and

Korean-Chinese 26%) followed by Vietnamese (24%), Japanese (5%), and Filipino (4%) (Figure 4). However, given the large population of foreign residents who are not naturalized for various reasons, the actual number of female marriage immigrants is likely to be larger than Figure 4 shows. For example, I interviewed several Japanese women who were not willing to abandon their original nationality in order to obtain South Korean citizenship: some of these women told me that they want to keep their Japanese citizenship so that they can visit their home in Japan freely. Also, the process of naturalization might not be easy for immigrants, especially in their first or second year in a foreign country.

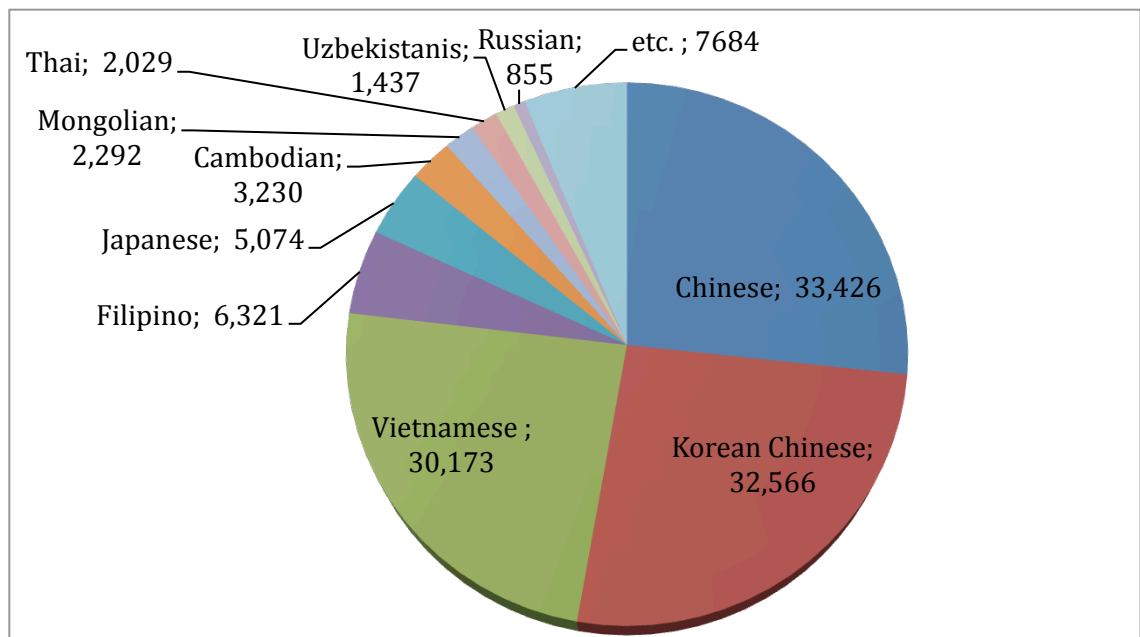


Figure 4. The number of marriage immigrants (female and male) by the country of origin (2010)

Resources: Data drawn from Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (2010)

With the popularization of interracial marriages in South Korea, the number of interracial students in its educational system has increased as well, and these students comprised about 95% of multicultural students in 2010 (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2010b). Recently released governmental statistics show that the

number of students from foreign laborers has also continued to increase, from 1,391 in 2006 to 1,748 in 2010 (ibid.). These children of foreign laborers are concentrated in metropolitan areas, mainly around or within the city of Seoul, where their parents seek jobs in various industries (J. W. Kim et al., 2005), whereas interracial students are spread across countries, particularly in rural areas (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2010b; Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2010). In addition, students from foreign laborers' families and interracial students face distinct challenges. For instance, the legal status of foreign laborers and their children is not as stable as that of interracial students and their families. The unstable legal status of foreign laborers has hindered them from sending their children to schools, although every child's educational right is guaranteed by South Korean law, regardless of a family's legal status (Oh, 2008).

Interracial students in South Korean school

The number of students who have diverse ethnic or racial, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds in South Korea has increased at both the primary and secondary levels (Figure 5). Also, based on the high percentage of multicultural students in elementary schools, it is likely that in the near future the number of multicultural students both in secondary schools and in higher education institutions will increase, especially given the generally high higher education enrollment rate in South Korea (H. Park, 2009). The degree of diversity in South Korean schools is expected to increase further, given that the majority of children are not yet of school age (see, Table 1). Also, due to the rapid increase of interracial marriages and the recent drastic influx of Vietnamese female immigrants into the country (Figure 4), more interracial children will be enrolled in South

Korean schools, in particular interracial children whose mothers are from Vietnam (see, Table 1).

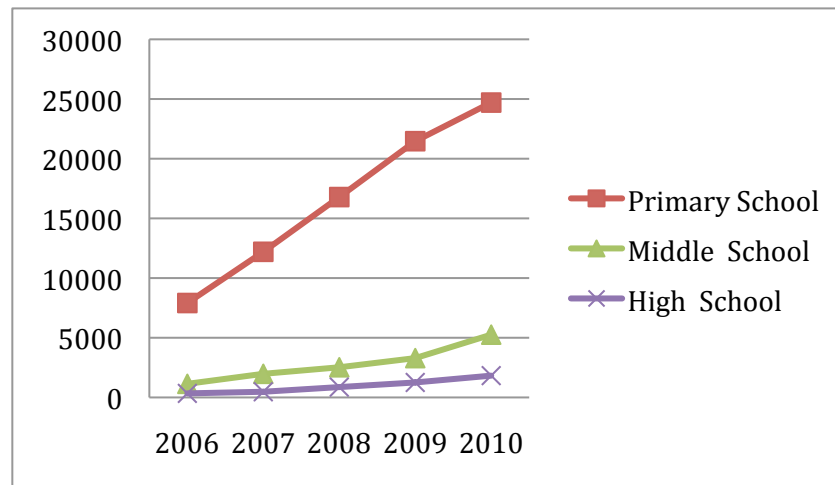


Figure 5. The number multicultural family students at each school level (2006-2010)

Source: Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010b)

Among interracial students, about 87% of children have foreign mothers who are marriage immigrants in South Korea (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2010b). Thus, the trend of multicultural students in South Korean schools is closely related to the number of female marriage immigrants in the country. The number of interracial students shows similar patterns to the statistics of multicultural students in terms the ratio of students at each school level: the proportion of primary school students is the largest, whereas students at upper-secondary schools are the smallest (Figure 6). Students whose parents, mostly mothers, have Japanese backgrounds comprise the largest group of the interracial students in South Korea, followed by students who have Chinese (Han Chinese or ethnic Chinese), Filipino or Vietnamese backgrounds (Figures 6 and 7).

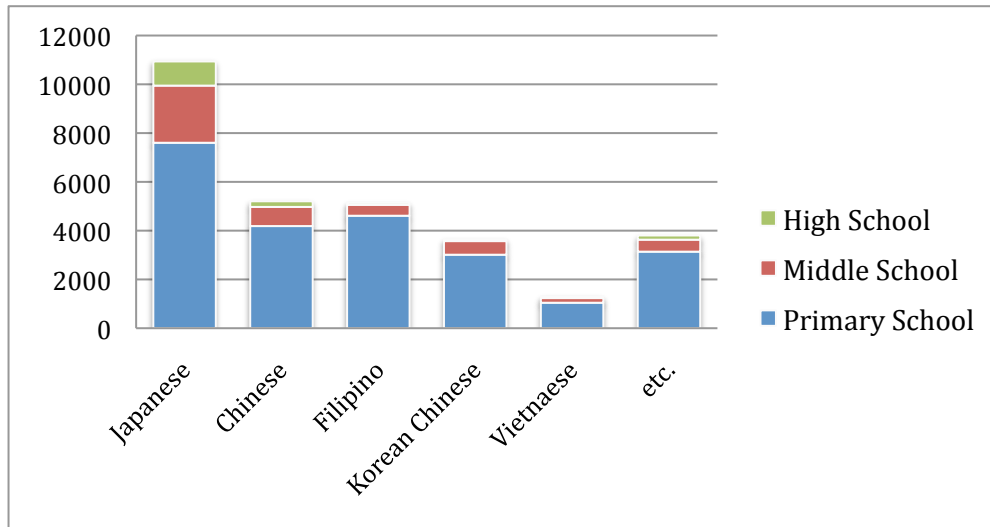


Figure 6. The number of interracial students in primary, middle and high schools in South Korea by mothers' ethnicity (2010)

Recourse: Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010b)

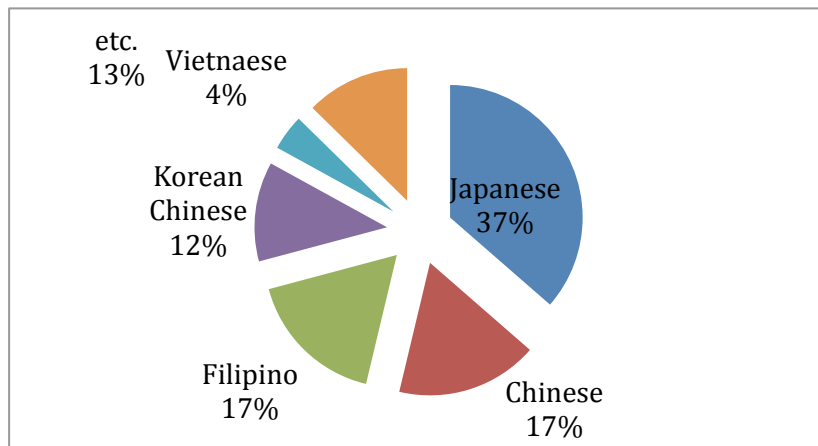


Figure 7. The proportion of interracial students in primary and secondary schools in South Korea by their foreign parents' ethnic backgrounds (2010b)

Recourse: Data drawn from Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010b)

Numerical discrepancy in governments' statistics

Statistics presented by the South Korean government are not consistent across ministries. The Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (2010) shows that approximately half of the children with “foreign” backgrounds have parents from China (either Chosunjok or Han Chinese parents), while ethnic Japanese parents are ranked as

the 5th largest group (see, Table 1). However, Japanese-Korean students are the largest group among the multicultural students according to the data from the Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2010b). Although not all school age children with foreign laborer parents might be enrolled in schools, the difference between the two ministries may not be solely because of the number of foreign laborers' school age children who are not enrolled in schools, since the number of children of foreign laborers is not that significant. Table 2 shows the overall numerical discrepancy between the two ministries by comparing the top 5 biggest groups.

Table 1. The number of children with “foreign” background (interracial and non-Korean children) in South Korea

Age	Chosunjok	Chinese	Vietnamese	Filipino	Japanese	Cambodian	Mongol	Thai	other	Total
1-6	15,472	16,505	23,421	7,471	2,759	2,135	1,312	1,046	5,655	75,776
7-12	10,909	8,319	1,998	3,731	2,326	184	271	454	2,395	30,587
13-18	5,023	4,976	2,098	724	649	235	224	211	1,432	15,572
Total	31,404	29,800	27,517	11,926	5,734	2,554	1,807	1,711	9,482	121,935

Resource: Data from the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs. (2010). Available online at: <http://www.laiis.go.kr>.

Table 2. The numerical discrepancy in data between Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (KMEST) and Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (KMOPAS) (2010)

Ministry	Numbers	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Chosunjok	Vietnamese	Other	Total
KKMEST	Students (Primary & secondary)	11,169	5,536	5,194	3,865	1,339	4,685	31,788
KMOPAS	Children (7-18 year old)	2,975	13,295	4,455	15,932	4,096	5,406	46,159
Differences (KMEST-MOPAS)		8,194	(-) 7,759	739	(-) 12,069	(-) 2,757	(-) 721	(-) 14,371

Source: Data from the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (MOPAS) (2010) and Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (KMEST) (2010b)

Three distinct numerical discrepancies between the two ministries' data are the numbers of multicultural students who have Japanese, Chinese or Vietnamese backgrounds (see, Table 2). First, the number of children whose parents are ethnic Koreans from China (*Chosunjok*) shows the biggest numeric differences in the two ministries' data; they are only 3,865 in the Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2010b) data, while the number is as large as 15,932 according to the data of the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (2010). The number of children from Chinese-Korean interracial families are underrepresented in the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology data as well.

The inadequate representation of children from Chinese-Korean families in the statistics of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology can be partly explained by the high rate of naturalization of these Chinese immigrants in South Korea. Also, interracial parents who have Chinese backgrounds are usually not willing to be included in the categorization of multicultural families. Because of the physical as well as cultural similarity to native South Koreans (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008), it would be relatively easy for Chinese (*Chosunjok* and Han-Chinese) to hide their backgrounds. However, these interracial parents would not hide their foreign backgrounds if there were no negative effects of these differences. That is, the interracial children's parents from China may not want to reveal their foreign background nor the background of their interracial children because of obstacles that may be generated by doing so. More investigations are needed in order to further explain the motivations of Chinese-Korean families who do not expose their ethnic or racial identity.

Second, the numbers of children from Japanese-Korean families in the two ministries show a significant difference; school age children are only 2,975 in the document of the KMOPSAS (2010), whereas it is almost fourfold in the statistics presented by the KMEST (2010b), which is 11,169. The overrepresentation of the “Japanese” students in the South Korean education system may be partly because Japanese mothers actively participate in school-related events and are likely to reveal their heritage to their children’s teachers while they participate in these activities. Japanese mothers are active in receiving governmental aids as well, which I have discovered through encounters with these mothers during the fieldwork with the Korean Educational Research Institution (KEDI) research team (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008). However, more investigation needs to be followed to fully understand the numerical disparity between the data from the two ministries.

The third largest discrepancy between the two ministries is the number of students who have Vietnamese backgrounds. In general, the number of foreign laborers’ children does not seem to be significant in general compared to other types of multicultural students. However, the difference between the number of school age children compared to that of students actually enrolled in schools, among those who have Vietnamese backgrounds, might be related to the large number of Vietnamese laborers’ children. Vietnamese laborers are 51,371 that comprise almost 10% of the total foreign laborers’ population, 558,538, which is recognized by the government (Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2010), even though the actual number of foreign laborers is more than the government’s data shows, considering the large proportion of foreign laborers who do not have proper legal status.

Genuine issues in school

An interesting thing that the government's data presents is that Japanese mothers, who are from a presumably more developed country, comprise the largest interracial families in South Korea, whereas the common trend of marriage migration is immigration to a wealthier country from a less developed one. The roles of a religious group and its commitment to interracial marriages, could account for the large number of Japanese marriage immigrants and their interracial children, which is a very unusual phenomenon in the global migration trend. Moreover, compared to other ethnic groups, the number of female marriage immigrants from Japan had been stable, which had been around 1,000 until 2003, but has started to increase in 2003, a couple of years before interracial marriage has boomed in the country (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008; Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2010) (Figure 3).

Given the fact that it takes about 7 years for a couple to have a school age child, many interracial families, which were created around 2005, might not have school age children yet. In other words, most of the interracial children, who are currently in South Korean schools, are mostly from families which were established before 2003 when the commercial international matchmaking was not popular yet in the country. The large proportion of Japanese as well as that of Filipino marriages is related to the aforementioned religious activities, and the high percentage of *Chosunjok* marriage immigrations from China is the result of governmental policies that had facilitated international marriages to solve bride shortage problem in rural areas (Freeman, 2005; Han & Seol, 2006). Thus, most of the interracial students who are currently enrolled in

South Korean schools are from families which have Japanese, Chinese or Filipino backgrounds; these populations comprise about 83% of the total interracial students in South Korean schools (Figure 7).

On the other hand, only 4% of interracial students in South Korean schools have Vietnamese backgrounds (Figure 2), although the major target of commercial international matchmakers are women in Vietnam (Han & Seol, 2006). The mass media coverage or governmental policies regarding interracial issues tend to focus on Vietnamese and their interracial children as well, while issues of Japanese marriage immigrants and their interracial children are not at the core of the mass media or policies, despite the large proportion of “Japanese” people. For example, the annual policy plan of the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (2010a) includes only one policy that is country specific; a policy that focuses on the Vietnamese population in rural areas, although Japanese-Korean students are still the predominant interracial group in schools in rural areas (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2010b). Also, the annual plan shows that the ministry had supported the development of textbooks in 2009, which may promote multicultural understandings in schools by providing information on countries such as Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines and Mongolia, but not on countries such as Japan or China (p. 2).

The fact that the focus of governmental policy lies on interracial students or their parents who have South or Southeast Asian backgrounds might be related to the assumption of policymakers or educators that students whose appearances are more noticeable might need more support from schools compared to people from Japan or China. Based on nationwide surveys and interviews, J.-B. Lee et al. (2008) argue that

interracial students enjoy decent social relationships with other students in school because MOST of these interracial students, who are from Japan or China, have physical appearances and cultures that are similar to those of Korea. However, the researchers warn that the situation might change, and the problem regarding interracial students' social relations in school may increase in the future because of the increasing proportion of interracial families that have South or Southeast Asian parents, who bring with them more distinguished cultural and ethnic differences. The assumption of J.-B. Lee and her colleagues (2008) has not been proved yet because of the small percentage of interracial students with South or Southeast Asian backgrounds in South Korean schools.

Chinese-Korean and Japanese-Korean interracial students may experience marginalization, given the difficulties experienced by North Korean children (H.-k. Lee, 2006). The same study of J.-B. Lee and her colleagues (2008) comprehensively reports on the cultural or ethnic prejudices that Japanese-Korean or Chinese-Korean interracial students face in school. Although Chinese-Korean and Japanese-Korean interracial students are large in number, and these students commonly face difficulties in school because of their cultural and/or ethnic backgrounds, policies rarely focus on “Japanese” or “Chinese” populations. On the other hand, other interracial students, who are physically “noticeable” such as students with a Vietnamese parent, seem to be the major target of educational policies, although few of them are school age yet. Therefore, there is a high possibility that current educational policies may not effectively support interracial students who are enrolled in schools in South Korea.

There were some hostile incidents at school between Japanese-Korean students and native South Koreans because of the historical, political, and often emotional

resentment due to the tragic history between the two countries (Jae-Boon Lee, Kang, Kim, Lee, & Seo, 2008). Also, racist remarks against Japanese people have been often made in the South Korean society, particularly when a discussion related to the colonization by Japanese imperialists occurs. These racist remarks and practices are also present in schools. Moreover, the curriculum of history and/or social studies may have contributed to the reproduction of emotional resentment toward Japanese people within Korean society. Thus, when students advance to a certain grade where they start to encounter the hostile history between the two countries, the Japanese-Korean students can become easily the target of blame or bullying inspired by the history lessons (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008). These happenings in schools imply some interesting changes or challenges that interracial children of marriage immigrants have brought to the South Korean society. Furthermore, the experiences of the Japanese Korean interracial students reflect the historic burdens between the two countries, and provide an example of why restructuring curriculum is an urgent necessary reform.

In sum, the numerical disparity between the statistical data announced by the KMEST (2010b) and that of KMOPAS (2010) shows that the governmental bodies do not have an effective overarching database yet, which is crucial to support multicultural families and their children. The Korean government has enacted various policies to meet the demands placed on its society by the introduction of multicultural students and families (Jae-Boon Lee, Kim, Byun, & Chae, 2009). Thus far, South Korean governmental policies may not sufficiently address the difficulties or challenges that interracial children and foreign mothers face in the society. Little is known about the experiences of interracial families, particularly about their parental experiences regarding

children's education, and virtually none have thoroughly studied social relations or cultural factors that influence female immigrants' maternal involvement in children's education.

2.2 POLICIES FOR THE MULTICULTURAL FAMILY IN SOUTH KOREA

As I have emphasized throughout this paper, the influx of ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse populations into Korean society has brought considerable challenges and changes for not only the immigrant population but also the existing Korean society. The scope of changes and challenges that the Korean society confronts is significant, in that the coexistence of diverse people requires multifaceted changes of the homogeneous society, since South Korea has a very limited experience with diversity. To accommodate immigrant people within the South Korean society, the system of the society may need to be changed, and the scope of changes might be broad, which includes legal, welfare and educational systems. Also, the societal effort may need to promote the understanding of diversity which is crucial to achieve social harmony.

In this section, I review policies that have been put into place to support multicultural families with a special emphasis on the educational components of these policies that aim to support female immigrants and their interracial children in South Korea.

2.2.1. Policies for multicultural families and their children

In response to the current drastic increase of the number of foreign population, Korean governmental bodies have created and implemented various policies that support the immigrant population as well as promote the harmonious coexistence of multicultural people in South Korea. As a result, 8 out of 15 Ministries of the South Korean administration have enacted policy instruments to support “foreign” residents within the country.

The ministries of South Korea which have initiated policy instruments regarding multicultural families are: the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Public Administration and Security, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, the Ministry of Employment and Labor, and the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (see, Appendix B). The policies of these ministries can be categorized into three sub-groups: 1) policies that intend to facilitate the adjustment of the “foreign” residents primarily by providing Korean language programs; 2) policies that intend to address the difficulties that interracial or “foreign” students face at school; and 3) policies that intend to promote multicultural understandings in the broader Korean society.

First, eight ministries have enacted policies related to multicultural families and incorporated “educational components” within these policies. Particularly, most of the ministries invest resources to provide Korean language programs or to develop an educational curriculum for Korean language training or multicultural understanding programs. Even though the Korean language programs might be one of the most crucial

programs to provide assistance for a multicultural family, it does not mean that all ministries should provide Korean language programs, as there are other programs that also should be implemented. For example, the fact that the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) provides training programs for Korean language teachers or develops Korean language workbooks may not ensure policy effectiveness. Given the mission of the ministry that is explicitly stated in its name, the MCST can enact policies that may address cultural aspects of the issue, such as the development of multicultural understanding programs. On the other hand, the development of Korean language textbooks can be done professionally by the KMEST that is the governmental body that is in charge of the development of textbooks in the country.

Second, the Korean government perceives the influx of the foreign population or the rapid multiculturalization of the country as a problem. Most policy instruments are geared toward seeking solutions for “the problem.” A substantial amount of the policies are about providing assistance, i.e. providing counseling services, social and economic assistances, or language programs. Only a few policies aim to facilitate the development or the enrichment of the heritage of the multicultural family. Although certain governmental services are provided in multiple languages, it does not constitute a multicultural or multilingual approach in a genuine sense. The reason why these services are provided in multiple languages is because of the multicultural population’s lack of Korean language proficiency not because of the intention of governmental policies to embrace multiculturalism or multilingualism within the system by promoting the usage of diverse languages. That is, a substantial portion of South Korean policies solely respond to the difficulties that multicultural families confront.

On the contrary, it is hard to find governmental efforts that promote the involvement of the diverse people within the system by valuing the cultural or ethnic diversity that the multicultural people bring. Similarly, reports published by governmental research institutions are also remedial in nature, in that their foci lie on the problems and the possible solutions, but hardly on the understanding of the different populations (M. S. Kim, 2009; Y.-S. Kim, Chung, & Lee, 2009; Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008, 2009; Jae-Boon Lee, 2010; S.-H. Park et al., 2008). It might be partly because there is a lack of acknowledgement of the autonomy of these foreign populations or because differences might not be recognized as crucial components that can enrich society.

This lack of multicultural understanding in governmental policy might reflect an underlining assumption that South Korea is a country of pure Koreans, which is just an ideological belief that is predominant within the boundaries of the country (M. Lee, 2006b). In this context, foreignness is seen as something that needs to be removed or improved through Koreanization. The government's intense investments as well as the growing interests of the general public on multicultural issues have resulted in diverse governmental policies. However, the proliferation of these policies might not be as effective as they are expected to be, without having a proper understanding of the nature of the multicultural population. This is fundamental to understanding the characteristics of challenges that these people face. Without having this basic understanding, it would be difficult to provide assistance through which the government can effectively address the challenges of multicultural people.

Furthermore, the dichotomous approach that the government upholds, which defines differences as either superior or inferior, can contribute to the development of discrimination toward the multicultural population. Female marriage immigrants from the Philippines or Japanese are portrayed as useful human resources because of their English or Japanese language proficiency (Y. S. Park, 2008), whereas other immigrants are regarded as helpless people who are desperate for compassion and support (Shin, 2008). Some part of foreignness, which can be used right away, is appreciated in the society, such as English or Japanese proficiency, whereas the rest of values and aspects of the foreign populations are disregarded by the dominant Korean society.

Last but not least, the term that indicates multicultural populations in the governmental policies is not consistent, just as the term multicultural family has been adopted inconsistently. The Korean government uses many words to indicate the multicultural family, such as “foreign population,” “foreign residents,” “multicultural population,” “multicultural people,” “immigrants,” “female marriage immigrants,” and so forth without having proper distinctions (Appendix B). Also, in many cases, people who have foreign backgrounds are classified as “foreigners,” regardless of their legal status. These “foreign” populations are regarded as being distinct from “our” Koreans, as the previous example of the document of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2006) shows.

The usage of the term, “multicultural education” is confusing as well. For example, the KMEST states that it will “promote academic studies on multicultural education” (Appendix B). To do so, the ministry will develop Korean language workbooks for the multicultural family, create examination tools to measure the language

and intellectual development of multicultural students, develop teachers' manuals to educate multicultural students properly, and develop educational contents for the multicultural understanding. However, the details of the policies show that the major focus of the KMEST's policy relies on the educational support for the multicultural family, not on the education for the multicultural understanding through the acknowledgement of diverse people's experiences which the term "multicultural education" originally means (Olneck, 2000, p. 318).

The governmental policies for the multicultural family in South Korea are at the initial stage of its development, although the scope of the policy instruments is big and the size of financial investment is large. There are many overlaps among policies enacted by different ministries, and the terminologies, which the government adopts, are often inconstant or inaccurate. Also, most of the policies and governmental reports are focused on the remedial treatment by drawing lines between the multicultural families and "native" Koreans. Therefore, the resources that the multicultural family owns are valued only when these resources bring short-term benefits to the society, while other characteristics or experiences of the multicultural family are not.

2.2.2. KMOEHRD and KMEST's education policies for multicultural parents

The South Korean government has announced annual educational policy plans for multicultural families from 2006 (Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development, 2006, 2007; Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008, 2009, 2010a). The KMEST was created through the merging of two ministries in 2008, which are the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development (KMOEHRD)

and the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST). Accordingly, the policies of the KMEST have aligned with those of the KMOEHRD. Also, policies enacted by the KMOEHRD and the KMEST show an overall picture of the educational policies of the country, since the central government holds the primary role in the education policy enactment in South Korea. To comprehend the sequential development of educational policies for multicultural families in South Korea, I review annual plans that have been announced by KMOEHRD and KMEST from 2006 to 2010 with an emphasis on the policies that support the fulfillment of foreign mothers' maternal roles (see, Table 3)

Table 3. KMOEHRD and KMEST's education policies for multicultural parents

Phase	Year	Educational policies
The initiation of education policies for multicultural families	2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing interpreter training programs for immigrant mothers • Offering counseling services for multicultural parents through school's online website
	2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing Korean language and culture training materials for multicultural parents • Developing diverse educational programs for multicultural parents and their children according to mothers' country of origin
Providing customized education for multicultural families	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing educational policies which were customized to the needs of multicultural families • Developing educational manual for multicultural parents in diverse languages
	2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting foreign parents' access to information technology • Facilitating social relationships between the native South Korean and multicultural parents
Empowering multicultural parents	2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing effective Korean language programs, • Promoting relationships between the multicultural and the native South Korean parents • Hiring educated multicultural parents in the education sector

The initiation of education policies for multicultural families (2006, 2007)

The annual educational policy plans of 2006 and of 2007 made only two brief remarks on multicultural parents respectively. First, the policy plan of 2006 included two governmental services: one is to provide interpreter training programs for immigrant mothers, and the other is to offer counseling services for multicultural parents through

school's online website (Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development, 2006). However, the effectiveness of these two policies is questionable. It is hard to find relations between the interpreter training programs for female immigrant and their maternal role fulfillment. The training program may help some foreign mothers to find job opportunities which may help to increase family income. However, the improvement of economic situations of these foreign mothers does not guarantee the improvement of their maternal involvement. Likewise, it is unclear how effectively school's website have helped foreign mothers to improve their involvement in children's education, given that not all multicultural populations may have the access to online resources.

Second, the annual educational policy plan of 2007 included two items regarding multicultural parents: the development of training materials for multicultural parents, and the development of diverse educational programs for multicultural parents and their children according to mothers' country of origin. Although it is unclear what types of educational programs were offered by the government, the educational programs offered for multicultural parents and children in 2007 might be Korean language and cultural programs, considering the educational policy goals of 2007 were to eliminate linguistic and cultural barriers (that multicultural families may encounter), and to increase the sense of belonging (of multicultural families) and the multicultural understanding (of the society).

In general, educational policies from 2006 to 2007 are unspecific, and the vagueness of the educational policies may be partially because the information of the multicultural populations' educational issues were insufficient by the time. Only few

educational research had been conducted at the national level. The comprehensive database on multicultural families and their children did not exist: the establishment of the first educational research center at national level was planned as a part of the 2007 educational policy plan. Accordingly, the educational policy plans of these two years were based on assumptions on multicultural families or on the basic demographic information. The role of foreign mothers in their children's education was not mentioned in the government's documents. A few educational policies that were offered for foreign mothers were limited to language and cultural trainings, or to remedial treatment to solve problems that these foreign mothers may face. However, there were no educational policies that intended to empower these mothers to fulfill their maternal role in 2006 or 2007.

Providing customized education for multicultural families (2008, 2009)

The annual educational policy plans of 2008 and 2009 for multicultural families were similar, in that they intended to provide educational policies which were customized to the needs of multicultural families. However, the two policy plans were distinct in terms of their concerns on foreign parents' involvement in children's education. First, the annual educational policy plan of 2008 did not include any new policies regarding multicultural parents, except for the development of educational manual for multicultural parents in diverse languages. This policy is distinct from that of 2007, which only provided counseling programs for foreign parents. Policies that provide information may have an underlying assumption that is different from that of the policies which focus on the remedial treatment. The first approach is likely to acknowledge foreign parents as capable beings who can properly use information provided by the government for their

children's education, whereas the later focuses on problems that need to be fixed. However, the contents of the manual are unclear as well as the languages in which this manual was published.

Second, the 2009 plan included a policy to promote foreign parents' access to information technology. Also, the educational plan of 2009 for multicultural families included a policy to facilitate social relations between the native South Korean and multicultural parents, although the overall educational policies of 2009 do not show substantial differences from those of the previous ones. The information and intergenerational closures, Coleman's (1988) term that indicates relations between parents whose children attend the same school, are crucial elements of social capital. Thus, it would be meaningful to evaluate these policies later to see how policies that intended to promote foreign parents' social capital contribute to the change of the nature and size of parents' social capital and to their parental role fulfillment.

Empowering multicultural parents (2010)

The educational policy approach of 2010 regarding multicultural parents is distinct from the previous educational policies. Although a few programs that targeted at foreign parents had been introduced in educational policy plans earlier, they had not been included as one of the overarching themes of educational policies. In the educational policy plan of 2010, the government explicitly stated that it would empower foreign parents. Under this theme, the government suggested three sub-items: providing effective Korean language programs, promoting relations between the multicultural and the native South Korean parents, and employing well-educated multicultural parents in the education sector (Korean Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2010b, p. 12).

However, the government did not explicitly mention about what types of parental role in regard to children's education would be facilitated through in the educational policies of 2010.

In a short period, governmental educational policies have substantially transformed to a more comprehensive approach in support of multicultural parents in South Korea. Still, most policy instruments have been limited to the promotion of Korean language proficiency or to provide job opportunities. Although the Korean language proficiency or the employment opportunities may provide parents with better chance to engage effectively in their children's education, these circumstantial improvements of parents do not guarantee better parental involvement.

2.3 SUMMARY

A great deal of public attention, media coverage and governmental policy has been given to the recently increasing immigrant population in South Korea. Diverse governmental policies have been spontaneously introduced by several ministries. The predominant governmental approach toward the multicultural population in South Korea has identified them as the cause of social problems, not as new members of the society, and has intended to assimilate these people to the dominant culture by replacing their language and culture with those of Korean.

As the number of multicultural students grows, the types of educational policies also increase in South Korea. Particularly, the size of revenue allocation for these policies has been grown, and the nature of educational policies has transformed into more

comprehensive one. In the beginning, education policies had vaguely covered broader areas, and the role of foreign parents in their children's education had been rarely mentioned in policy documents. Only a few policies for multicultural parents had existed, but these policies barely indicated any direct relations to the improvement of parental roles.

However, the components of educational policy that empowers multicultural parents have continually increased in a broader sense. For example, in the educational policy plan of 2010, the empowerment of multicultural parents was mentioned as one of the primary focuses of the policy. Also, the KMEST has facilitated the creation of multicultural parents' social relationships with native South Korean parents, which may contribute to the improvement of their parental involvement as a source of useful information, namely, "information channel" that is discussed importantly in social capital literature. Still, only limited policies exist, which have addressed meaningfully multicultural parents' capacity-building for their successful parenting.

Ensuring access to a quality education for multicultural children is crucial to open doors for the future not only of multicultural children but also of their parents in South Korea (M. Lee, 2002). The education system of South Korea, which was developed in an ethnicity-centered context, may have to be reformed substantially to meet the demands of the era of multiculturalization.

3.0 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This review of literature provides a thorough explanation of three theories: social and cultural capital theories and a parental involvement theory, focusing on the theoretical implications for an investigation of interracial families' experiences regarding their children's education in South Korea. Based upon this review, a theoretical framework and relevant indicators are identified for an empirical study on female marriage immigrant mothers' involvement in the education of their children in South Korea.

Parents are one of the most powerful predictors of children's academic performance at school (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Epstein, 1995; Hango, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Sheldon, 2002, 2003). Likewise, various social, cultural, or economic factors influence the way that parents are involved in children's education. Therefore, parental involvement in children's education is not solely each independent parent's choice; rather, it is shaped through parent's interactions with these diverse social, cultural, and economic factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Grolnick & Benjet, 1997; Hagan, MacMillan, & Wheaton, 1996; Hango, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006; Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Yan & Lin, 2005).

Furthermore, the interactions and negotiations that immigrants experience with circumstantial factors in the receiving country may be different from that of the native people. Thus, immigrant parents often adopt involvement strategies that are distinct from those of the people native to the region (Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Valdez, Dowrick, &

Maynard, 2007; Valenzuela & Dornsbuch, 1994). Even though most immigrant parents may intend to support their children's schooling better, not all immigrant parents successfully engage in their children's education. Some immigrant groups' societal norms and cultural beliefs are well suited to the norms of the receiving country's education system. So these immigrants are often labeled as the "model minority" regarding education, whereas other immigrant students suffer from low academic achievement (S. J. Lee, 1996; Y. Park, 1991).

Numbers of theoretical as well as empirical studies exist with an aim to identify the type of factors that influence parents' involvement in children's schooling (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey, & Sandler, 2007; Hango, 2007; Walker, Wilkins, Dallaire, Sandler, & Hoover-Dempsey, 2005). Among them, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) study sets an important theoretical platform for parental involvement studies. Identifying diverse external and internal factors that influence parents' involvement in children's education, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler suggest a framework that explains the sequential process of parents' involvement in children's education.

Although Hoover-Dempsey and Sander's (1995, 1997) work has been developed and tested exclusively within the context of the American K-12 education system, I believe that their framework can be beneficially adopted for parental involvement studies in other socio-cultural settings including studies on multicultural parents in South Korea. However, considering the complex interracial and intercultural interactions that multicultural parents experience in a relatively homogeneous Korean society, I also draw theoretically from social capital and cultural capital theories. Social capital and cultural

capital theories have been profitably used to understand the influence of socio-cultural structures on individual families' educational experiences: how individuals' social and cultural backgrounds affect their children's education by influencing parents' perceptions of education and of parental involvement (Bouakaz & Persson, 2007; Bourdieu, 1973, 1986; James Samuel Coleman, 1988; James S. Coleman, 1990; Halle & Kurtz-Costes, 1997; Lareau, 1987, 2001; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006; Valenzuela & Dornsbuch, 1994). Given the complicated socio-cultural circumstances that minority populations experience, capital and cultural capital theories are useful to investigate the nature of involvement on the part of parents from diverse races, ethnicities or socio-economic backgrounds as well (Bouakaz & Persson, 2007; Bourdieu, 1973, 1986; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Halle & Kurtz-Costes, 1997; Lareau, 1987, 2001; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006; Valenzuela & Dornsbuch, 1994).

Thus far, educational studies on multicultural families in the South Korean context tend to be confined to large-scale data collection or basic descriptions on the issues, primarily because of the novelty of the phenomenon in the society (J. W. Kim et al., 2005; H.-K. Lee, 2008; Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008; H. Suh, 2007b). Not many studies exist that acknowledge the diversity within multicultural students and their families in South Korea. The diverse factors that influence these multicultural students' schooling are often disregarded, and they are generalized as a uniformly marginalized group. Theoretical applications are even more uncommon, and some of the major theories on parental involvement or on multicultural issues in education are not introduced or empirically tested yet.

Because of these gaps in the research, it would be beneficial to examine social and cultural capital theory as well as parental involvement theories. By doing so, this study can contribute to a better understanding of multicultural populations in South Korea as well as to the development of these theories by empirically testing them. Eventually, the findings of this study will help educational policymakers and implementers to improve their understanding of multicultural parents so that they can develop policies that better support multicultural students' education in South Korea.

3.1 PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S SCHOOLING

3.1.1 Parental involvement in children's schooling

It is believed that effective parental involvement strategies can contribute to children's academic success. Substantial literature exists that empirically explains the type of benefits that parents can provide for their children' education through various kinds of engagement (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Green et al., 2007; Hango, 2007; Walker et al., 2005). Some even argue that parents' involvement in their children's schooling is not only beneficial to parents and students but also to children's teachers and schools (Sohn & Wang, 2006, p. 125). Research has discovered that parental involvement can promote children's success at school (J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006; McNeal, 1999). Also, parental involvement can mitigate the effect of difficulties that the family may face by enhancing resilience against poverty, racial or linguistic barriers (Bhattacharya, 2009; Hango, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997, p. 19). Moreover, the benefit that parental

involvement may generate is not limited to the offspring's childhood but is also very influential in their later well-being (Hango, 2007, p. 1375).

Even though there are numerous ways to define parental involvement in education, I adopt two definitions that include crucial concepts of parental involvement respectively: investment of resources in children's education, and the way that parents engage in children's schooling. Grolnick and colleagues (1997) define parental involvement as "parents' investment of resources in their children" (Sheldon, 2002, p. 302), and Hill and Tyson (2004, p. 1491) define "parents' interactions with schools and with their children to promote academic success" (Hill & Tyson, 2009, p. 741). The former definition emphasizes the values which are transmitted between parents and children, and the latter one highlights the process of parental involvement in education.

As Hill and Tyson's definition reflects, parental involvement in children's education has often been categorized into two sub-forms: parent involvement at home and parent involvement at school (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Epstein, 1995; Green et al., 2007; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Sheldon, 2003). Parental involvement in school indicates parents' participation in the activities of their children's school, and home-based parental involvement means interactions between the child and parent outside of school (Hoover-Dempsey and Sadler 2005 in Green, et al., 2007, p. 534). However, not all parents are actively or effectively engaged in children's education, sometimes because of the limited amount of resources available, such as time, skill or knowledge (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

Also, parental involvement patterns are shaped through interactions and negotiations with various surrounding factors in the circumstances in which individual

parents are situated. Therefore, the nature and scope of parental involvement may be different depending on the socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds of each parent. Still, there is diversity among parents who presumably face similar socioeconomic challenges (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). In these cases, individual parents' perception of themselves or their opinion on education in general might influence their different decisions on children's education. Given the complex nature of the decision of parents regarding their involvement in children's education, both the personal and circumstantial factors that influence the negotiation process of parents need to be explained.

3.1.2 A framework for parental involvement studies

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) framework

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997) suggest a theoretical framework namely the "model of the parental involvement process," by posing a very interesting question, "why do parents become involved in their children's education?" In this framework, the authors identify five sequential levels that explain the process of parental involvement based on the review of a multitude of theoretical and empirical studies, and the five levels are listed below (1995, p. 327; 1997, p. 4):

- ✓ Level 1: Factors that influence parents' basic decisions on their involvement in children's education
- ✓ Level 2: Factors that make parents take different forms of involvement
- ✓ Level 3: Mechanisms through which parents positively influence the academic performance of their children

- ✓ Level 4: Variables that temper the effect of parental involvement, i.e. appropriateness of parents' engagement in the context of children's development stages or in the relation to schools
- ✓ Level 5: Scope of positive outcomes that parental involvement might generate in children's academic performance

Although the empirical examination of the original framework has not been completed yet (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005), Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) theoretical scheme has been continually adopted, tested and improved through revisions by the two original authors as well as other scholars (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Green et al., 2007; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Sheldon, 2002, 2003; Walker et al., 2005). For example, Walker and her research members (2005) (which include the two original authors as well) attempt to operationalize and test the theoretical model by investigating the initial two levels that focus on contextual and psychological contributors influencing parental involvement (p. 85). Merging the two initial levels of the original framework, Walker et al. (2005) suggests some primary factors for the understanding of parental involvement: a) "parents' motivational beliefs regarding their involvement," b) "parents' perceptions of invitations for involvement from others," and c) "parents' perceived life context" (pp. 89-98).

First, parents' motivational beliefs, which comprise parental role construction and self-efficacy, are crucial in the decision making process of parents regarding their involvement in children's education. Parental role construction examines parents' awareness of their role in the academic development of their children, and self-efficacy relates to parents' perception of their ability to positively engage in children's schooling. However, Anderson and Minke (2007) argue that their data shows parents' motivational factors, both role construction and self-efficacy, play a limited role in parent's decision

making different from what the authors originally anticipated (p. 319). Meanwhile, the authors discover that when teachers invite parents for a specific school activity, the possibility of parents to decide to participate in the specific events is meaningfully high. Moreover, this explicit “invitation from teachers” increases the proportion of parents to engage children’s schooling, even at times when parents do not have enough resources available to do so.

As pointed out by the original work of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) however, the parental involvement process is not static or linear, but recursive and much more complex than the model presents (p. 31). Therefore, it is not easy to clearly separate the effect of one contributor from the other. For example, the effect of an explicit invitation from children’s teachers on parental involvement might be intertwined with other contributors’ effects that are created by teachers’ requests of participation. In particular, parental role might be reshaped by this specific invitation from teachers, because some parents may perceive schools to define the kind of parental roles, which Anderson and Minke (2007) also acknowledge (p. 319). Then, the high participation rate, which is assumed to be a result of teachers’ invitation, might be actually a collaborated effect of the impact of both teachers’ invitation and the newly constructed parental role that was stimulated by the invitation of the teacher. Moreover, there is even a possibility that the effect of parental role construction, instead of the teachers’ invitation, may be the leading contributor to parental involvement.

Second, Green et al. (2007) argue that the estimated time and resources, which are needed for a specific involvement of parents in children’s education, has a considerable impact on parents’ decisions. On the contrary, Anderson and Minke (2007) argue that

their data show that parents would be willing to strive to participate in a particular school activity, despite the lack of resources, if it is required by their children's teacher. However, the situation would be different if the participation, which is encouraged by teachers, requires a continual commitment of resources for a long period of time. Research shows that parents who experience time restraints and resources face difficulties when engaging in their children's education, particularly in cases of minorities or parents with lower socioeconomic status because their occupations do not allow them to have flexible schedules (Lareau, 1987, 2001).

Green and her colleagues (2007) argue that parents' skills and knowledge might influence how they allocate resources for children's education as well. Also, parents who presumably own similar amounts of resources may allocate the resources differently, because parents' perceptions of the amount of available or required resources for their children's education can be different. However, Green et al. (2007) suggest that these diverse factors may need to be separately investigated to predict individual variables' influence on parental involvement patterns, even though these factors are interrelated (p. 534). A majority of research that follows Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997, 2005) framework, grounded primarily in psychology and related disciplines, are designed similarly: these studies define variables to measure their influence on parental involvement patterns (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Sheldon, 2002, 2003). Also, these types of studies measure the quantity of positive effects of parental involvement on children's schooling. The level of academic performance is one of the examples that measure the positive effect of parental involvement in these studies.

However, the recursive and complex nature of parents' decisions on their involvement in children's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997, p. 31) would be better explained by adopting a more comprehensive framework. As the original authors of the theoretical framework also acknowledge, parental involvement is "a process that occurs over time" which is woven together by diverse "parental, school, child, and societal factors" (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995, p. 329). For example, the characteristics of parents' self-efficacy, which is a very complex concept in nature (Anderson & Minke, 2007, p. 319), can be better shown with the understanding of diverse socio-cultural interactions that individual parents experience.

I discovered that this particular framework that has been developed by psychologists provides benefits to understand each separate factor's influence on parental involvement. However, some socio-cultural factors are not explained yet within the popular framework, and these contextual factors have been richly described using sociological frameworks such as social and cultural capital theory. However, thus far the two types of studies on parental involvement, based on psychological or sociological discipline respectively, have not created any productive interactions, although both of which meaningfully investigate the issue of parental involvement in children's education.

Because of the lack of a cooperative study on parental involvement issues between the two disciplines, there are some unnecessarily generated misunderstandings. For instance, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995) argues that studies on parental involvement often adopt status variables, which could not explain the different type of parental decisions regarding their engagement in children's education taking Lareau's (1989) study as an example of their argument (p. 312). Unlike Hoover-Dempsey and

Sandler's (1995) argument, Lareau's (1989) study is not intended to simply quantify the influence of status variables or to identify their relations to parental involvement patterns regarding children's education. As demonstrated by her ideas generated in her 1989 article, Lareau has extensively studied this topic and offers a rich description of factors that help to understand the complex dynamics of parental involvement patterns within a broader concept of cultural reproduction system that may be perpetuated through education (i.e. Lareau 2000, 2001, 2003; Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

Additionally, substantial numbers of studies exist which investigate racial or socioeconomic backgrounds of parents, and provide enriched descriptions on the process of parents' decision making regarding their children's education, however, these do not necessarily measure status factors as independent variables (i.e. Blackledge, 2001; Sohn & Wang, 2006).

Immigrant parents' involvement in children's education

Parents' decisions on their involvement in children's education is a result of complicated interactions between individual parents and the circumstances where they are situated. Therefore, immigrant parents' involvement in their children's education shows distinct characteristics, and variations exist among immigrant groups, as well as within an ethnic group, compared to native people in a receiving society (Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Valdez et al., 2007).

The diverse patterns of immigrants' parental involvement are evaluated by the norms of a receiving country, which may value a certain type of parental involvement over that of others. However, the value judgment on immigrants' parental involvement might be not necessarily based on the intrinsic value or the effectiveness of the practice.

For example, one of the reasons why Asian immigrants in the USA have been perceived as “model minority” in terms of their children’s education is partly because Asian immigrants’ culture regarding education is perceived as proper in the receiving American society, although the notion of Asian immigrant considering them as one homogeneous group, ignoring the enormous diversity within Asians, is problematic (S. K. Lee, 2002, pp. 213-214).

However, the extraordinarily active involvement of some Asian immigrant parents may not solely demonstrate the educational aptitude of certain ethnic groups. The intense socioeconomic or cultural challenges that these immigrants face in the receiving country might have increased their concerns about children’s education. For instance, some Asian parents in the USA buy two copies of their children’s textbooks, one for the child and one for the parents so they can better academically assist their children (James S. Coleman, 1986).

The active involvement of Asian parents might have contributed to their children’s educational success. However, Asian immigrants may have to invest in their children’s education, because they do not have any other opportunities than education to overcome the barriers and difficulties that they face in the receiving society. Also, it may demonstrate that Asian immigrant parents are not satisfied with the educational support provided by public school, which leads them with the need to help themselves. Additionally, even if there are substantial educational programs that are planned to support immigrants, Asian parents might not be aware of these programs because of cultural or language barriers that they face and are thus unable to access these resources in school.

On the contrary, immigrants who do not show as many similarities as others seem to be portrayed as insufficient or even as incapable. However, most parents are capable of positively engaging in their children's education, even if it would be different from the parental involvement pattern of dominant groups.

[M]any parents, across cultural backgrounds and family circumstances, can be and are effectively involved in supporting students' school learning. Many seen by schools as uninvolved are in fact involved, but in ways that schools do not notice or recognize. (Walker et al., 2005, p. 116)

Therefore, not only the general scheme of parental involvement processes but also contextual factors are important in the understanding of parental involvement of people with different backgrounds. In particular, "the micro-interactional processes" (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 597) might be helpful for the investigation of the contextual variables of parental involvement processes. These contextual variables are outcomes of the negotiations and interactions that parents go through within a society, and the experiences of parents, who are culturally and linguistically marginalized, which might be different from that of the dominant group. Therefore, even if both a dominant and minority parent show the same level of available resources or self-efficacy, what is implied by the measure would not be the same, given the struggles and challenges that culturally and linguistically marginalized parents need to go through.

The involvement of multicultural parents in South Korea

The parental involvement patterns of multicultural families in South Korea between parents and their children's education are reportedly passive and not very competent, especially in cases of female immigrants (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008; Jae-Boon Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2009). The national education statistics of South Korea show that the majority of the interracial family falls in the lowest socioeconomic group in Korean society (J. W.

Kim et al., 2005), and these interracial families are more likely to dwell in poor rural areas (J. W. Kim et al., 2005). Thus, among the many socioeconomic, racial, and cultural factors (Collins, 1998), poverty might be “an overarching risk factor” that hinders multicultural parents from actively engaging in their children’s academic performance, as witnessed in the African American families’ cases in the USA (Bhattacharya, 2009, p. 3). The lack of economic resources may result in the absence of parents at home to assist children with schoolwork, or even basic needs such as providing sufficient nutrition (ibid.).

Furthermore, studies show that the social networks of mothers from economically marginalized groups are “localized, insular, and sometimes draining,” mainly because people who have social relations with these mothers are also likely to be in similar low socio-economic status’ (Dominguez & Watkins, 2003, p. 111). The influence of cultural, ethnic/racial and linguistic factors on parents regarding their children’s education is also significant in the South Korean context. For example, some female mothers even worry that they might influence their children in a negative way just because of their foreign accents or lack of Korean vocabularies. Substantial numbers of them believe that they are not qualified to teach their children (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008). There is a high possibility that the low self-efficacy of foreign mothers would hinder them from being actively involved in children’s education, and the passive attitudes of females ultimately may pose another obstacle that hinders their children from successfully performing at school.

Additionally, in the case of bi-racial families in South Korea, the gendered perspective is also an important factor that may hinder these interracial families from being effectively engaged in their children’s education, particularly interracial families in

rural areas where the patriarchy is the predominant gender stratification. The educational challenges that their interracial children face would be increased, if the responsibility of parenting is solely attributed to the mothers' role, because MOST of the foreign mothers are already struggling with cultural and linguistic challenges that they may face in a "foreign" country.

However, even if parental involvement is not the same as maternal involvement, the two words have been adopted interchangeably in research, as if they are synonyms, not only in literature on immigrant parents but also research on parental involvement in general. For example, a majority of empirical studies present data mostly collected from female caregivers such as mothers, stepmothers or grandmothers even though their research questions are about parental involvement, not about maternal involvement (i.e. Anderson & Minke, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey, et al., 2005). For example, Anderson and Minke's (2007) study shows that more than 90% of the respondents are females and less than 10% are fathers, but still the study presents itself as a study on parental involvement not on maternal involvement (Anderson & Minke, 2007, p. 317).

In many cases, the gendered perspective on parenting, which equates the role of parents to that of mothers, is taken for granted. Specifically, researchers do not even explain why they take data on mothers' perceptions and experiences in their maternal involvement with children to understand the parental involvement process. Sheldon (2002) even explicitly mentions that his data collection is focused on mothers or maternal guardians because studies show that mothers or maternal guardians are more likely to be involved in children's education than fathers or male guardians (p. 305). To my surprise

however, throughout the whole paper Sheldon (2002) treats his data as if it is sufficient for an investigation on parental involvement rather than maternal involvement.

That is, studies on maternal involvement in children's education have replaced studies where the perspectives of both parents should be presented. However, the gendered perspective in the educational studies on parenting needs to be reconsidered for various reasons. First, studies on the role of fathers in their children should not be overlooked or replaced with studies on maternal role and involvement because the influence of fathers' involvement is as crucial as that of mothers in the long-term, "especially as a mediator of early socioeconomic disadvantage" (Hango, 2007, p. 1388). Second, the concentration of research on maternal involvement, instead of on both parents' involvement, reflects the dominant societal beliefs that maternal involvement is synonymous with parental involvement in children's education, which may hinder parents from being more effectively involved in their children's lives. Therefore, it would be meaningful to uncover the gendered dynamics which influence the process of their parental involvement, instead of taking the status quo for granted. However, there is limited literature on the diverse factors that influence multicultural populations particularly in the matter of their children's education.

In sum, in the studies of parental involvement in children's education, particularly on culturally or linguistically marginalized groups, a detailed analysis at the micro level would be profitable to understand the "variations among parents with different backgrounds in terms of when, why, and how they are involved in their children's education" (J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006, pp. 214-215). Moreover, research design should be specified as to whether it is about parental involvement or maternal involvement patterns,

even though a majority of literature does not define it clearly. In the case of bi-racial families in South Korea, a distinction between parental role and maternal role is essential to figure out the complex dynamics within families over cultural and linguistic as well as gender factors which influence parental or maternal involvement processes in their children's education. Moreover, the consideration of socio-cultural and linguistic factors would be crucial, particularly when a study is geared toward discovering policy implications that can foster parental involvement in children's education (Ramirez, 2003, p. 94).

3.2 A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL APPROACH

The following literature review sets out to develop a theoretical framework for an investigation on the characteristics of multicultural parents' involvement in their children's education, given the benefit that social and cultural capital theory can bring in the understanding of diverse circumstantial factors. The theoretical framework will be also serve to explain the nature of social and cultural systems of a receiving society which may not necessarily allow the same amount of returns to the parents who invest similar quantities of resources in children's education. Based on an extensive literature review, this section will introduce some general concepts of capital, looking specifically at social and cultural capital theory, and will then look closely at the implications of these theories on the involvement of interracial mothers in their children's education in South Korea.

3.2.1 Different forms of capital

The word capital has held various meanings and significance in social science, going well beyond the confines of traditional economic implications, through the diverse applications in different disciplines, namely human capital, social capital, and cultural capital. Through the proliferation of capital theories in the late twentieth century (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Becker, 1993; Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995), the discourse of capital has been expanded beyond the monetary sense to a significantly comprehensive one that opens up the application of the discourse to non-monetary resources and energies as well, whereas the original monetary aspect of capital is redefined as “physical capital” (Feldman & Assaf, 1999) or “economic capital” (Bourdieu, 1986).

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) is the pioneer of this research which comprehensively redefines the concept of capital. By defining the term capital as “an accumulated labor which enables the holder(s) to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (p. 241), Bourdieu introduces three essential forms of capital: namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. With the concept of these three forms of capital, Bourdieu attempts to uncover the characteristics of capital that are disguised in diverse forms. However, Bourdieu does not include human capital in his categorization, even though the concept of human capital is also broadly used in the study of education.

Although Bourdieu excludes the concept of human capital in his categorization of capital, cultural capital as defined by him has similar meanings. The major argument of human capital theory is about the importance of the accumulated value within human

beings; that is, human capital means the value accumulated inside of the human brain (Portes, 1998). Likewise, one of the kinds of cultural capital introduced by Bourdieu, which is “the embodied states of cultural capital,” indicates the resources accumulated inside a human mind (Bourdieu, 1986; Dika & Singh, 2002, p. 33; Portes, 1998). As human capital theory redefines education as an investment because educational expenses can improve the quality of individuals and guarantee respective returns (Becker, 1993), Bourdieu (1986) emphasizes the importance of non-material resources developed in the human mind through schooling, training, medical care, etc., which are traditionally regarded as expenditures of economic capital.

Whereas human capital theory elaborates the issue of education in a framework of direct investments and returns that follow (Baker & Holsinger, 1996; Becker, 1993), the focus of this paper lies on the understanding of social and cultural factors that surround the decision-making process of parents regarding their investment in children’s schooling. Therefore, although human capital theory has significantly contributed to various education studies across disciplines, the scope of this paper is limited to social capital and cultural capital theory.

3.2.2 Social capital approach to education

Introduction to social capital theory

The origin of social capital theory can be traced to the works of great social theorists such as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx (Bartkus & Davis, 2009; Portes, 1998), in that social capital theory is based on the belief that “relationship matters” (Field, 2008). With an idea that involvement and participation in groups can have positive

consequences for individuals and the group as well as the broader society, social capital theorists have applied the concept to explain various social phenomena (Field, 2008; Portes, 1998). Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman are regarded as the pioneers of the theory and Robert Putnam is one of the representative scholars who contribute to the popularization of social capital theory afterwards (Field, 2008; Portes, 1998, 2000).

However, the three social capital theorists uphold quite different assumptions on the concept of social capital, and the “units of the analysis” of these theorists also vary (Portes, 2000, p. 2). The diverse areas and issues that have been investigated by these theorists range from individual or community level social relations to national level events (Bourdieu, 1986; James Samuel Coleman, 1988; James S. Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1995, 2000, 2009). The concept of social capital more diverges as various researchers join and adopt only one of the scholars’ theoretical stances exclusively (Caiazza & Putnam, 2005; Hagan, MacMillan, & Wheaton, 1996; Lareau, 2001; Ostrom & Ahn, 2003). In particular, the complexity of the concept has been escalated by the theoretical expansion of the social capital concept into other disciplines, mainly through the works of Putnam and researchers who follow him (Portes, 2000).

In an effort to come up with a uniform structure that explains the complex theory, some of the later theorists review the multiple definitions and applications that address the concept. Field (2008), like many other scholars do, dedicates a whole book toward an investigation of the theoretical journey of social capital, and takes Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam as the core theorists. Dika and Singh (2002) have also conducted a comprehensive literature review on the theory, but focused on the education studies that adopt the framework of social capital theory. In this literature review, Dika and Singh

synthesize the major discourses, methodologies and findings of educational literature that adopt social capital theory.

Adler and Kwon (2002), whose study is one of the most frequently cited social capital theory articles, also try to develop a uniform conceptual framework after they review various studies on/using social capital theory across disciplines. To do so, they categorize three kinds of relations: market, hierarchical, and social relations, and they regard social relations as the platform of social capital. Then, they categorize the various definitions of social capital into two groups with primarily external and internal ties: the external ties indicate social relationships that exist outside of a certain group, whereas the internal ties mean social relationships within each group (p. 19). However, they admit that the three categories of relations are not exclusive to each other, which makes their conceptual framework unclear from the beginning. The categorization of external and internal ties is confusing as well.

For example, the definitions of Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (1998) are categorized into the external ties' group ("bridging concept"), while that of Coleman and Putnam belong to the internal ties' ("bonding concept") (Adler & Kwon, 2002, pp. 19-21). However, Coleman's conceptual framework, which is categorized as the bonding concept, is adopted by Portes (2000) whose study aims to develop a bridging concept for the analysis of an empirical study on immigrant students' education attainment in the USA. Also, the scope of analyses of Coleman and Putnam are quite different, although both scholars are interested in the resources that are available within the boundary of a certain community. Putnam focuses on the changes of social capital at broader levels including

regional or national level events (Putnam, 1995), whereas Coleman takes the cases of families or small communities (James Samuel Coleman, 1988; James S. Coleman, 1990).

As many scholars acknowledge, the concepts of social capital have greatly diverged, and the manifold applications of the theory make it more complex (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Dika & Singh, 2002; Portes, 2000). Numerous issues have been investigated that utilize the theoretical stance of social capital theory, and researchers have explored diverse agendas: community life, local development, teachers' networks, academic achievement of youth with disabilities, gender status, the effect of development aids, and immigrants' adjustment (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Coburn & Russell, 2008; James Samuel Coleman, 1988; Hallinan, 2009; H. H. Kim, Kim, & Cha, 2008; Ostrom, 2009; Portes, 2000; Putnam, 1995, 2009; Trainor, 2008).

The confusion and ambiguity of the concept of social capital is mainly because only a few theorists acknowledge the different scopes and assumptions underneath each argument (Portes, 1998, 2000). For example, the same terminology such as "network" and "resources" might address a different range of things depending on the context in which they are discussed. Confusions then arise because the indicators or definitions of social capital are reviewed without the recognition of the contextual meanings where individual terms originate. For example, Coleman's social capital concept is based on assumptions of human behaviors that are substantially different from that of Bourdieu: Coleman believes that individuals can make rational choices for their own good, whereas Bourdieu argues that individuals' decision and the outcomes that follow reflect social disparity which is perpetuated through the unequal distribution of resources. In terms of the scale of the studies, the two theorists are distinguished from that of Putnam. Putnam

regards social capital as a property of large communities such as countries or cities, while Bourdieu and Coleman are more interested in social capital that individuals or smaller communities own (Portes, 2000).

Social capital that generates public profits at the macro level

As I briefly mentioned above, the units of analysis adopted by Putnam are quite distinct from both those of Bourdieu and of Coleman (Field, 2008; Portes, 2000). Although Putnam (1995) attributes the originality of the theory to Coleman, he does not remain within the conceptual boundaries of Coleman. Coleman's focus of study lies on the function of social capital in individuals' lives or relatively small communities such as parents' network in a small neighborhood or within ethnic communities. On the other hand, Putnam conducts large-scale research on the changes in the quantity of social capital owned by countries or broad regions. Examples are his analyses on the changes in the quantity of social capital as it relates to the decline of political participation across the USA and to the different levels of civic engagement in Italy respectively.

The different scope of studies that Putnam adopts is related to the manner in which he defines social capital. He asserts that "social capital refers to features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995, p. 67). In other words, Putnam regards social capital as "a property" of a big community i.e. cities or nation, which promotes "mutual benefit" (Portes, 2000, p. 3); the public-owned social capital benefits individuals, and individuals' specific behaviors such as the frequency of participation in social activities are core components of social capital possessed by a society.

However, he does not provide a scheme that shows how the specific features of social capital owned by communities are related to the “norms” and “social networks” practiced by individuals who belong to the communities. In the study of the relationship between women’s citizenship and social capital, for example, Caiazza and Putnam (2005) conclude:

Like many other indicators of well-being in the United States, the status of women is directly related to levels of social capital. As a result, it may also be directly (and negatively) affected by the decline in social capital traced in *Bowling Alone*. (p. 81)

They conclude that changes in social capital directly influence the status of women as a result of the positive correlations in statistics that they discovered. However, these correlations do not necessarily mean any causal relations between the two social phenomena. The advancement of women’s status and social capital can be both the result of economic or social development of the country. The improvement of social or economic circumstances, for instance, might enable people to participate in social activities more often as well as to raise the social status of women at the same time. Without providing sufficient evidence that can disregard other possible causes, it is hardly plausible to argue that the improvement of women’s status is directly related to the quantity of social capital that the community owns.

Having a loose argument, as pointed out by Portes (2000), Putnam uses the concept of social capital by defining it as “all things that are positive in social life” and as a consequence, the rigorousness of the theory suffers (p. 3). However, contradictory to Putnam’s argument, social capital can also result in less “desirable” outcomes: namely “exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward leveling norms” (Portes, 1998, p. 15). Moreover, if social

capital always promotes the mutual benefits of communities, as Putnam argues, it is questionable why the social capital of certain groups such as interest groups can jeopardize the mutual benefit or even the core value of a society. As a consequence, Putnam attracts criticism for idealizing social capital as the panacea for every social problem, as well as paying insufficient attention to the importance of politics, even though Putnam himself is a political scientist (Field, 2008, p. 42).

Nonetheless, Putnam's works, especially his book *Bowling Alone* (2000), contributes a great deal to attract public attention to social capital theory (Field, 2008). With the huge publicity of his book, Putnam's concept of social capital has been applied to diverse disciplines including education and gender studies (Caiazza & Putnam, 2005; Helliwell & Putnam, 2007), not only in the United States but also internationally (Field, 2008). For example, the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) have initiated discussions on social capital in relation to the development of countries at the international level that are mainly based on Putnam's framework (Feldman & Assaf, 1999; Helliwell, 2002).

Although education does not comprise major parts of Putnam's study, Putnam acknowledges the importance of education in the accumulation of social capital (Helliwell & Putnam, 2007). In his work, "Education and social capital," co-authored with Helliwell, Putnam analyzes data of two large US surveys using "trust" and "social engagement" as indicators of social capital, and emphasizes the role of education in the increase of social capital (Helliwell & Putnam, 2007). Specifically, they argue that "rising general levels of education are likely to be accompanied by higher general levels of political and social engagement" (Helliwell & Putnam, 2007, p. 14). However, Putnam

rarely mentions the influence of social capital on the educational level of the society. Although Putnam is interested in the contribution of education to the creation of social capital of a broad society, he overlooks the role of social capital in terms of individuals' or families' educational opportunity or attainment. Therefore, Putnam's theoretical framework is limited when applied to educational studies.

Regarding immigrant issues, Putnam provides an interesting idea on social capital in the increasingly diverse and multicultural society (Putnam, 2007, 2009). He argues that the increasing ethnic diversity in virtually all modern societies, partly due to the immigration phenomenon, is desirable. However, immigration and ethnic diversity would rapidly challenge social solidarity and social capital (Putnam, 2007, p. 138). Still, a society that weaves their community successfully will "create new forms of social solidarity and dampen the negative effects of diversity" (Putnam, 2007, pp. 138-139). Thus, he asserts the importance of creating a new, broader sense of 'we' in the modern, diversifying societies based on the "past experience" of the US (Putnam, 2009, p. 3).

Putnam's emphasis on the creation of a new identity that embraces diverse members would be one of the core missions by which every diversifying society needs to strive. However, Putnam fails to acknowledge the value of social capital owned by immigrants or their capacity to create social capital in foreign places. As a result, his argument goes to a wrong direction and he even makes an assertion that the "difference" of immigrant populations can be problematic and may decrease the amount of social capital in the receiving countries.

Last but not least, Putnam also expands the application of social capital to gender issues as briefly introduced above (Caiazza & Putnam, 2005). However, similar to the

case of studies on education, Putnam limits his analysis to the role of social capital in the improvement of women's status, and he is not interested in the discourse of social capital owned by women and how it contributes to the improvement of women's social role and position.

In conclusion, Putnam's analytic focus lies initially on the social capital that benefits social groups at the macro level, such as the well-being of countries and large communities. Although Putnam's social capital theory provides some important implications on the understanding of issues related to immigrants, education, and gender, his major focus of investigation is limited to the study of the increase or decrease of the quantity of social capital within a bigger society. He does not focus on the social capital generated or reduced by immigrants or women, on the characteristics of social networks and relations that these groups own, or on the roles of social capital in the issues related to education. Still, it may be useful to understand Putnam's ideas of networks, norms and trustworthiness of immigrants as a group, and how their social capital functions to promote mutual benefits of the immigrant group.

The function and fungibility of social capital at the micro and meso level

Compared to Putnam, "the units of analysis" that Bourdieu and Coleman adopt are relatively small: both Bourdieu and Coleman are concerned with the social capital owned by individuals, families or small groups (Portes, 2000, p. 2). In a broad sense, the research foci of the two theorists are also similar, in that their studies primarily investigate the contribution of social capital to the accumulation of other forms of capital. They are interested in the nature and role of social capital in relation to education issues. Additionally, the theoretical emphasis of both theorists lie on the aspect of social capital

that benefits individuals and small communities, particularly on the “function” (Coleman) or “fungibility” (interchangeability) (Bourdieu) of social capital for the production, reproduction and transmission of other types of capital through generations such as economic/physical, cultural or human capital.

However, there is no evidence that shows any academic interactions between Coleman and Bourdieu (Portes, 1998), even though these two scholars published works on social capital during the same time frame. Interestingly, the underlying assumptions of the two theorists are quite different. Unlike Bourdieu (1986), whose major arguments are about the interchangeable value of social capital into economic capital which contributes to the reproduction of social inequality because it is often unseen, Coleman just briefly mentions that "social capital is not completely fungible" (p. S98) and he does not explicitly discuss the transmission of social capital into economic capital. On the other hand, Coleman (1988) strives to explain how social capital, which is a valuable resource, works to fulfill the purpose of individuals, particularly the functions of the family-owned social capital possessed in children’s schooling.

Coleman’s concept of social capital is based on a theoretical collaboration of two fundamental assumptions of sociology and economics (Portes, 1998). As mentioned before, Coleman is one of the pioneers of social capital theory particularly in the education studies in the USA, even though he attributes the originality of the concept to G. Loury (James S. Coleman, 1990). Importing the concept of “rational action” from economics, Coleman explains how "a particular kind of resource available to an actor" (p. S98), which exists in social relations, facilitates certain purposeful actions of individuals such as parental involvement in children. Coleman believes that social capital of parents

has an important influence on the effectiveness of their childrearing, as elaborated in his watershed study on social capital titled *Social capital in the Creation of Human Capital* (1988). Particularly, Coleman introduces the term “intergenerational closure,” which indicates a form of closed social networks among parents whose children are friends or vice versa. The intergenerational closure is a form of social capital that exists outside of families, and parents may benefit from the flow of information among those parents who mutually own the intergenerational closure. The intergenerational closure may also enable parents to take collaborative actions for the benefit of their children’s development. Therefore, those children, whose parents own intergenerational closures, may be better monitored and guided by adults, if his/her parents own a substantial amount of intergenerational closures.

The level of engagement of parents in children’s schooling however, would not always directly correlate to the intensity of the parents-children relationship or to the quantity of social capital that is owned by the parents. There may be cases when parents do not choose to utilize their social capital in ways that genuinely support their children, because of their cultural beliefs, self-esteem, or other circumstances, even if these parents own a substantial amount of social capital. Some parents may express doubts about their capability to assist in their children’s education properly, because they believe that it is the work of teachers who have professional knowledge and experience, which the parents think they may not have (Lareau, 1987). In these cases, parents’ social capital may not be as useful as that of those who decide to actively utilize their social capital to successfully engage in their children’s education. Cultural capital theory of Bourdieu (1986), which is discussed in the later part of this paper, fills the gap to explain the diverse decisions made

by individuals on the usage of their material as well as non-material resources regarding their children's education.

Another interesting concept of Coleman is “the micro-to-macro transitions” of social capital (James Samuel Coleman, 1988, p. S101). Coleman (1988) uses an example of Korean college students' study club and explains how social capital enables individuals to transmit their beliefs to the organized action. Even though Coleman is often criticized for not paying enough attention to inequality issues already embedded in the society (Field, 2008), the concept of the transmission of social capital, from a few individuals to the level of community or even broader society, can be useful to understand the benefits that can be created through social capital owned by minorities. By utilizing social capital that they own, minorities may be able to take collective actions to achieve mutual benefits. For example, minorities can protest against disparities or barriers that they face through the group actions. Ironically, on the contrary, Bourdieu does not explicitly address any possible application of the concept of social capital for a possible collective action of the less privileged population, even though the whole argument of Bourdieu is to advocate for the people who are less privileged.

Still, it is true that Coleman does not explicitly discuss the issue of disparity caused by social structure or class differences that influence the accessibility of the individuals to resources that are “appropriable” (Portes, 1998, p. 5). Also, Coleman does not address the downside of social capital as Bourdieu does. On the contrary, Bourdieu (1986) argues that the very nature of social capital is disguised by the privileged, so that the privileged can effectively appropriate the capital for the reproduction of social classes. His concept of social capital seems quite neutral when he defines social capital as “the

aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). However, the major foci of Bourdieu’s (1986) social capital theory lies on the fungibility of social capital that can be converted into other forms of capital.

Bourdieu (1986) asserts that only people from a certain class take advantage of non-economic capital, because not all members of the society understand “the convertibility of the different types of capital” (p. 253). Also, social capital, similar to the rest of non-monetary types of capital, cannot be quickly obtained. Thus, the privileged may strategically invest in non-material forms of capital in order to perpetuate the social and economic classes. As a result, social capital is very unequally distributed among the social classes (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 250-257). That is, only the dominant people can easily appropriate certain forms of capital, especially non-material capital such as social and cultural capital, and it contributes to the perpetuation of the unequal distribution of social and economic values.

Moreover, Bourdieu (1986) argues that people who take leadership positions in groups may take advantage of the accumulated resources within the group, especially when the size of the group is large and the membership is weak (p. 251). In other words, there is a high possibility that the capital of the whole community can be appropriated by a small number of people, because the officially appointed leaders have better access to resources and information. Therefore, Bourdieu warns the latent possibility of embezzlement by the authorized representation: “the people who are known” (pp. 251-252). Additionally, given the assumption that social capital is the product of investment

strategies, Bourdieu argues that even the events of marriage are the business of the whole group, not a private one, because the introduction of new members might cause redefinition or an alteration to the group boundaries or identity (p. 249).

Therefore, Bourdieu's concept of social capital is regarded as very instrumental, in that he identifies social capital as a means to obtain other benefits, and acknowledges the value of the capital only in the relation to monetary profits (Portes, 1998). Also, Bourdieu attracts criticisms because of his propensity towards the aspect of social capital in the course of class reproduction that limits the theory from engaging in the development of a broader perspective that can better explain the lives of the marginalized (Field, 2008). However, it is not because of the ignorance of Bourdieu that he does not pay attention to the characteristics of the less privileged groups' social capital. On the contrary, his study advocates the marginalized people's intelligent and economic capacity by debunking certain characteristics of capital in various forms that hinders less privileged people from reaching the same success as the privileged.

Therefore, the social capital theory of Bourdieu is useful in the study of isolated or marginalized populations (Trainor, 2008). Instead of attributing the struggles of the less privileged populations to their inability or failures, particularly regarding their children's education, Bourdieu's theoretical framework provides the platform to analyze the role of social and cultural factors that often work against these people's benefits. Also, it is important to notice that Bourdieu's social capital theory has close ties with cultural capital theory whose one of the major components is educational qualifications. Investigating both social and cultural capital to stress the importance of non-material capital compared to economic capital, Bourdieu provides a conceptual framework of the

continual disparity among classes in the society, which is hard to be eliminated, even through “equal” educational opportunities. In this way, Bourdieu’s social capital theory provides crucial implications on education studies.

In the following section, I briefly summarize the three theorists’ social capital theories to create a synthesis that ultimately leads to the theoretical framework discussed later in this paper.

Summary and the gap of social capital theory

Social capital theory is not a simple concept, but is comprised of diverse meanings which are applicable at various levels. However, the definition of the core concept is quite simple and refers to values that are accessible through social relations. Among the vast literature that attempts to understand the complex applications and dimensions of the theory, Portes’ works provides a useful intuition that categorizes the multifold meanings in a good conceptual structure (i.e. Portes, 1998; Portes & MacLeod, 1996). Portes (1998) defines social capital as "the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (1998, p. 6) based on a comprehensive analysis on the various researchers’ definitions. In other words, core elements of social capital are “social relations” (networks), available “benefits” (resources and information) through these social relations, and “an actor or actors” who own and utilize either these social relations or resources. However, the scope of each term and the way that these elements function are not uniform. Table 4 demonstrates the diversity of the three representative theoretical works on social capital by using four different categories.

Table 4. Comparison of social capital theory of Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam

	Assumptions	Units of analysis	Who takes benefits?	Core components
Bourdieu (1986)	Social capital contributes to the reproduction of social classes	- Individuals - Families - Social classes	The privileged (dominant groups)	- Size of networks - Volume of resources
Coleman (1988)	Individuals make rational choice	- Individuals - Families - Small communities	Individuals who make rational choices	- Obligations, expectations and trustworthiness - Information channels - Norms and effective sanctions
Putnam (1995)	Social capital explains things that are positive in social life (Portes, 2000)	- Countries - Big communities	Public/mutual benefits of the community	- Social networks - Norms of reciprocity - Trustworthiness

When looking at the complexities of these theories, certain understandings must be recognized. Firstly, the basic assumptions of the three theorists are very different, and these differences are reflected in each theorist's perspective on the function of social capital and on who receives the benefits of the capital. From the very beginning of his argument, Bourdieu explicitly states his intention to debunk one of the many aspects of social phenomena that contribute to inequality. On the contrary, Putnam is concentrated on the positive side of social capital that brings public goods to the society. Also, MOST of his studies on social capital are conducted at the macro level, although Putnam does employ theoretical terms such as social networks, norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness which are originally introduced by Coleman who explains the function of social capital at the micro and/or meso level such as the influence of parents' social capital on children's education. However, Putnam barely looks at the interactions of individuals or specific dynamics of social relations within a community

Compared to these two theorists, Coleman's concept of social capital is based on a relatively neutral definition. By importing some economic terms and concepts such as actors' rational choices into the analysis, Coleman attempts to explain the function of social capital that individuals possess, and tries to explain the features of social relations that enable actors to access, share or exchange resources and information. Particularly, Coleman provides some very interesting theoretical concepts to investigate the interactions of parents within the family as well as outside of the family using ideas such as "intergenerational closure," the concept of "micro-to-macro transitions," "norms," "effective sanctions," "the density of relationships" (i.e. weak ties), and "hierarchical dynamics."

As Coleman argues, I believe that the nature of capital is neutral, and so is in the case of social capital, in that social capital is a diverse form of capital. Therefore, certain functions of social capital should not be attributed to the intrinsic characteristics of the capital, but instead to the intentions of the holders. At the same time however, the downside of the capital needs to be acknowledged as well as the positive function of social capital. The negative side of social capital may be generated because of some specific characteristics of the capital as one of the non-material forms of capital.

Portes (2000) elaborates the negative effects of social capital into four categories: (1) "exclusion of outsiders," (2) "restrictions on individual freedoms," (3) "excessive claims on group members" and (4) "downward leveling norms" (2000, pp. 15-21). Particularly, it is important to notice possible conflicts or tensions that arise in relation to the social dynamics within a community or in the process of a collective action by members of a community. Examples include conflicts between the benefits of a small

community and a bigger society that the small community belongs, conflicts between the interests of individuals and that of a community where the individuals belong, or between the norms of a community and the interests of individuals outside of the community.

In education studies, social capital theory has been adopted to analyze concerns such as family effects and parental involvement issues (Bouakaz & Persson, 2007; Dika & Singh, 2002; Dominguez & Watkins, 2003; Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003; McNeal, 1999; Toby & Menaghan, 1994), because of the very nature of the theory it can effectively explain the influence of relationships. Popular indicators of social capital in education studies are: family structure, parent-children relationships, parents-school (teacher) relationships, parents' educational expectations or aspirations (Dika & Singh, 2002). These indicators serve to investigate children's academic performance, psychological, or social factors that influence their academic achievement or motivation. Particularly, social capital theory is adopted in education research on the social relations of particular groups, which are usually minority populations.

Overall, Dika and Singh (2002) discover that indicators of social capital and of educational attainment or achievement are positively linked in literature. However, education studies in social capital vary in terms of sample sizes or methodologies (Dika and Singh, 2002) as well as basic assumptions and understandings of the theory. Moreover, some crucial indicators would be better explained with other theoretical concepts rather than social capital theory. For example, parents' educational experiences and aspirations for their children, which are adopted as an indicator of social capital, can be better explained using cultural capital theory. Similarly, Coleman's concept of *expectations* that generate *obligations* might provide some implications for the

understanding of the role of parental educational expectations. However, it is better understood with the concept of cultural capital, since cultural capital theory explains the underlying mechanism that causes the various beliefs of parents from different backgrounds. Cultural capital of parents, who hold various types of educational expectations for their children, is crucial when they make decisions regarding their level of parental involvement, as well as to understand a specific group's characteristics of parental aspirations for their children's education. The "differential weight on education" of parents from different background is a core argument of cultural capital, not of social capital (Portes, 2000, p. 10).

Moreover, it is important to understand not only the quantity and structure of social relations, but also the characteristics of social relations and values embedded in such relationships to draw a holistic picture. Particularly, Bourdieu's cultural capital theory has a crucial connection to the discourse of social capital. However, not many educational studies acknowledge both social and cultural capital theory, and only a few adopt the two important concepts in their study (Trainor, 2008). Furthermore, there is virtually no conceptual framework that synthesizes the two theories for educational studies.

The following section analyzes cultural capital theory and its implications for education studies on diverse populations with an aim of developing a framework that will utilize both social and cultural capital theory for the educational study related to the multicultural population in South Korea.

3.2.3 Cultural capital approach to education

Bourdieu's cultural capital theory is a core concept of his attempt to uncover the characteristics of non-monetary forms of capital. Bourdieu defines cultural capital as "instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth worthy of being sought and possessed" (Bourdieu, 1977 cited in DiMaggio, 1982, p.190), which exists in three different states, namely "the embodied state," "the objectified state," and "the institutionalized state" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). He asserts that the non-material forms of capital are as important as monetary forms of capital in the perpetuation of socioeconomic inequality. In particular, Bourdieu argues that the disparity in cultural capital is closely related to "the unequal scholastic achievement of children from different social classes" (ibid., p. 243). Various social and cultural factors may contribute to the different academic outcomes among individuals who invest similar amounts of economic resources in education. Even among people who obtain the same education, the social returns, for example, job opportunities, may nonetheless be unequal. Furthermore, the inequality of benefits that result from educational attainment may reflect different amounts of non-economic forms of capital that the family can utilize, such as cultural and social capital. Thus, Bourdieu's cultural capital theory helps to investigate the relationship between children's performance at school and their families' social and cultural backgrounds (Lareau, 1987; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

Cultural capital theory also helps to fill the conceptual holes that have not been explained by similar theories in education studies. For example, human capital theory identifies education as one of several important investment strategies by providing an interesting perspective that explains the benefits of values accumulated within human

beings (Baker & Holsinger, 1996; Baker & Stevenson, 1986). However, Bourdieu criticizes human capital theory for neglecting the fact that “ability or talent is itself the product of an investment of time and cultural capital” and argues that individual students’ different academic aptitudes or intelligence quotients (IQs) are not the only major causal factors of their different achievement levels (1986, pp. 233-244). On the contrary, cultural capital theory explains why the value and the nature of cultural capital owned by people from different social classes might be different, and how the differences may influence children’s educational achievement (Blackledge, 2001; Goldthorpe, 2007; Lareau, 1987; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006; Y. Lee & Park, 2008; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Therefore, cultural capital theory provides an important insight into the different academic performances of students from diverse backgrounds including minority groups such as immigrant families, who are often perceived as educationally marginalized groups (Blackledge, 2001; Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008; Jae-Boon Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2009; Ogbu, 2008).

Figure 8 illustrates the relationship between family-owned cultural capital and academic achievement. Bourdieu (1986) argues that the unequal academic achievement of children is not just the result of children’s intellectual capacity, academic aptitude or families’ direct investment in children’s education; instead, children’s different academic performance reflects the unequal transmission of cultural capital across different socioeconomic and cultural groups as well (pp. 243-244).

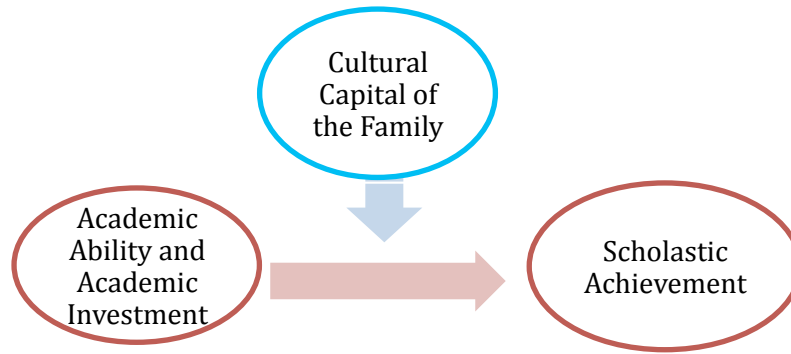


Figure 8. The function of cultural capital in education (drawn from Bourdieu (1986))

Cultural capital theory is a theoretical concept unique to Bourdieu, and it is an important element of his broader studies on the contribution of non-material forms of capital to the perpetuation of socioeconomic disparities (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995; Blackledge, 2001; Goldthorpe, 2007; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006; Silva, 2005; Trainor, 2008). Accordingly, almost all studies that adopt the concept of cultural capital refer to Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory. However, often the interpretations vary in ways that are contradictory to the original concepts (Goldthorpe, 2007; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; van de Werfhorst, 2010). To avoid any unnecessarily misinterpretations of the theory, I rely primarily on the original work of Bourdieu, particularly his watershed work on the theory of capital, titled *The Forms of Capital* (1986).

Important concepts of cultural capital theory

Bourdieu aimed to reveal the contribution of non-monetary forms of capital to the reproduction of socioeconomic inequality, a contribution which is mostly disguised (Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 2001; Lareau & Weininger, 2003). In particular, emphasizing the critical function of cultural capital on the perpetuation of socioeconomic disparity,

Bourdieu delineates cultural capital into three categories. The three categories are “the embodied state, i.e., the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; the objectified state that exists in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.)”; and the “institutionalized state” that exists in the form of “educational qualifications” (p. 243). The three different states of cultural capital often function in an interconnected manner; in other words, the possession of one type of cultural capital helps one to acquire other types of cultural capital or to generate practical values of different sorts of cultural capital. In addition, Bourdieu’s signature concepts, *habitus*, *fit*, and *field*, are critical to understand the way that cultural capital is appropriated by certain groups of people while excluding others, which ultimately contributes to social inequality.

First, cultural capital in the embodied state indicates resources that exist “in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, or *Bildung*” (1986, p. 244); the German word *Bildung* signifies either growth, development, or education and learning. Examples would be human resources accumulated through education, training or health care. Since it takes a long period of time for individuals to acquire cultural capital that exists in the embodied state, families’ economic support as well as educational discipline is crucial (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Therefore, Bourdieu (1986) argues that educational investment is one of the best-hidden and most socially determinative strategies for the domestic transmission of resources and values across generations.

Second, the institutionalized state of cultural capital indicates formal qualifications and official certificates that are socially acknowledged indicators of individual achievement (Bourdieu, 1986). Whereas the embodied state of cultural capital

explains hidden and informal types of individual quality, the institutionalized state of cultural capital indicates the official recognition of a certain capability, such as academic degrees and certificates. Bourdieu argues that the institutionalized state of cultural capital is often adopted as means of excluding certain groups of people since official certificates do not always represent the genuine qualification of individuals for specific tasks. In other words, if educational competition is not as fair as it should be or is believed to be, the distribution of opportunities based on academic degrees or certificates can only serve the interests of certain people who can take advantages of the system; as a result, the rest of the people would be excluded from opportunities that require formal credentials.

Third, the objectified state of cultural capital refers to cultural objects such as artifacts or paintings, writings, or instruments that represent economic capital and that can be relatively easily transferred into material resources. Because of its fungibility into monetary capital, cultural capital in its objectified state may seem to be close to economic capital. However, worth of cultural goods might not be apparent to those who do not have the “eyes” (discernment) that enable them to appreciate the value of those objects. Bourdieu (1986) argues that, overwhelmingly, only those individuals who have the embodied states of cultural capital, which is the capability to appreciate a higher cultural value, invest in the objectified state of cultural capital, either by purchasing the cultural products or by participating in creative activities. Also, families’ possession of these objectified forms of cultural capital can facilitate the cultivation of individuals’ embodied states of cultural capital as well as the acquisition of institutionalized states of cultural capital through the exposure to diverse cultures, beginning in the early stages of childhood.

In a similar manner, for the transmission of cultural capital that exists in the embodied states within a family, it is crucial for the family to have substantial social capital (relationships) among family members. For example, Coleman introduces the story of the British philosopher John Stuart Mill's family to demonstrate the important role that social capital can play in children's education: even though Mill's family was extremely poor, "the time and efforts spent by the father" enabled him to overcome his earlier poverty (pp. S109-S110). Even if Mill's father had the time and willingness for his son, however, if the father did not have the embodied state of cultural capital, he would not have been able to educate his son as a philosopher. In that sense, Mill's case presented in Coleman's (1988) work demonstrates not only the importance of social capital that a family owns for a child's education, but also that of the embodied states of culture. Additionally, this example reveals the interconnected characteristics of non-material forms of capital that exists both incultural capital and social capital.

Furthermore, Bourdieu uncovers the hidden mechanism for the value judgment of cultural resources owned by different classes with his signature concepts, namely *habitus*, *field* and *fit*, since he believes the value of cultural capital is not completely neutral but subject to changes according to the societal norms of each society (Lareau, 2001; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006). First, the term *habitus* means "the different set of dispositions" (inclinations) or "socialized subjectivity" that individuals bring to the "fields of the interaction" (Lareau, 2001, p. 82). Second, *fields* mean "all social domains" (Goldthorpe, 2007, p. 5), the "rules of the game" or "patterns of regularities" that function as the criteria of the value of the *habitus* (Lareau, 2001, pp. 83-

84). Third, *fit* means the appropriateness of the *habitus* in the *field* (J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006).

The value of an individual's *habitus* is subject to the *field* of the society, which is the standard of the society decided upon by a certain group of people. (Lareau, 2001). Only when individuals' resources (*habitus*) are recognized as valuable (*fit*) according to the criteria of a society where these people are situated (*field*), their *habitus* obtains value that enables the holders to generate or access other types of resources; in other words, depending on the degree of the *fit* of the *habitus* to *field*, the amount of resources that constitutes their cultural capital varies (Lareau, 2001; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006). In this way, cultural capital is appropriated by a limited number of people in a society (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Thus, Bourdieu's cultural capital theory is particularly useful in understanding an aspect of social systems that works in favor of dominant groups that manage the rules of society but exclude others who do not follow their rules.

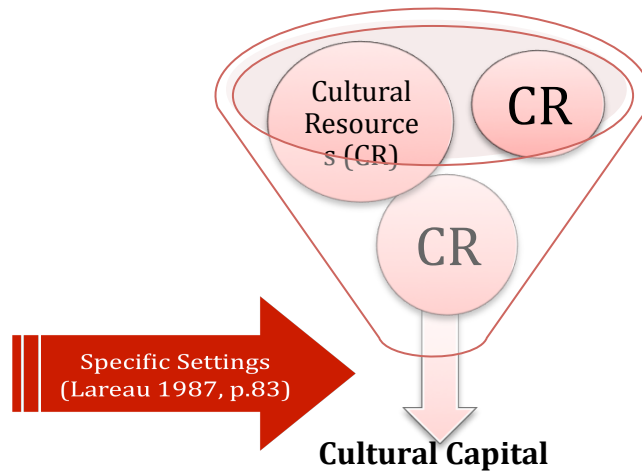


Figure 9. The process of the conversion of cultural resources to cultural capital (drawn from Lareau, 1987)

Also importantly, cultural resources can be converted into a type of cultural capital under specific circumstances (Lareau, 1987). Figure 9 visualizes the process of the conversion of cultural resources to a valuable parenting resource acceptable in a given societal context. Putting this concept into Bourdieu's terminology, parents' *habitus* affects the strategies that parents take in their children's education. However, only when the *habitus* of parents *fits* well to the *field* of a given education system, which are *the* norms and values of the educational institutions, can parents' involvement in children's education contribute to the academic success of children. In this context, not only are the types of cultural resources that parents have important, but equally so are the situational factors that enable them to convert the resources into a form of capital.

In sum, cultural capital can be appropriated to contribute to the unequal distribution of resources; because a) non-monetary forms of capital are concentrated within certain groups of people, but the process of the accumulation and the distribution of these types of capital are often invisible to those who do not belong to the privileged

groups; moreover, b) the value of these type of resources and the way that they are utilized are decided by those who own the resources; and, therefore, c) the people who own resources can easily accumulate and transfer the non-material forms of capital whereas people who don't may not . That is, cultural capital is not available for every member of the society, but only a small number of higher-class people who know the potential value of the capital, which is easily disguised.

Misunderstandings of cultural capital in education studies

The popular applications of cultural capital theory in education studies, which seem sound, are in fact irrelevant to the original cultural capital theory, even though they discover a substantial amount of insightful facts (Goldthorpe, 2007). Lareau and Weiniger (2003) categorized the predominant misinterpretations into two groups: 1) studies that adopt the term cultural capital to “denote knowledge of or facility with “highbrow” aesthetic culture,” and 2) studies that assume cultural capital is “distinct from other important forms of knowledge or competence” such as “ability or technical skills.” In particular, the attempt to separate technical skill or knowledge from cultural capital in the study of education is problematic as well, in that there is no evidence “in Bourdieu’s writing that implies a distinction between cultural capital and “ability” or “technical” skills” ” (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 580). On the contrary, any curriculum or subject valued in the education system is related to cultural capital one way or another. For example, mathematics is perceived as a “technical” subject because it is about the “acquisition of specific skills in the classroom settings” (DiMaggio, 1982, p. 194 in Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 574). However, students who have an active attitude toward the subject, or who have close access to resources that can provide assistance can

easily master mathematics. It can be their family members who have advanced knowledge on the specific subject and some of the family members might even be professionals in the field. That is, the cultural capital of family, either in an embodied state such as knowledge of mathematics, or in an institutionalized state that involves professionals, can facilitate the acquisition of “technical skills” of their family members. Therefore, the discourse of cultural capital should not be confined within the study of the influence of cultural activities related to non-technical subjects (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 574).

Another common misunderstanding of cultural capital theory in education study is to treat it as a variable separated from education to predict educational achievement, mostly by reducing the concept to some sorts of highbrow culture. On the contrary, Bourdieu argues that education is not only a crucial component of cultural capital, abiding in the embodied state or in the institutionalized state, but also an important means to transmitting and accumulating cultural capital across generations (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244). Also, although it is hard to interpret the function of cultural capital without understanding the three forms of cultural capital properly, there have been virtually no empirical education studies that recognize the three states of cultural capital. Last but not least, the overarching theme of Bourdieu’s cultural capital is the reproduction of the social system (Goldthorpe, 2007); in particular, he believes that the dominant groups appropriate the education system, which is presumed to be based on meritocracy and to reduce social disparity, and actually make it function in the opposite way. Thus, proper applications of the theory needs to involve the understanding of the processes whereby

certain cultural dispositions are recognized as valuable resources while others are not in the given circumstances.

In education studies, Bourdieu's theory is too often narrowed down in ways that distort the original concepts (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 568). For example, DiMaggio (1982) and DiMaggio and Mohr (1985) claim that they borrow from Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, but they attempt to quantify the direct influence of cultural capital on students' academic success by taking cultural capital as an independent variable (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). This research measures the frequency of "literature reading or arts attendance" and its effect on academic achievement based on two assumptions: first, participating in highbrow cultural events constitutes a crucial part of cultural capital, and second, "cultural capital" in these forms may positively influence academic outcomes (Byun, 2007; De Graaf, De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000; DiMaggio, 1982, pp. 193, 196; Flere, Krajnc, Klanjšek, Musil, & Kirbiš, 2010; S. Kim & Kim, 2009, p. 297; Olneck, 2000, p. 159). However, it is inappropriate to take these types of measurements to assess the amount of cultural capital; in that these examples can represent only some parts of the embodied state of cultural capital. It is even more misleading when these types of measurements are taken to quantify the impact of cultural capital on education, because the concept of cultural capital is not totally separable from education.

Education is not only an important means to accumulate cultural capital, but also a crucial component of cultural capital. Therefore, even if many insightful facts are discovered through the studies which misinterpret the concept of cultural capital as experiences or knowledge related to highbrow cultures, they are not necessarily relevant in the theoretical realm of cultural capital (Goldthorpe, 2007). On the contrary, as

Goldthorpe (2007) suggests, it would be better just to replace the misleading term “cultural capital” with “cultural resources,” “cultural values” or “cultural influences” for the theoretical validity of the argument as long as there is no substantial relation with Bourdieu’s cultural capital concept (p.15, 19). That is, studies which are based on assumptions that cultural capital is a separate factor from educational performance and thus can be measured by certain activities related to highbrow cultures, does not just draw partially from Bourdieu (Lareau & Weininger, 2003), but is inconsistent with Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory (Goldthorpe, 2007). Although Bourdieu “employs a variety of measures of arts participation,” these are only some of the examples that explain the function of cultural capital in a specific context of France in the late twentieth century (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, pp. 578-579). Moreover, Bourdieuan cultural capital theory is more about investigating the way that cultural resources are utilized for the benefits of the owner and their ultimate contributions to the perpetuation of social inequality, rather than about proving the value of highbrow culture.

The frequent misunderstanding of Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory might be partly due to the tendency of the privileged to take more advantage of cultural capital than do less privileged people. However, it is not because cultural capital owned by the privileged always has higher intrinsic value, but because the cultural capital owned by the less privileged is not equally appreciated in a society: in other words, differences are generated because “not all cultural practices are viewed as having equal value” (Blackledge, 2001; Lareau, 2001, p. 77). In many cases, the value judgment on cultural capital reflects the power relations of the society. Therefore, even though both the privileged and the less privileged possess their own cultural capital, because cultural

capital is “context-specific and its currency varies across different social spaces,” the dominant group often takes more advantage of capital than the non-dominant group (Carter, 2003, p. 137).

In particular, Carter (2003) provides an interesting insight into the characteristics of cultural capital by classifying it into two categories: there are two types of cultural capital namely cultural capital of the dominant majority and that of the non-dominant minority. These two types of cultural capital serve different purposes in different contexts: the dominant cultural capital is beneficial in formal settings for gaining institutional acknowledgment, and the non-dominant type of cultural capital is important particularly in minority students’ lives because the non-dominant type of cultural capital is the key to being perceived as an “authentic” member of the community (Carter, 2003, p. 138). She also discovers that the cultural capital of members in the majority is not necessarily always appreciated in minority students’ informal lives, and, as a result, the two types of cultural capital coexist in minority students’ lives. The theoretical framework which Carter (2003) uses is particularly insightful in that it portrays how cultural capital obtains value when power relations change to influence the interactions between *habitus* and *field*.

Furthermore, even though it is crucial to acknowledge that socioeconomic and cultural reproduction is the overarching theme of Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory, it is not essential that future research show loyalty to the original theory (Goldthorpe, 2007). On the other hand, as it is important to understand that the unequal distribution of education opportunities are partly caused by the different levels of cultural capital possessed, so is it crucial to seek ways that mitigate the influence of families’ unequal

possession of cultural capital on their children's education. Since circumstantial factors are as critical as schooling itself in the understanding of educational disparity (Goldthorpe, 1996 in van de Werfhorst, 2010, p. 167), it is important to find ways to end the vicious circle of unequal distribution and accumulation of cultural capital relating to education opportunities. In this sense, DiMaggio's (1982), DiMaggio and Mohr 's (1985), and many other similar studies provide an important insight into expanding Bourdieu's theory, in that these studies aim to discover remedial instruments that can promote the accumulation of "cultural capital" for marginalized students, even though their interpretations of the concept may be distorted.

Thus far, Bourdieu's studies in education have mainly focused on debunking the function of cultural capital in relation to disparity in education. However, the possible solution to educational disparities needs to be regarded as an important theme of cultural capital studies in education as well. Connecting cultural capital theory to Max Weber's concept of status culture, DiMaggio (1982) asserts that "[a]ctive participation in prestigious status cultures may be a practical and useful strategy for low status students who aspire towards upward mobility" (p.190). To put this statement into a more general argument, one might say that, generally, exposure to highbrow cultural events and experiences can contribute to the persistence of social inequality when the privileged monopolize the cultural opportunities. However, if equal opportunities can be ensured for the non-dominant groups to enjoy these cultural experiences, highbrow culture can be used as an educational policy instrument to promote social mobility.

The participation in the cultural events of the privileged might not be the most efficient way to accumulate cultural capital on the part of the less privileged. Also, the

numerical frequency of the participation may not directly guarantee the cultivation of less privileged students. However, as I mentioned above, it is important to notice that DiMaggio (1982) and others draw attention to the possibility of social mobility within the discourse of cultural capital that has not been discussed much in Bourdieu's studies. In other words, those significant findings on the relation between specific cultural experiences and educational achievement provide an important insight into cultural capital studies, particularly in terms of addressing disparity in education opportunities. Still, it should be clear that these types of research do not necessarily belong to cultural capital studies because they have failed to critically attach their arguments to Bourdieu's core concepts.

Some insights can be drawn from these popular but irrelevant studies from the perspective of the original theory, in particular to develop remedial educational treatments so that schooling could facilitate social mobility. However, this does not mean that those studies that claim that they borrow from Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, but appropriate the term in a way that is not necessarily compliant with the original concept, have relevancy in the context of cultural capital theory. As I mentioned above, the studies of these popular authors hardly constitute authentic arguments within the context of cultural capital theory. Although it is not easy to operationalize the concept of cultural capital theory due to the complexity and theoretical ambiguity of the original argument (Lamont & Lareau, 1988), the whole theoretical scope of cultural capital cannot be reduced into a few examples of the appreciation of high level culture measured by the frequency of attending classical concerts, visiting museums, etc. Therefore, it is important to recognize the contribution of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory to the

understanding of the social reproduction process when it is applied. On the other hand, studies which do not acknowledge the fundamental theoretical concerns of social reproduction as examined by Bourdieu, but still claim their theoretical attachment to the work of Bourdieu contain a serious logical flaw from the beginning (Goldthorpe, 2007). It is equally important to recognize the characteristics of cultural capital that abides in different forms in balance because the complex concept of cultural capital was originally unraveled in this way.

Empirical application of cultural capital theory in educational studies

Bourdieu asserts that cultural capital, in the form of education and through “the education system,” contributes to the intergenerational transmission of resources and status and therefore to “the reproduction of the social structure” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244). Even if every group possesses its own cultural capital, depending on whether they belong to the majority or to the minority, some are valued and recognized in the education system, while the rest of them are not (Blackledge, 2001, p. 348). Accordingly, cultural capital theory has been usefully adopted for education studies related to less privileged populations since the role of education in the reproduction of social disparity is a core concept of Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory. Also, cultural capital has been usefully adopted to uncover complex dynamics that individuals’ beliefs and attitudes can engender. In particular, cultural capital theory provides an important platform for studying parental involvement, since Bourdieu’s original interests lie in the transmission process of nonmonetary forms of capital within families.

In one of the prominent but rare empirical studies that do apply Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory, Lareau (1987, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003) argues that there are

distinct childrearing patterns depending on the socioeconomic status of families, whereas different racial groups do not necessarily demonstrate distinct childrearing styles. According to her, middle class parents, both in black and white families, participate in the *concerted cultivation* of their children, whereas lower class parents believe in and wait for *the accomplishment of natural growth*. That is, parents from different social classes engage in their children's education differently, even though parents across classes agree about the importance of their children's education; while a middle class mother actively negotiates with educators regarding her daughter's learning by asking questions or intervening in educational treatments, a working class mother shows very passive attitudes in her communication with educators even though she is quite strong and self-assured in other settings (Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

The two types of childrearing styles, the *concerted cultivation* and *accomplishment of natural growth*, are Lareau's signature concepts that explain the different parenting styles across families' socio-economic backgrounds. Lareau compares the two kinds of parenting styles that families from different social classes show under four sub-themes: "parents' "organization of daily life," "language use," "interventions in institutions" (schools), and "consequences" of the parenting (see, Lareau 2002, p. 753 and Lareau 2003, p. 31). Unlike the last theme, which is about the consequence of parental involvement, the first three can be classified into two overarching categories that are suggested in parental involvement studies: parents' home-based involvement and school-based involvement. In particular, I classified the former two themes, which are the organization of daily life and language use, into a single

category to further comprehend parents' home-based involvement style while the latter, interventions in institutions, helps in understanding school-based involvement style.

Lareau asserts that the privileged own cultural capital that enables them to easily meet teachers' expectations and to effectively influence their children's success at school settings, whereas children whose parents do not own such capital are disadvantaged. For example, Lareau discovered that middle class parents are deeply involved in children's growth at home by providing continuous stimulus in various forms, particularly by preparing a tight schedule on "the leisure time activities" for children. They often question the decisions made by educators or professionals with an aim to maximizing the benefits to their children. These parents' school-based involvement style is also very active. On the other hand, working class or poor parents believe their roles in children's education is limited both in terms of home-based and school-based involvement. Thus, working class mothers accept educators' decisions on their children, instead of questioning or challenging them even when they do not agree (Lareau, 1987, 2001, 2003, 2008; Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

Thus far, however, the empirical application of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory has been extremely limited and more so in a non-western context. Accordingly, some important socio-cultural and linguistic factors have been explained only to a limited extent, particularly in the life circumstances of immigrant parents living in other countries. For instance, even though Lareau's studies were conducted in the US, which is one of the most multicultural countries, her analysis was focused on class, while racial factors were almost neglected; her argument is that racial backgrounds have minimal significance in parents' involvement styles. However, she has not acknowledged the

limitation of her study that she has not included diverse racial groups' or immigrant parents' experiences.

As the class factor explains the different types of parental involvement in the US, there would be some other factors that explain the childrearing styles of families in various social systems and contexts. In particular, studies show language and cultural factors may play a significant role when immigrant parents become involved in their children's education (Blackledge, 2001, 2002). Having those additional factors, which are also influential, immigrant parents, in the process of negotiating the power relations between dominance and marginalization may have experiences different from those of native parents. Also, some factors that explain native parents' various involvement styles may not be relevant in the understanding of immigrant families' cases. For instance, factors such as the language proficiency of the dominant society, which has not been addressed in Lareau's studies, may better account for immigrant mothers' involvement in children's education. In a paper titled, "The wrong sort of capital?: Bangladeshi women and their children's schooling in Birmingham, U.K.," Blackledge (2001) discovered that the linguistic and cultural capital of Bangladeshi immigrant mothers were devalued because they are "different from that of the majority-culture school," and as a result, these mothers were marginalized by the institutions of power and excluded from crucial information in support of the education of their children (p. 345).

Moreover, cultural capital is not a single factor that shapes parental involvement patterns by itself; on the contrary, it is interrelated with other types of capital including both nonmaterial and material forms of capital that each family owns. Parents may be able to actively participate in school events such as parent teacher associations' meetings

when they are affluent and have extra time (Lareau, 1987; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006). Also, parents from lower socioeconomic groups confront barriers in support of their children's education more often not only because of the lack of cultural capital, but also the type of social network (social capital) that they have (Lareau, 1987). That is, although most parents highly value children's education regardless of their class or socioeconomic backgrounds, including working class parents, who may have had negative experiences and misgivings about the educational system (Grenfell & James, 1988 in J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 198), the styles of parental involvement in their children's education may vary; especially according to the values of family-owned capital (*habitus*), which are subject to change according to the *field* of the society where they are situated.

3.3 AN INTEGRATED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I suggest a theoretical framework: namely, "Immigrant mothers' social and cultural capital and their maternal involvement in children's schooling" (Figure 10). This framework is a synthesis of social and cultural capital theories and some parts of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's "Model of the parental involvement process" (1995, 1997). Several concepts, borrowing from the social capital theories of Coleman and Bourdieu, and the latter's theory of cultural capital, are added to the original framework of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler. While the initial Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler model emphasizes the process of parents' involvement in their children's education, my framework intends to provide rich descriptions of the involvement of foreign-born mothers in children's

education in South Korea by interpreting the nature of these mothers' social and cultural capital.

In particular, several indicators of the Hoover-Dempsey/Sandler model have been collapsed or revised to provide a more detailed explanation of factors that influence foreign mothers' involvement in their children's education. Several indicators have been added, such as mothers' educational aspirations for their children, mothers' previous school experiences, mothers' social relations with their children and/or with their children's teachers, etc. The significance of these additional factors has been addressed in several empirical studies (Anderson & Minke, 2007; James Samuel Coleman, 1988; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006).

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's original model (1995, 1997) explains parental involvement process in five sequential levels. The first two levels of this original framework, which predict the process of parents' basic decision makings and their specific involvement choices, are merged into one level in a subsequent framework suggested by Walker et al. Green and her colleagues (2007) have empirically tested this revision, and at diverse levels, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler have continued to contribute to these processes of revision and to the empirical tests of the original model. I adopt the subsequent changes that have been made to the original model.

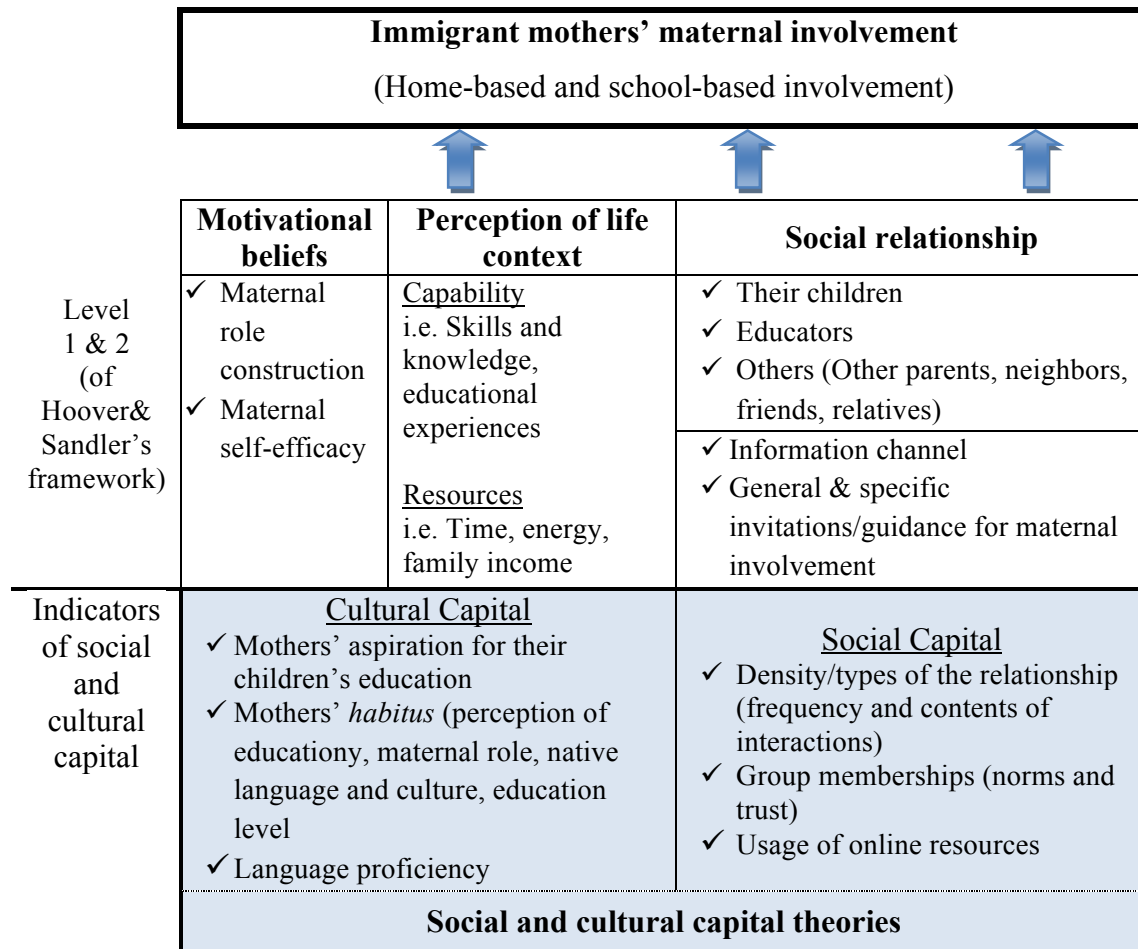


Figure 10. Immigrant mothers' social and cultural capital and their maternal involvement in children's schooling

Source as modified by the author: Green et al. (2007), Walker et al. (2005), the Level 1 and 2 of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) model.

Moreover, I myself have made the following revisions to the original: (1) the "life context" category has been split into two subsections entitled "capability" and "resources"; (2) the "invitations for parental involvement" category has been replaced by "social relationship," and indicators of diverse social relationships that may contribute to foreign mothers' involvement have been added (i.e. relationship with their children, educators, etc.); (3) at the base of the framework, two sections, entitled "cultural capital"

and “social capital,” have been added in order that both be considered as contributing factors in the analysis (see Figure 10).

First, I focus on the characteristics of foreign mothers’ cultural capital related to the first two sub-sections suggested by the framework. Of the three states of cultural capital originally defined by Bourdieu (1986), the embodied states of cultural capital forms the focus of the majority of the analysis of this study, and the institutional state of cultural capital of foreign mothers and their husbands, which are the academic degrees or official certificates of these interracial couples, will be addressed when necessary.

In particular, based on the rich descriptions of foreign mothers’ embodied state and institutional state of cultural capital, I will explain the way that foreign mothers construct their motivational beliefs and perspective of their life context regarding their children’s education, which ultimately influence the type of their maternal involvement. most of all, two subcategories are suggested under the overarching theme of parents’ motivational beliefs: *parental role construction* and *self-efficacy*. I define maternal role construction as mothers’ “beliefs about what they should do in relation to the child’s education,” borrowing the concept from “parental role construction for involvement in children’s education” of Walker and et al. (2005, p. 89). In a similar manner, the concept of mothers’ self-efficacy is drawn from the concept of parents’ self-efficacy; I defined mothers’ self-efficacy as “the outcomes that they [mothers] expect will follow their actions and their appraisal of their personal capabilities” (Walker et al., 2005, p. 93).

The next important factor that influences parental involvement in children’s education suggested in the framework of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, 2005) is parents’ perception of their *life context*. Naming it as immigrant mothers’

perception of their life context, I categorized it into two groups: capability (skill and knowledge) and resources (time and energy). Instead of estimating the actual level of mothers' capability or the amount of resources, I investigate mothers' perception of their capability and resources, since they may be involved in their children's education differently, while the level of skills and knowledge or the amount of resources that they possess may be alike (Green et al., 2007).

As my earlier analysis on cultural capital theory suggests, the practical value of the embodied states of cultural capital increases or decreases depending on the circumstances where the holder of the capital is situated; among the many cultural resources (*habitus*) that individuals possess, some become cultural capital in "specific settings" (*field*) when the values *fit* into the norms of the settings (Lareau, 1987, p. 83). Therefore, foreign mothers' cultural resources (*habitus*) can be regarded either as valuable resources or not in South Korea (*field*) depending on the degree to which their cultural capital *fits* into the society.

Also, it is important to understand the way foreign mothers perceive the value of their cultural resources (*habitus*) in a South Korean context (*field*) to understand their involvement in children's education. The actual involvement style of foreign mothers in children's education would be different depending on their understandings of their cultural capital. In other words, mothers may not utilize their cultural capital if they perceive that their capital would not *fit* into the South Korean society, regardless of the actual value of their cultural capital. To comprehend foreign mothers' perception of their embodied states of cultural capital, the negotiation of values at the micro-level such as within their family, with relatives, friends, neighbors and educators are closely

investigated. In this way, I will provide an important resource for understanding foreign mothers' decisions whether to adhere to or abandon their embodied state of cultural capital in regard to their maternal involvement in children's education. This analysis is also helpful in explicating foreign *mothers' motivational beliefs* and *life contexts* in the process of their maternal involvement.

Second, my investigation of foreign mothers' social capital is focused on two aspects: foreign mothers' social relationships that may influence their maternal involvement patterns, and foreign mothers' information channels regarding their children's education. In particular, I expanded the original subsection suggested by Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's framework, which only comprises "mothers' perceptions of invitations to school events either from their children or teachers," into the social relationship of foreign mother through which foreign mothers would access information about their children's education; since, in the real world situation, the information mothers gain about their children's education is available not only through the specific invitations from teachers or their children, but also through mothers' social relations with neighbors, with children's friends or classmates' mothers as well as with other educators and so forth. Through these social networks, mothers can exchange information on children's education or school activities, and can even take collective action for the educational benefit of their children. Likewise, mothers' relationships with children's teachers can not only function as information channels about school activities, but also influence their maternal role construction.

Although social capital theory has been applied in education studies and generated diverse meanings and implications encompassing various scholastic

perspectives, social capital theory can be used to better investigate diverse social phenomena with the aid of cultural capital theory. In the tradition of Coleman's or Putnam's social capital theory, the major theoretical focus lies on the function of social values, such as norms and trustworthiness, which facilitate the establishment of social relationships (social networks) through which diverse types of resources can be accessed. However, these theorists have not questioned social and cultural factors that shape these values; on the contrary, they assume they are neutral. In particular, given the rules of the game that may function in favor of a certain group of people, a simple compliance to the rules (social norms or trustworthiness) would equate to condoning the unequal distribution of power and opportunities since the compliance may contribute to the perpetuation of social inequality (Lareau, 2001).

Moreover, from the perspective of Coleman's or Putnam's social capital theory, differences discovered between individuals' *habitus* and the societal norms (*field*) are regarded as problematic or improper (Putnam, 2009), whereas Bourdieu's social capital theory is consistent with his broader study on the reproduction of social disparity and unequal social systems. For this reason, studies that follow the tradition of Coleman or Putnam are criticized by Bourdieuan scholars for not paying enough attention to the impact of the existing social system (Lareau, 2001; J.-S. Lee & Bowen, 2006). For example, Coleman's (1988) studies attract criticisms because while he stresses the significance of the amount of social capital for a successful parental involvement such as a strong relationship with school and other parents, he barely recognizes any structural disparity that may be caused by the limitations of public education system (Field, 2008).

In other words, some crucial elements of social capital, which are also taken to quantify the amount of social capital of a society, such as social norms and trustworthiness (Caiazza & Putnam, 2005; Helliwell & Putnam, 2007), may not be value free; on the contrary, those crucial elements of social capital are subject to the value system of each society. As a result, the dominant group in the society which manages the value system can take benefits by setting the rules. Accordingly, the compliance with the dominant societal norms, which is regarded as an important asset of the society by some social capital theorists, may not necessarily contribute to the well-being of the society. In some cases, the compliance with societal norms can threaten the well-being of the society in the long term, especially if the societal norms are injustice, such as in the historical example of German society under Nazism. Therefore, instead of analyzing foreign mothers' social capital with the three components all together, that is, the social network, information channel, and social norm, I focus on mothers' social network and information channel in the discussion of foreign mothers' social capital. Given the complexity that the concept of social norms can carry, the type of social norms or trustworthiness that foreign mothers uphold will be analyzed within the conceptual frame of cultural capital theory, borrowing concepts such as *habitus*, *fit*, and *field*.

Based upon the thorough analysis of the type of foreign mothers' social and cultural capital, I will delineate the nature of their maternal involvement, both in terms of home-based and school-based involvement style. The two types of parental involvement patterns suggested by Lareau, which are *concerted cultivation* and *natural growth*, are also adopted for the explanation of foreign mothers' involvement style, especially for the understanding of these mothers within the broader perspective of academic findings. In

particular, several factors that were not considered important in other parental involvement studies, such as language factors, bilingual issues, family structure, or social relationships with native people, have been examined while analyzing foreign mothers' cultural and social capital. Then, those additional factors will be further analyzed for better description of foreign mothers' home-based and school-based involvement in their children's education.

Last but not least, the framework of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, 2005) intentionally confines its scope of analysis within the psychological approach, distancing itself from sociological studies, especially from that of Lareau and Horvat (1999), which is about the characteristics of families' cultural capitals and their relationship with schools (Walker et al., 2005). However, I put a special emphasis on the sociological factors that they "recognized" but excluded in their studies. With the help of these sociological factors, added to Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's framework (1995, 1997, 2005), the maternal involvement of foreign mothers in South Korea will be explained in a more comprehensive way.

4.0 RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN

This study investigates foreign mothers' experiences in South Korea regarding their interracial children's education in two dimensions. First, this study intends to provide a comprehensive description of foreign mothers' maternal experiences focused on mothers in a rural community in the homogenous South Korean society. Through empirical investigations, including interviews and participant observations, I explored the actual experiences, challenges, feelings and thoughts of female immigrants concerning their maternal roles in children's education. Second, this study aims to contribute to the development of maternal involvement as well as social and cultural capital theories by analyzing the empirical data collected in a non-western context. Thus, a theoretical framework of social capital, cultural capital and parental involvement theories that I created based on the extensive literature review (Figure 10, p.108) has guided the overall research process of this study, including the design of fieldwork, the development of research instruments, and the analysis of empirical data.

According to Hatch's (2002) methodological classification, this dissertation is an interview study in which interview is adopted as a major qualitative method to collect data guided by specific research questions; participant observations were conducted in a similar manner as a supplementary data collection method. However, while I sought to acquire a comprehensive understanding of foreign mothers' experiences in children's

education with these two qualitative methods, I did not pursue to immerse myself in foreign mothers' subculture, which distinguishes this study from ethnography. Ethnographers seek to document the social arrangements or belief systems of a subculture by obtaining the viewpoint of “insiders” through prolonged participations in community lives (Hatch, 2002, p. 21; Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). Thus, in ethnographic studies, interviews and participant observations are just parts of various ways to obtain data. However, having specific research questions, refined research design, and research instruments, the fieldwork of this study was conducted in a more structured and thereof time-effective manner especially compared to ethnographic approaches.

The methodological decision of this study reflects my ontological and epistemological standpoint, which aligns with “post-positivist research paradigm” (Hatch, 2002, pp. 12-20). According to Hatch (2002), researchers who hold the post-positivist research paradigm pursue rigorously defined qualitative research that may lead to the development of theoretical frameworks grounded in fieldwork. Therefore, instead of being immersed in the field as a natural observer, I explored the experiences of foreign mother' maternal involvement related to existing conceptual frameworks and academic findings especially social and cultural capital and parental involvement theories from the initial stage of the fieldwork. Moreover, the analysis of demographic statistics is included in this study to understand findings from the fieldwork in comparison to the national trend. The detailed information of the research development and procedure will be presented in the following section.

4.1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY

This study comprises multiple phases of field research, which have provided me with a space to alter the research design recursively (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The initiation of this research was stimulated by my previous nationwide fieldwork experiences in the South Korean primary schools. I was temporarily hired by the Korean Education Development Institute (KEDI) during the summer in 2008 to coordinate one of the two field research teams. These two research teams were organized to conduct nationwide interviews with interracial students, their foreign-born mothers, and their schoolteachers. Open-ended interviews were conducted using semi-structured questionnaires that were developed by the initial research team, and I conducted over thirty interviews visiting ten different primary schools across the country. The data collected by the two fieldwork teams were published in a governmental policy report named *A Research on the Educational Condition of Interracial Children from Multicultural Families: Centered on International Marriage Families* (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008).

The experiences from this fieldwork have enriched my dissertation in many ways. First, it provided me with the insight into the national trend of interracial marriages and interracial children's educational issues as well as access to various empirical and governmental data; although the fieldwork for my dissertation was conducted within a single county, I could draw a holistic picture of the issue given the experiences and access to large-scale data. Second, the practical experiences of interacting with foreign mothers and their interracial children have prepared me to enter my field site with less anxiety and more feasible research instruments; the experiences helped me to understand foreign mothers at the intellectual level as well as at the emotional and personal levels.

Third, most importantly, the extensive conversations I had with foreign mothers regarding their children’s education led me to realize various socioeconomic and cultural factors that influence their maternal involvement in their interracial children’s education and to discover the lack of in-depth studies on this issue afterward.

The literature review on the topic was started in September 2008, and the research design was approved by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board (IRB) in 2009 (PRO09010361) and reapproved in 2010 (REN10110054). Most of the fieldwork has been conducted in one rural county that is located in the southern part of South Korea. Two times of fieldwork has been conducted between December 2009 and September 2010 for about two to three months each time. The detailed timeline of this study is provided below (see, Table 5).

Table 5. Timeline of the study

Timeline	Types of investigation	Goals of the investigation and its significance	Outcome
Summer 2008	Pre-phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore the topic • Get experiences in the fieldwork (interviews and interactions with interracial populations et al.) 	
Fall 2008 - Fall 2010	Literature review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of the key • Identify research gap • Develop theoretical framework 	IRB approval, theoretical framework
Winter 2009 & 2010	First fieldwork	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examine the feasibility of the investigation • Locate gatekeepers • Build rapport with key people in the field • Implement and revise research instruments • Conduct some data collection 	Interviews, participant observations
Summer 2010	Second fieldwork	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct interviews and participant observations 	Interviews, participant observations

In the next section, detailed information on the data collection as well as analysis processes are provided following the four main components of qualitative research suggested by Maxwell (2005): 1) Research relationships between a researcher and the research topic; 2) research site and the selection of participant; 3) data collection; and 4) analysis of the data (Maxwell, 2005, pp. 82-103). Additionally, the limitations and strength of this study are stated.

4.2 RESEARCH PROCEDURE

4.2.1 Research relationships

The fieldwork of this study has been conducted in the three townships of a rural county called Daesung County¹ located in a southern part of South Korea. I was born, raised, and educated in one of the three townships in Daesung County until primary education and have regularly visited the region afterward since my parents' house is still there and some relatives and friends live nearby. These local people served as the gatekeepers for this study and helped me to locate potential interviewees and institutions or organizations that assist multicultural populations in the region especially surrounding interracial families. Moreover, some of my gatekeepers, involved in interracial marriages directly or indirectly, shared their own experiences with me regarding the issue. For example, I discovered that one of my relatives, who live in the same village where my family lives, married a Vietnamese woman and has two interracial children; that is, she and her

¹ I use pseudonyms to ensure the anonymity of my informants.

interracial children are now my relatives as well. Interviewing the Vietnamese relative as well as having mutual relatives who know about her intermarriage helped me to understand comprehensively about the life context of this particular interracial family.

Knowledge of the local culture and the *Sahtoory* (사투리, dialect) skill also facilitated my interactions with the participants of this study. My professional background as a former educational researcher in a national research center and regular contributor of a nationwide teacher's magazine helped me to approach local experts regarding the issue. Otherwise, local experts working with them, including public servants and Korean language teachers, seemed to avoid any unnecessary attention from outsiders especially from graduate students or amateur researchers due to the recent and intense spotlight on the multicultural population. Considered as an "educational expert" as well as "*woorisaram*" (우리사람, our member) however, I built the essential rapport with key people, such as Korean language teachers and public servants who not only are knowledgeable about female marriage immigrants but also have access to these populations. I obtained the contact information list of female immigrants from those local experts and they also organized meetings with some foreign mothers to support my research.

The recommendation from local experts was especially helpful for me to earn the foreign mothers' trusts; because they trusted the local experts, foreign mothers regarded me as a person with whom they can share their thoughts and concerns about their children's education. As a result, a couple of mothers and their husbands requested educational advice from me concerning their interracial children. I was also invited to deliver a workshop on intercultural understanding and education for their interracial

children specifically targeted for native South Korean husbands in a summer event hosted by a local governmental organization. Through these encounters, besides the formal interviews that I have conducted separately, I learned more about foreign mothers' and their families' experiences regarding their children's education.

While I was regarded as a person with some professional knowledge about education and intercultural issues, foreign mothers as well as people working with intercultural populations were aware that I did not hold any authority. Both perceived me as an independent researcher whose research would not directly affect their lives or work; accordingly, foreign mothers could share their personal experiences as well as frustrations regarding the performance and policies of local institutions. In addition, people such as public servants and Korean language teachers also expressed their honest thoughts to me about the policies and programs of both the central government and local institutions in the area (including their own institutions) as well as their opinions on foreign mothers and the intermarriage phenomena.

In sum, my personal connections to people in that region and professional experiences had provided me the access to reach out to the foreign mothers and the local experts who have been working with these populations. In particular, since foreign mothers felt safe to share their personal experiences in regard to their children's education and family lives with me, I had the opportunity to collect information that caught subtle meanings and details of foreign mothers' experiences. Furthermore, obtaining the trust of interviewees was especially crucial for this study because the major sampling method of this study was snowball sampling, which heavily relies on participants' willingness to share their contact information of potential participants who

are in their social network. Details of sample selection and data collection processes will be addressed in the following section.

4.2.2. Research site and the selection of participants

Research site: Daesung County

Located around a metropolitan city in the southern part of South Korea, Daesung County comprises nine townships that show the mixture of urban and rural characteristics; among the nine townships, some located closer to the city have stronger urban characteristics, while the rest located in remote areas are more rural. I took three rural townships of Daesung County for my fieldwork based on the geographical proximity as well as the socio-cultural and economic characteristics that those three townships represent; two townships are located in a typical rural and agricultural area of South Korea and the third one in local industrial regions, and all three are adjacent while distanced from the metropolitan areas. The population of Daesung County is 176,135 and it has 1,852 foreign laborers and 521 marriage immigrants (383 are naturalized and 138 are not) (Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2010). The total number of children who have foreign backgrounds (both or either of their parents were born outside of South Korea) in the nine townships is 459; 142 are school age and 317 are preschool-age children (see, Table 6).

Table 6. The number of children with foreign backgrounds in Daesung County (0-18 years old)

Age /background	Total	Vietnamese	<i>Chosunjok</i>	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Thai	etc.
Preschool-age (0-6 years old)	317	158	48	47	18	17	0	29
School-age (7-18 years old)	142	31	29	29	24	15	3	11
Interracial family	395	156	65	65	40	30	2	37
Korean family	59	30	12	9	2	2	1	3
Foreign family	5	3	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total	459	189	77	76	42	32	3	40

Resource: Data from the Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (2010)

As the Table 6 shows, the number of children whose parents are identified as foreigners is very small, while the proportion of children from interracial families makes up almost 90% of the total population of children having foreign background. The third category of the KMOPAS (2010), namely foreign children in “Korean families,” indicates a mixture of two kinds of interracial families; one is interracial family whose foreign mother has obtained South Korean citizenship, and the other is the interracial families whose native South Korean parents (mostly fathers) intermarried foreign-born parents (mostly mothers) already having children from their former marriage with native South Koreans.² I assume that a majority of interracial children who are classified into

² Given the ambiguous categorization of foreign population in the statistics of MOPAS, I sent inquires to the Ministry for clarification. Through the three times of email and phone correspondences, I discovered that even the officer who are in charge of compiling the national statistics on “foreign population” was uncertain about the terms and categories; he first defined the category of “Korean families” as inter-families having native South Korean children from the former marriage of fathers, however, to my follow-up questions to understand how the government defines foreign mothers obtained the South Korean citizenship, he wrote that these foreign mothers may also belong to the “Korean families.” Furthermore, he admitted that there are some overlaps between the categories of interracial families and Korean families in the statistics of the MOPAS.

the Korean family group in this table must have foreign-born naturalized mothers; since among the 138 immigrants who have naturalized, 134 are females and only 4 are males. However, given the ambiguity of distinction between the interracial families and Korean families in the statistics of foreign population data, it is hard to estimate the precise number of interracial children in this region. Additionally, education-related matters regarding students, born in a native family but raised in interracial families because their native South Korean father married foreign-born mothers, even more increase the complexity of issues. However, these children's cases will not be discussed in this study given the scope of this study

The exact number of interracial children in each township is not available as well, since the South Korean government releases official statistics of people with foreign backgrounds only down to the county level; the number of residents by age is available only down to the county level as well. However, it is presumable that school-age children with foreign background residing in the three townships that I chose would be about or less than 23% of the total number of Daesung Country, which is around 33 school-age and 73 preschool-age children; the national census data shows that the population of the three townships is 40,675, which is about 23% of the total population of the county, and the proportion of elderly citizens (older than 65 years old) in these townships is higher (28% of the county) than that of younger generation (22% of the county) (ibid.).

Table 7. Comparing the statistics of the KMOPAS and KKMEST regarding children with foreign backgrounds in Daesung County

Region		Age	<i>Chosunjok</i>	Chinese	Vietnamese	Filipino	Japanese	Thai
Daesung County (MOPAS)		Preschool age	48	47	158	17	18	0
		School-age	29	29	31	15	24	3
		Sum	77	76	189	32	42	3
National data	MOPAS	Preschool age	15,472	16,505	23,421	7,471	2,759	1,046
		School-age	26,381	13,295	4,096	4,455	2,975	665
		Sum	31,404	29,800	27,517	11,926	5,734	1,711
	KMEST Primary & secondary students		3,865	5,536	1,339	5,194	11,169	731

Resource: Data from the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (2010) and Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (KMEST) (2010b)

- Note: 1. The data of the KMOPAS represents the sum of foreign children from three kinds of families; foreign families, interracial families, and Korean families.
 2. The data of the KKMEST is the sum of primary and secondary students having either interracial or foreign laborers' families.

Table 7 shows the number of children according to their parent's ethnic backgrounds both in Daesung County and at the national level; since the KMEST does not provide statistics at the county level, I compare the data set of the two Ministries at the national level. In particular, the statistics of KKMEST provides a better understanding of interracial children who are actually enrolled in South Korean schools. In general, the proportions of children from each ethnic background are alike when it compares the national data to that of Daesung County. Similar to the national trend, children having Chinese (ethnic Chinese and Korean) or Vietnamese backgrounds construct the largest groups in Daesung County, and the Japanese and Filipino groups follow. Also, while the

percentage of children with Vietnamese backgrounds is larger in rural areas than in urban regions nationally children with Chinese backgrounds are predominant in urban areas especially in the seven biggest cities of South Korea. The number of children with Vietnamese background is predominant in Daesung County; particularly, the number of Vietnamese children is more than half of the preschool-age children in this county. Thus, the number of children with Vietnamese background is expected to increase in the Daesung County's schools in the near future, which is also similar to the national demographic trend.

In sum, Daesung County represents a local region that has experienced continuous increase of interracial marriages and, as a result, the numbers of interracial children in its schools are growing. It demonstrates similar demographic trend to the national data on interracial couples and their children, especially that of local townships of the country. In particular, Daesung County's three townships, which are selected for this study, show the characteristics of typical local regions in South Korea comprising both small family farms and limited industrial areas. Thus, this study can shed light on the experiences of foreign mothers regarding their children's education in the South Korean countryside that usually comprise agricultural and small-scale industrial areas where children enjoy less educational opportunities than those in urban areas.

Participant selection

The principal data collection method for this study was interviews, and participant observations were also conducted to obtain more comprehensive and in-depth data as well as for triangulation purpose. Participants for both interviews and participant observations were recruited simultaneously using the snowball sampling method.

Snowball sampling, also known as “chain sampling,” is a method that increase the number of participants based on the information provided by former participants (Noy, 2008, p. 329). Thus, among the sampling methods of qualitative research in which intrinsic nature is investigative (Miles & Huberman, 1994), snowball sampling is especially useful to investigate “social systems and networks” of “hidden” groups either because of “stigmas and marginalization” or “by-choice” as in case of social elites (Noy, 2008, pp. 328-331).

The initial contacts with informants were made through my personal network; with the help of those local people, I located some interracial families and key institutions. In particular, two local institutions that provide various services for interracial families in the regions, namely the Center for Multicultural Families (CMF) and Cultural Center (CC)³, offered me with crucial information about foreign mothers dwelling in the region as well as the opportunities through which I could meet, observe and interact with foreign mothers such as Korean language classes, social events, and etc (see, Table 11)

³ Both the CMF and CC are local governmental institutions that exist at the county or city level across South Korea; the CMF is affiliated with the Korean Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the CC are with local county or municipal offices.

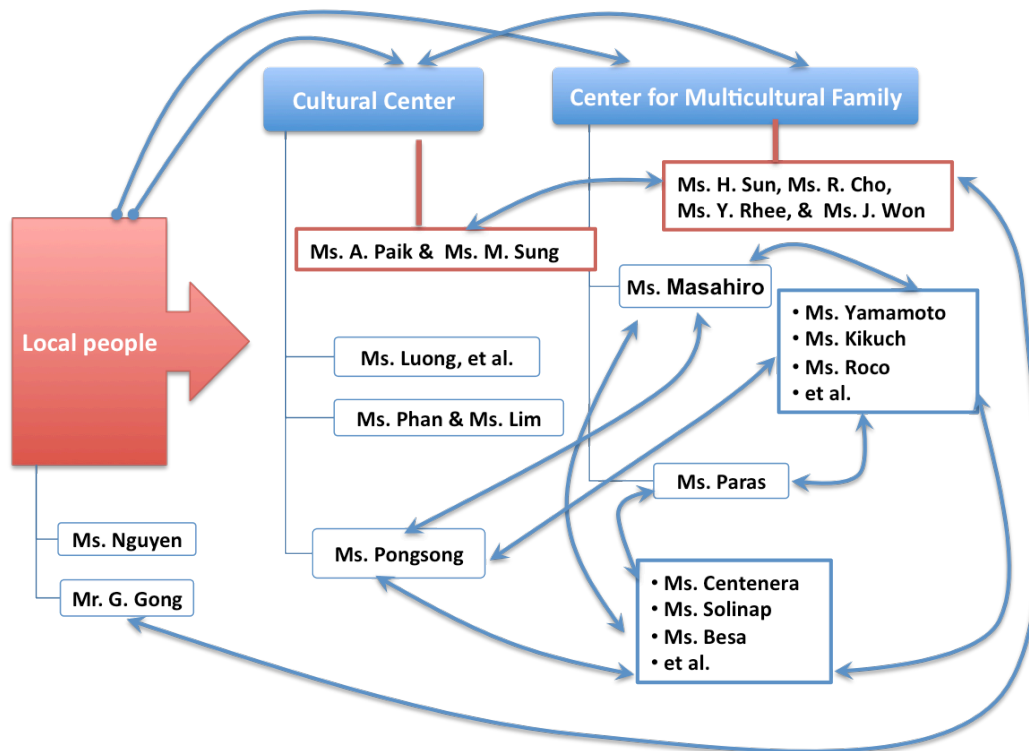


Figure 11. The process of snowball sampling

At the end of each interview, I asked the interviewees to recommend potential participants, and the recruitment process continued as such until the interviewees' pool within the boundaries of this study appeared to be exhausted; the interviewee recruitment ended at the point when the recommendations for potential interviewees were overlapped repeatedly. In this way, I reached the majority of foreign mothers dwelling in the regions I chose, especially those whose children were school-age. Since the number of interracial children and the size of local schools are limited, foreign mothers maintained a tight social network especially among those who share same ethnic backgrounds. As a result, through the snowball sampling process, I learned quickly the type of social relationships and ethnic communities that female immigrants have owned in the region That is, Figure 11 shows a rough picture of the process of the recruitment of the participants for this

study and depicts the social relationships that foreign mothers have built within the region.

In the course of my visits to Daesung County, I conducted 30 former interviews and several participant observations. During the first fieldwork, essential contacts with the CMF and CC as well as with some foreign mothers were made. Also, one criterion for the recruitment of female immigrant interviewees for this study was revised and some more semi-structural questions were added based on the findings from the first fieldwork. Specifically, I expanded the boundaries for the recruitment of interviewees for this study from “foreign mothers whose children currently attend local schools” to “female immigrants in the region.” Although I met with some foreign mothers with various ethnic backgrounds whose children are already enrolled in local schools, I discovered either through professionals working in the CMF and CC or local people whom I have known through personal network that the number of foreign mothers who have school-age children are extremely limited.

To secure a substantial number of interviewees as well as to obtain a comprehensive understanding of foreign mothers comprising immigrants from various countries, I revised the recruitment criteria to include female immigrants in the region not only whose children are already in the school system, but also whose children are under school-age; since the educational law of South Korea obliges every parent to ensure their children’s education at least up to the lower secondary level, those children will go to school in the near future. See Table 8 for more information on foreign mothers’ background characteristics.

Table 8. Foreign mothers' background characteristics

Pseudonym	Entry year	Education (Attended: A, degree obtained: D)	Korean language level	Number of children (school level)	Age difference with spouse
Vietnamese (8 mothers)					
Ms. Nguyen	2007	Primary school (A)	Beginner	2 (P)	N/A
Ms. Duong	2006	High school (A)	Beginner	2 (P)	16
Ms. Luong	2005	4year College (A)	Intermediate	2 (K&E)	14
Ms. Loan	2005	High school (D)	Intermediate	2 (P)	17
Ms. Chinh	2009	High school (A)	Beginner	0 (N/A)	25
Ms. Duyen	2001	High school (D)	Fluent	2 (K&E)	16
Ms. Phan	1995	High school (D)	Fluent	2 (K&E)	N/A
Ms. Alano	2005	High school (D)	Good	2 (P)	13
Filipino (5 mothers)					
Ms. Roco	1995	4year College (A)	Fluent	3 (K, E&S)	N/A
Ms. Solinap	2003	4year College (A)	Intermediate	2 (K)	N/A
Ms. Centenera	1999	4year College (D)	Good	2 (K&E)	N/A
Ms. Paras	1996	4year College (A)	Fluent	2 (E&S)	10
Ms. Besa	2000	4year College (A)	Good	2 (E&E)	9
Japanese (4 mothers)					
Ms. Masahiro	1998	High school (D)	Fluent	2 (E)	N/A
Ms. Nagashima	2003	4year College (D)	Fluent	2 (K)	N/A
Ms. Yamamoto	1997	High school (D)	Fluent	3 (E, E&E)	N/A
Ms. Kikuchi	1996	2 year College (D)	Fluent	3 (E, E&S)	N/A
Thai (2 mothers)					
Ms. Pongsong	2000	2 year College (D)	Fluent	2 (K&E)	9
Ms. Pichaya	2000	High school (D)	Fluent	3 (P, E &E)	2
Chosunjok (1 mother)					
Ms. Lim	2004	4year College (A)	Fluent	2 (K)	N/A

Note: 1. I inserted children's school level under the category of the number of children that each foreign

mother has; P for preschool, K for kindergarten, E for elementary school, and S for secondary school. The information is inserted in brackets only when children are enrolled any of those educational institutions.

Although the target population of this research were female immigrants, several South Koreans who were in those female immigrants' social network were also

interviewed such as their family members and neighbors as well as professionals who work with interracial populations in the region. The native South Koreans who were closely related to female immigrants in the region were particularly useful to understand the way that female immigrants were perceived in their daily lives. Also, the findings from those types of investigations played an important role to enrich and verify the information obtained from female immigrant interviewees. The details of the background information of those interviewees are presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Background information of native South Korean interviewees: Female immigrants' family members, neighbors, Korean language teachers, and others

Pseudonym	Role/profession	Type of relationships with foreign mothers
Personal relationship		
Mr. G. Gong	Husband/farmer	Husband's club representative
Mr. C. Jung	Husband/driver	Ms. Besa
Ms. H. Kwak	Neighbor/housewife	Ms. Pongsong
Ms. Y. Chang	Neighbor/housewife	Ms. Duyen
Professionals: Educators and public servants		
Ms. A. Paik	Korean language teacher	Cultural Center/ Ms. Roco and Ms. Pongsong
Ms. J. Won	Korean language teacher & tutor	Center for Multicultural Families/ Ms. Centenera and Ms. Paras
Ms. M. Sung	Program coordinator	Cultural Center/ Ms. Chinh, Ms. Phan, and Ms. Lim
Ms. Y. Rhee	Public official	Center for Multicultural Families/ Ms. Masahiro
Ms. R. Cho	Public official	Center for Multicultural Families
Ms. H. Sun	Director	Center for Multicultural Families

4.2.3 Data collection

I conducted semi-structured interviews as a major way to collect empirical data. Participant observations were also conducted to enrich the analysis of data as well as to

increase the validity of the findings. Both interviews and participants observations were centered around the two overarching research questions proposed earlier:

- 3) What types of social and cultural capital do female immigrants possess in South Korea?
- 4) How does social and cultural capital influence the scope and characteristics of female immigrants' maternal involvement in regard to their children's education?

Interviews

I conducted 30 former interviews; 20 female immigrants and 10 native South Koreans who were related to female immigrant population in various ways. In both cases, I used the interview protocols. In response to the answers of interviewees and to the circumstances of the field, I adjusted the way questions were asked to elicit more reflective answers from interviewees (Maxwell, 2005). In particular, I added eight additional open-ended questions after the first round of fieldwork and conducted some follow-up interviews to clarify the information that I initially obtained. The duration of each interview varied: while some took only an hour, several interviews continued more than four hours. The location for interviews were decided according to individual interviewees' preference; most of the interviews were conducted in interviewees' home but sometimes in public places such as the library, or a Korean language classroom, or franchised restaurants et al.

The interviews were conducted in flexible manners. After asking semi-structured questions that I had developed in advance, several questions were added for various purposes; some follow-up questions were asked for clarification purpose and some to derive in-depth information that was not drawn with the initial interview questions. Also,

I changed the wording of the original interview questions to facilitate the understanding of foreign mothers when necessary. Although interview questions were asked in the order that they were presented initially, in many cases, interviewees answered multiple questions before all of them were asked in intertwined ways; I intended to offer an atmosphere that would be closer to that of their daily conversations so that the interviewees would feel comfortable to share their feelings and thoughts. In this manner, I learned more about interviewees' experiences, which sometimes involved sensitive issues given the nature of the research questions of this study.

The complete list of open-ended interview questions adopted for the fieldwork are offered in Appendix A, and Table 10 shows how the interview questions match to the theoretical framework, namely "Immigrant mothers' social and cultural capital and their maternal involvement in children's schooling" (Figure10, p.108), and, therefore, led to answer the research questions. The first research question was investigated into two sub-sections; under each sub-section, questions about immigrant mothers' social and cultural capital were adopted respectively. The second research question, which is about the involvement of foreign mothers in their children's education, was operationalized into interview questions that capture the two dimensions of maternal involvement; both home-based and school-based.

Table 10. Relationship of research and interview questions with key concepts from theoretical framework

Research questions	The number of interview questions	Key theoretical concepts
1-1: Foreign mothers' cultural capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initial questions (number): 1, 2, 3a, 3b, 5, 6, & 7 Additional questions (number): 1, 2, & 3 	Foreign mothers' motivational beliefs (maternal role constructions, self-efficacy, and aspiration for their children's education) and life contexts (resources and capability)
1-2: Foreign mothers' social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initial questions (number): 4a, 11a, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14, & 16 Additional questions (number): 7 & 9 	Foreign mothers' social relationship, information channel, and invitations to children's school events
2: Foreign mothers' involvement in children's education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initial questions (number): 4b, 8, 9, 10, & 15 	Female immigrants' home-based and school-based involvement regarding their children's education

In addition, the interview questions asked to 10 South Korean interviewees who have various relationships with foreign mothers in the regions were geared to obtain rich data that answered my research questions from different angles (see, Appendix A). In particular, the initial open-ended questions for those South Korean participants were created to mirror the interview questions targeted for female immigrants. In this way, I could triangulate the information obtained from both sides and also could capture the broader picture of foreign mothers' experiences in regard to their children's schooling.

Participant observations

For the data triangulation purpose as well as to better capture the subtle meanings of various factors in female immigrants' lives, I also conducted several participant observations in diverse settings as listed in Table 11.

Table 11. Participant observations

Location	Types of activities	People involved
Cultural Center	Classroom observations (twice)	Around 20 female immigrants Ms. A. Paik Ms. M. Sung Public servants
Cultural Center	Preparation for a local singing contest	Around 15 female immigrants Ms. A. Paik Ms. M. Sung
Center for Multicultural Families	Office activities Interactions of public servants with female immigrants Facilities and programs for female immigrants Collecting brochures, pamphlets and statistical information	Ms. Y. Rhee Ms. R. Cho Ms. H. Sun Ms. Masahiro, and etc.
CMF Summer Camp	Seminars Social activities Singing and dancing contest Dialogues Casual conversations Staff meetings Driving with a guest lecture (Dr. P. Kim)	Around 50 female immigrants and their families and staffs (Ms. R. Cho, Ms. H. Sun, Ms. J. Won, Dr. P. Kim, and etc.)
Local restaurant	Mentoring session Conversations about parenting and children's education	Ms. Pongsong Ms. Duyen
Giving/receiving rides	Conversations about female immigrants' social relationships	Ms. Roco Ms. Lim Ms. Phan Ms. Pongsong
Ethnic meeting preparation	Interactions among Thai mothers (discussions about their meeting and ethnic group)	Ms. Pichaya Ms. Pongsong
Filipino restaurant	Interactions among Filipino laborers and immigrants	Ms. Solinap Ms. Roco Several Filipino customers

Participant observations were conducted in various settings that are either directly or indirectly related to female immigrants in the region; some exclusively involved female immigrants, while some were meetings comprised of only South Koreans who work with female immigrants or their husbands. Not only the characteristics and size, but also the duration of activities that I participated in as an observer varied. For example, the

CMF summer camp was a two-day event while a mentoring session between Ms. Pongsong and Ms. Duyen, which was arranged by local schools to help foreign mothers' involvement in children's education, lasted only about an hour involving only the mentor (Ms. Pongsong) and mentee (Ms. Duyen). Depending on the scale and nature of the meetings, the information I could obtain varied, which helped me to fill gaps among diverse data.

In most cases, however, I took field notes only to a limited extent since the nature of most of the activities were dynamic that comprised of various physical activities and movement, except for Korean language classes or seminars. When I could not take notes freely in the field, I kept records of the events, my reflections, and etc. afterwards. In sum, the variety of participant observations brought about remarkable changes in my thoughts and knowledge of foreign mothers, which ultimately contributed to draw a more holistic picture of the phenomena. Overall, I tried to be flexible and an active listener so that the participants of this study can share more comfortably with me their thoughts, feelings, experiences, concerns, and so forth. .

In addition to interviews and participant observations, policy documents such as the annual policy plans from various Ministries over several years, policy analysis reports from several national research institutions, and descriptive statistics drawn from national databases such as the South Korean Census and Korean Educational Statistics were analyzed. Those large-scale national level data and information helped me to understand the in-depth case-specific findings of my fieldwork in a larger picture of the discourse in the South Korean society.

4.2.4. Analysis of data

Empirical data was analyzed using a computer assisted/aided qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) tool namely NVivo 9. Programs such as UCINet, NetDraw, and etc. were adopted complementarily for the analysis of statistical data as well as social network analysis. Most of all, CAQDAS enabled me to search and utilize the complete data that can be otherwise easily hidden. NVivo 9 also enabled the continual comparisons of data, the analytic induction throughout the research, and enhanced the transparency of the analysis and the presentation of the findings (Beekhuyzen, Nielsen, & von Hellens, 2010; Bringer, Johnston, & H., 2004). Also, the CAQDAS program saved time and resources during the process of analysis by providing systematic tools for time-consuming activities such as coding and reorganizing data (Bazeley, 2007).

All interviews were recorded, fully transcribed, and translated when necessary, and data obtained from participant observations were recorded in the form of memo. The entire qualitative data obtained from interviews and participant observations were imported into NVivo 9 program. For the first cycle coding, Attribute Coding and Provisional Coding methods were implemented. First, Attribute Coding method is to manage “basic descriptive information” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 55) that are especially useful in the comparison of data across interviewees by their backgrounds such as educational or ethnic backgrounds, Korean language level, and etc. (Bazeley, 2007, p. 143). Second, Provisional Coding indicates a coding method that commences with “provisional ‘start list’” in advance (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 58; Saldaña, 2009, pp. 120-121). Key concepts, words, or phrases that may explain the research questions were included in the start list based on literature reviews or, sometimes, researchers’ intuitions (Saldaña,

2009). Furthermore, since these coding methods “overlap slightly and can be compatibly ‘mixed and matched’” according to the nature of individual studies, other types of coding method such as Structural Coding or In Vivo Coding were partially adopted (Saldaña, 2009, p. 51).

In particular, Provisional Coding method is especially “appropriate for qualitative studies that build on or corroborate previous research and investigations” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 121). Unlike the approach of ethnographic studies or Corbin & Strauss’s (2008) grounded theory that aim to derive abstract and generalizable concepts or theoretical framework emerging from empirical data, I took a deductive approach especially during the early stages of data collection and analysis. Since my theoretical framework drawn from academic literature tightly guided the overall design and procedure of this study, the initial nodes for the first round of coding comprise of concepts from that framework. In other words, instead of searching for emerging nodes from empirical data, key elements that describe the three major topics of this study in academic literatures constituted the original coding scheme: social capital, cultural capital, and maternal involvement in their children’s education.

First, theoretical elements that explain the three primary themes, which are suggested in my theoretical framework, were included in the start list (Figure 10, p.108). Under those nodes, bundles of child nodes that were derived from interview questions were sprouted; the research questions of this study were intentionally disassembled into sub-theoretical concepts, then, operationalized into interview questions as suggested in Table 10. While interviews conducted in the early stages of the study follow in the order and wordings of interview protocols in a quite conservative manner, the rest were done in

a more colloquial style in an effort to elicit richer answers from interviewees by offering them a comfortable environment.

In the actual coding process, child nodes, derived from interview questions were coded in advance, and later, the nodes were reorganized into the hierarchical order suggested by my theoretical framework. For example, child nodes coded by the first and second interview questions respectively were grouped into the “mothers’ motivational beliefs” nodes, and then under the adult nodes of mothers’ cultural capital. Although the child nodes suggested by interview questions were well refined in order to address the entire theoretical framework, some additional nodes emerged. Because of the short history of the phenomena, academic resources on the research questions of this study are limited. Therefore, the original theoretical framework had intrinsic limitations to explain every aspect of the research topic and was subject to alteration. That is, this study not only adopted the deductive but also inductive approach; specifically, empirical data was initially investigated by theoretical concepts and framework but, , the revised framework, became grounded on empirical data.

Therefore, the Patterned Coding in the second cycle of coding was conducted to reestablish the hierarchical order of theoretical concepts whose scope, contents, and nature were changed during the first coding cycle. In this process, some nodes were merged, such as “school visit” and “mothers’ school-based involvement” (question number 15). See Appendix C for the entire code schemes.

4.3 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This dissertation is one of the pioneering studies on the recent intermarriage phenomena in South Korea, addressing educational issues with a special emphasis on immigrant mothers' experiences. In particular, this study not only provides rich descriptions of issues around female immigrants in regard to their children's education, but also contributes to the revision and improvement of related theories by including empirical findings. The empirical data analysis recurs deductively as well as inductively throughout the study; while theoretical findings were tightly applied to the nascent case, the empirical data expands academic discourses on maternal involvement of marginalized group to the non-western context. Also, taking a case as a unit of analysis within specific geographic boundaries (Hatch, 2002, p. 30; Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 25), I conducted in-depth analysis on the research topic by capturing meanings that individual female immigrants construct; To do so, I participated in their social lives and examined how they educated their interracial children (Hatch, 2002).

I need to address several limitations of this study as well. First, given the nature of interview study, the scope and the quality of empirical data heavily relied on participants' willingness to be interviewed and to share their experiences on a personal matter. To increase the motivation of interviewees, a small remuneration was given to each female immigrant interview upon the completion of their interviews. Also, I aimed to obtain interviewees' trust through the snowball sampling methods; asking people who had personal relationships with the interviewees introduce me to potential interviewees. Second, I had faced language barriers in interviews especially with Vietnamese immigrants whose average residency was around five years or shorter. The challenges

with language communication generated as I expanded the interviewees' pool by including female immigrants who do not have school-age child yet. In some cases, there were foreign mothers who voluntarily served me as interpreters. There were also a few cases, although not many, when the interviews could not progress into deeper level because there was no one available to assist me; my interviews with Ms. Nguyen and Ms. Duong resulted from the lack of both the foreign mothers' Korean language skill and my knowledge of mothers' native languages.

Third, although I informed thoroughly about the principle of anonymity I realized that some of them tended to solely emphasize on the positive side of their maternal involvement in children's education while ignoring their mistakes or their children's problems. Those foreign mothers may have tried to impress me because they perceived me as a professional educator or even just because of my ethnic background that might remind them of any former negative experiences with South Koreans who would have looked down on them. For example, Ms. Duyen's description of her maternal involvement was crucially distinguished from the way her close friend Ms. Y. Chang perceived. In case of Ms. Lim, she interrupted during my interview with her friend Ms. Phan; when Ms. Phan delineated any negative aspects of her maternal involvement in children's education, Ms. Lim tried to engage to alter Ms. Phan's statement. Therefore, instead of solely replying on single information for each question, I checked the validity of the information in various ways such as by comparing interviews; I compared the context of the entire interview transcription of each interview with other interviewees' statements, literature reviews, and etc.

Last but not least, as mentioned earlier, since most of the empirical data of this study were drawn from regions located within the specific geographic boundaries, the findings of this study should not be perceived as a complete source for the intermarriage phenomena in South Korea. Nonetheless, the findings of this study attempts to provide important knowledge on foreign mothers' involvement in children's education in South Korea as well as the educational issues of children related to the intermarriage phenomena internationally.

5.0 FOREIGN MOTHERS' CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THEIR MATERNAL INVOLVEMENT

5.1 FOREIGN MOTHERS' CULTURAL CAPITAL

Foreign mothers' cultural capital is discussed in two categories as suggested in the theoretical framework for this study (Figure 10, p.108): mothers' motivational beliefs and life context. Under the first category, foreign mothers' self-efficacy, role construction, and educational aspiration are discussed, and the latter explains issues generated in foreign mothers' life context in regard to their involvement in their children's education.

5.1.1 Foreign mothers' motivational beliefs

5.1.1.1 Foreign mothers' self-efficacy

Studies show that parents' self-efficacy is an important influence on their involvement in their children's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995, 1997) because it pertains to their perception of their capability to generate positive outcomes in their children's schooling (Anderson & Minke, 2007). Therefore, I define foreign mothers' self-efficacy as foreign mothers' belief in their positive influence on their children's education. When asked about their children's education, the predominant response from foreign mothers

was about their self-identification as a “foreign mother.” Mothers’ backgrounds varied; some mothers received higher degree than others, and some have lived in South Korea longer than others--the longest was two decades. Nonetheless, all foreign mothers with whom I met revealed their self-consciousness as foreign mothers and considered their knowledge of Korean language and culture as the crucial factors that constitute their capability to engage in their children’s education. In Ms. Kikuchi’s case, the fact that she is a “Japanese mother” seems to influence positively her maternal involvement style, as well as communications with her sons:

I can understand my sons better than my [South Korean] husband. Some homework that my sons find difficult, I found them difficult as well (laughs). As a foreigner, it is very easy for me to understand my sons’ struggles to catch-up with schoolwork. So, I often tell my sons, “You have to learn well at school to teach me, because your mom is a foreigner.” I think that is why my sons are independent and can manage their studies by themselves, especially my two elder sons. (Ms. Kikuchi)

As the quote above suggests, Ms. Kikuchi believes that her ethnic background as a Japanese mother has not necessarily hindered her in assisting her children’s education; rather, she asserted that it might have influenced her sons’ education in a positive way. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that she has connected her identity as a “foreigner” to incapability, which is a common perception among most foreign mothers, especially in terms of their children’s education. Moreover, it turned out that Ms. Kikuchi is one of the mothers who is involved in her children’s education most actively and effectively, both in terms of home-based and school-based involvement (discussed in details in the following section). Thus, it is not clear whether her sons’ successful performance at school is because of her humble attitude about her capability and knowledge, or her active and effective support for her sons that led her sons’ successful schooling.

While foreign mothers believed that one of the important reasons that they are incapable to be effectively involved in their children's education is their immigration background, they mutually had a perception that "native South Koreans knew better than they did." In particular, mothers from less developed countries than South Korea, such as the Philippines, Vietnam, and China, shared their experiences of being discriminated against because of their immigration backgrounds, which may explain the reasons that those mothers came to connect their immigrant background to incapability. Accordingly, those mothers made various attempts to overcome the "handicap" of being foreign mother. For instance, several of them have changed their names into South Korean ones, acquired South Korean citizenship, and made their steps to lose their foreign status. However, it is hard to measure how effectively these efforts help foreign mothers to overcome the barriers.

We [Filipinas] know Korea is more developed than our country. Because of that, they [Koreans] should think they are higher than us, of course, because of the money and the kind of economy we have. [.....] There is a story about one of our [Filipina] friends, a Korea girl said to my friend, "You are very lucky that you are here in Korea. In the Philippines you don't have slippers there, but here in Korea, you can wear shoes!" Like that, we all heard that story. It is bad. (Ms. Centenera)

As Ms. Centenera shared with me, the stories of foreign mothers' negative experiences circulate among foreign mothers, especially, within the ethnic communities to which they belong. Therefore, even a single experience of one mother can contribute to enhancing the self-consciousness of foreign mothers. As a result, they fear that they may receive judgment or discrimination solely based on their immigration backgrounds. In Ms. Centenera's case, she was educated up to graduate level, although she did not finish her masters' degree, which is higher than that of the average native South Korean

residents in the region. However, she said that she has been extremely passive in regard to her sons' education because she was "worried about people's *sisun* (시선, eyes)."

In sum, I discovered that the primary factor that constitutes foreign mothers' self-efficacy is their identification as foreigners, which is often connected to the negative denotation of being incapable or ineffective in their children's education, regardless of their actual academic aptitude or educational background.

5.1.1.2 Maternal role construction

Borrowing from the definition of parental role construction, which is parents' awareness of their role in the academic development of their children (Walker et al., 2005), I define maternal role construction as mothers' understanding of their role in their children's education. Lee et al. (2008) discovered that the proportion of interracial families where foreign mothers play a major role in providing care and education for children is higher than that of families where native South Korean fathers adopt that role. According to Lee et al. (2008), foreign mothers are major care givers and educators in their interracial families mainly because their Korean spouses work until late and, thus, do not have time to take care of their children, or because foreign mothers have higher aspirations for children's education than their Korean spouses. Foreign mothers' high aspirations for their children's education even become the cause of domestic quarrels between the interracial parents: mothers insist on providing educational support for their children despite their economic difficulties, while fathers oppose that idea (Jae-Boon Lee et al., 2008).

Consistent with the findings of Lee and her colleagues (2008), foreign mothers take the major responsibility of their children's education in most of the interracial families whom I met. They said, "It is my role to educate my children." Then, I asked, "Have you faced any difficulties regarding your children's education?" The responses were very consistent. Ms. Duyen said: "Of course, I have faced many difficulties, because of my poor Korean language. You know, I am a foreigner in this country, so I do not know about the education system here," and Ms. Alano, Ms. Phan, Ms. Duyen, Ms. Pongsong, and Ms. Pichaya also mentioned similar types of frustrations. However, only a limited number of foreign mothers were able to obtain proper advice or information when they faced challenges in regard to their children's education.

The majority of foreign mothers said that that they would seek assistance from their husband when they faced challenges, since their husbands were native South Koreans who presumably have better knowledge of children's education than them. However, as the study of Lee et al (2008) shows, in most cases, husbands' actual roles in this regard seem to be very limited for various reasons: "He is working." (Ms. Kikuchi), "He comes home very late and does not have the time." (Ms. Phan), "He is not willing to do it." (Ms. Besa), or "He is busy"(Ms. Pongsong). In contrast to the reality, most foreign mothers expressed a wish for their spouses take more active and substantial roles in their children's education. However, it may not always true that all native South Koreans have better knowledge of education than foreign mothers. Ironically, the major parental role regarding children's education lies on the shoulder of foreign mothers, although both the native South Korean husbands and their foreign wives believe that native South Korean husbands would have more relevant information regarding children's education.

Moreover, while foreign mothers are presumed to take major responsibility for their children's education, their native culture and language are not involved in their childrearing process. In other words, the fact that foreign mothers' take responsibility in their children's education does not mean that mothers' native culture and language are transmitted through domestic education.

On the other hand, regardless of mothers' Korean language proficiency or knowledge, they are supposed to carry out the traditional role of mothers in the South Korean society, which includes teaching Korean language and culture. For example, both Mr. G. Gong and Mr. C. Jung, who married a Vietnamese and a Filipina woman respectively, stated that they believed the major medium of their children's domestic education should be Korean, while they think wives' language can be learned afterward. Both fathers firmly restricted their own parental role to that of provider of their family, focusing on economic needs. Although both the wives of Mr. G. Gong and Mr. C. Jung appeared to be good mothers who were deeply concern about their children's education and future, they were not as confident as their husbands believed about their capability as the major caregivers and educators of their children, mainly because of their perceive insufficient knowledge of Korean culture and language. Except for Ms. Yamamoto's family, the interracial families I met were all monolingual, although most of them wished to teach their native language to their children someday.

I wish my husband would engage in my children's education more actively. If he can teach my children about South Korea and the language, I can teach them my culture and language as well. (Ms. Pongsong)

Ms. Pongsong said she had to give up teaching Thai to her son because of the burden she already felt in teach Korean language, culture, and history. She had to learn

those things first to be able to teach them to her son. The other foreign mothers also told me that either they had to give up due to the lack of their husbands' support or social pressure, or they may teach their native language and culture someday. Ms. Paras and Ms. Centenera were rare cases, in that they actually tried to teach their native languages to their children. However, they stopped doing so for similar reasons. Ms. Centenera said that her sons did not want her to speak to them in English or in Tagalog because they felt ashamed of attracting peoples' attention by speaking other languages than Korean. Ms. Paras also told me that her daughters stopped speaking in Tagalog and English after they entered primary school, since these girls felt they needed to speak in Korean as other students do. The husbands of both mothers barely knew about their wives' native culture or languages and were almost indifferent about their children's bilingual or bicultural capability.

Family structure is one more important factor that influences foreign mothers' role construction in terms of their children's education. In extended families, foreign mothers tend to be relatively free from the responsibility of teaching their children Korean language and culture. However, this does not mean that they can freely transfer their embodied state of cultural capital to their children, which exists in the forms of native language and culture, because their father-in-law or mother-in-law tend to be intolerant about multiculturalism and thereby prohibiting them for doing so. Among my interviewees, two Vietnamese mothers, Ms. Nguyen and Ms. Duong, and a Japanese mother, Ms. Kikuchi, were part of extended families, and several others lived with their in-laws for several years. In particular, Ms. Kikuchi told me that she had to give up some values to please her mother-in-law, which she has since regretted. For instance, Ms.

Kikuchi wanted to raise her sons to be independent that she encouraged them to wake up, eat, wear, and study without others help from a very early age. Her mother-in-law misunderstood her intention, however, and denounced her for being inattentive, which was hard for Ms. Kikuchi to dispute because of her lack Korean language skill, as well as the need to abide by the traditional values of South Korea to respect the elderly almost unconditionally.

I believe Ms. Kikuchi's experience is one of the many ways that immigrant mothers enhance some traditional family values of South Korea while they negotiate their maternal role construction with their family members including their husbands. A recent report from a Korean governmental research institution reveals that there are conflicts between immigrant mothers and their native South Korean spouses due to their different beliefs about gender roles (Y.-S. Kim et al., 2009). This report shows that a substantial portion of Korean male spouses' and family members' notion about gender roles is more conservative and patriarchal than that of foreign mothers from so-called less developed countries. For example, foreign mothers expect their South Korean spouses to play active roles in their children's education, while their Korean spouses' attitude toward their children's education tends to be passive. Here, conflicts arise between the *habitus* of female immigrants and that of their native Korean family members. However, in most cases, the opinion of native South Korean husbands prevail, given the dominant position that the South Korean spouses hold within the family as well as in the community.

Another interesting phenomenon that I discovered about foreign mothers' maternal role construction is that most mothers expressed an extremely high expectation of help for their children's education, from relatives, friends and neighbors, as well as

from the government. A Vietnamese mother, Ms. Nguyen, who lives with her two interracial sons, husband (Mr. N. Park), and mother-in-law, told me that she will ask her sisters-in-law to educate her sons; she believes her sisters-in-law would not mind doing so, given the positive experiences that she has had with them, although they do not live nearby. Since Ms. Nguyen's family is one of my relatives living in the same village where as my parents, I have known her in-laws for many years and understand why Ms. Nguyen feels so positively about her in-laws' support for her family, given the prolonged search for his mate who would be willing to live in a rural village. However, Ms. Nguyen's expectations of Mr. N. Park's sisters to teach their sons problematic given the physical distance between them, as well as the in-laws' low economic status and educational level.

Although Ms. Nguyen's case is extreme, it appears that most foreign mothers rely on others for their children's education, one way or another. For instance, Ms. Masahiro, Ms. Duong, Ms. Pichaya, and others told me that they sent their children to preschool from a very early age because they were not capable of teaching [Korean] language to their children properly. Ms. H. Kwak, whose brother-in-law married a Vietnamese woman, told me that she has been frustrated several times because of her Vietnamese sister-in-law's dependency. Ms. H. Kwak, who is also a good friend of Thai mother Ms. Pongsong, said she was really frustrated when her sister-in-law just said, "I don't know" instead of trying to learn or understand issues, especially in regard to her children's education. Although Ms. H, Kwak is willing to help her sister-in-law when necessary, she believes that the mother should be more responsible. Comparing her sister-in-law's attitude to that of Ms. Pongsong who shows a very active and effective maternal

involvement style, Ms. H. Kwak shared her own interpretation that she believes mothers' maturity level (age), educational background, and professional experiences may affect the way that they construct their maternal role.

Foreign mothers tend to seek out someone who can educate their children, rather than ways to improve their own capability. For example, Ms. Duyen said that she sends her sons as many educational programs as possible, which includes various supplementary academic programs as well as music lessons and Taekwondo (Korean martial art). However, when I asked Ms. Duyen whether there was any program that she wants to attend to get assistance for her children's education, she said she would prefer to have educational programs that directly help her children instead of teaching her. She worried as a foreigner she may not be able to transfer the new knowledge or information to her sons properly. Moreover, Ms. Pichaya, who married a South Korean man over a decade ago, said that she believes it is the South Korean government's obligation to provide a native-family-like services for foreign mothers continuously because they do not have native family in South Korea. Additionally, several mothers requested that they prefer to have one-to-one tutors visiting their home to educate their children from the basic things such as speaking with their children in Korean to enhance their Korean vocabularies or checking schoolteachers' memos on behalf of the mothers.

It is hard to draw a fine line between individual families' responsibility and public roles in relation to foreign mothers' interracial children's education. However, it is interesting to note that foreign mothers tend to perceive the issue of marriage, family life and children's education as public. This tendency might be related to their former experiences in the process of intermarriages, which involve substantial degree of

outsiders' help, including the Korean government or professional matchmakers, which is distinguished from traditional marriage in the South Korean society. With the introduction of international (transnational) marriage, the boundaries between private and public responsibilities and roles with regard to the education of the future generation in South Korea may have to be reestablished as well, especially considering the prominent role that the government took in pursuing public benefits by the initiation of interracial marriage.

In sum, foreign mothers take prime responsibility in their interracial children's education. However, the important role that they presumably play in their children's education does not guarantee the transmission of their cultural capital to their children. On the other hand, foreign mothers are expected to fulfill the type of parental role that their native South Korean husbands and family members have traditionally upheld. Foreign mothers themselves, as well as their family members, are aware of the limitation that foreign mothers may not be able to meet the standard of native South Korean mothers because of their lack of Korean language ability and knowledge. However, the role construction of foreign mothers and the expectation of their husbands on them are not unlike that of native South Korean mothers. In this circumstance, foreign mothers' embodied and institutionalized states of cultural capital cannot help but be depreciated, while foreign mothers' dependency on outsiders' help increases.

5.1.1.3 Maternal educational aspirations

Mothers' educational aspiration for their children is an important factor in explaining maternal involvement in children's education and, accordingly, their children's

educational performance (Bhattacharya, 2009; De Civita, Pagani, Vitaro, & Tremblay, 2004). Lee and her colleagues (2008) reported that foreign mothers' educational aspirations for their children are as high as native South Korean mothers. Consistent with the findings of Lee and her colleagues (2008), most foreign mothers in this study told me that they wanted their children to receive education at least up to the university level (Bachelors' degree). The major driving factor of foreign mother's high educational aspirations for their children's education is to raise their children as "genuine" Koreans. Accordingly, foreign mothers' maternal role construction is critically influenced by the way that they perceive the social norms of South Korea regarding education. Adapting the standard value of education in South Korea, foreign mothers try to support their children's education in a way that allows their children to grow up as "true" South Koreans, although the degree of engagement may differ among individuals.

In our country (South Korea), mothers are very busy educating their children. I was not that interested in children's education when I first came here, but now, I am very interested in my children's education. I think I have become a real Korean now (laugh). So I told my children "you need to go to *hakwon*." (Ms. Roco)

Ms. Roco, a Filipina who married a South Korean in 1995, attempted to identify herself as a South Korean several times during three interviews. However, it appears that it have been not easy for her to be accepted as South Korean because of her appearance, which is distinct from that of native South Koreans. In particular, in the rural areas, her appearance must have been extremely distinguished; she said, "in the beginning people called me, "foreigner!" on the street because of my darker skin and accent, but now they say, "You speak like a Korean." Then, I would say, yes, of course, "Because I am a Korean!" " Living in South Korea for about 15 years and having three school-age

children, two in elementary and one in secondary school, Ms. Roco told me that she has been very active in regard to her children's education because she believes that is what mothers are supposed to do in South Korea. For example, Ms. Roco said that she has sent her three children to *hakwon* after school because she believes that is how Korean parents educate their children.

That is, foreign mothers' high aspiration for their children's education reflect not only their high expectation and hope for their children's academic success and brighter future, but also their wishes to meet the social standard of South Korea by emulating South Korean mothers' maternal involvement style. In other words, since foreign mothers strive to raise their children in the same way as South Korean parents, they believe their educational expectations on their children should be the same as that of native South Koreans. However, a nation-wide survey data shows that foreign mothers' high educational aspirations are not always actualized as active maternal involvement in education. That is, the level of foreign mothers' actual engagement in their children's education (i.e. helping with children's assignments or encouraging children to study) is lower than the level necessary to help their children achieve their high educational expectations. 95% of foreign mothers answered that they want to support their children at least to go to the higher education level and almost 20% even to the doctoral level, whereas only 46% of mothers actually supervise their children's homework (Jae-Bun Lee et al., 2008, pp. 108-110).

Ms. Roco's Filipina neighbor, Ms. Paras, informed me of Ms. Roco's maternal involvement style and family life. The two women gave markedly different account. Ms. Paras said that Ms. Roco's husband was surprised when he figured out that Ms Paras'

daughters attended *hakwon*, and asked how she could afford it. Ms. Roco's husband said to Ms. Paras that his family could not afford to send their children to *hakwon* due to economic difficulties. Ms. Roco's family might have sent their children to *hakwon* without Ms. Paras' knowledge, or Ms Roco may have sent her children to *hakwon* when I interviewed her, although her family could not so when Ms. Paras conversed with Ms Roco's husband. Regardless of whether Ms. Roco's family has been sending their children to *hakwon* or not, it is clear that Ms. Roco believed that she needed to provide the type of educational support for her children that is regarded as proper in the South Korean society.

Whereas all the foreign mothers in this study expressed their high aspirations for their children's educational success and ambitious future, Ms. Paras was the only one who could share specific plans for their daughters' college education with me. In contrast to other mothers who said, they did not know yet about the future and worry because of the cost, Ms. Paras mentioned her plan to afford her daughters' college tuition, the type of educational institution that she wishes her daughters to attend, and her expectations of her daughters' academic success in the university.

My husband did not finish his studies; I also did not finish my studies. So I want them [her daughters] to achieve what we didn't. Education is very important. Anywhere you go, education is important for a better life. I told my daughters, "When you go to college never ever think about working part-time, just focus on your studies" I have seen my [South Korean] nephew and niece working part-time ever since they entered the university, but I don't think that is a wise way in a long-term. (Ms. Paras)

Ms. Paras plans to send her daughters to university because she wants to give them more opportunities than were available to her and her husband. Ms. Paras' high educational aspirations for her daughters and some feasible plans for achieving them

appear to be related to her educational and family backgrounds, as well as her family's economic affluence; she received three and half years of college education, although she could not finish it—she left the school to marry her husband, and has family members and relatives who have built successful careers in countries such as Canada, the USA, and Australia. In addition, Ms. J. Won, a Korean language teacher of Ms. Paras, told me that she discovered Ms. Paras' family is a large property owner. Ms. J. Won did not enroll Ms. Paras on a list for some special governmental aids for interracial families because of Ms. Paras' property.

While Ms. Paras has a strong connection to her native family and relatives, she does not seem to have much communication with native South Koreans. For example, Ms. Paras was the only mother who wanted to conduct the entire interview in English, because she feels more comfortable speaking in English, although she has lived in South Korea almost 15 year. This preference distinguished her from other Filipina mothers, such as Ms. Centenera and Ms. Besa, who preferred to conduct the interview in Korean and used English as a supplementary language. Ms. Paras has not actively participated in any social activities, those within the Filipinos community. Accordingly, it is natural that Ms. Paras' perception would not have been influenced by the societal norms of South Korea regarding her children's education as much as other mothers have been.

Nonetheless, Ms. Paras mentioned her daughters' educational performance or her plans for her daughters in comparison to those of South Koreans. In addition to the vignette above, in which Ms. Paras compared her educational support for children to that of her sister-in-law's case, she mentioned about her younger daughter's academic achievement in comparison to that of the native South Korean classmates of her daughter:

“Yoojin performs very well at school. I think she is better than her native South Koreans (laugh).” I saw her two daughters for a substantial amount of time during the CMF Summer Camp and believe they would self-identify as South Koreans rather than Filipinas; they spoke only in Korean during their communications with me and other people, as well as between the two sisters. Ms. Paras also told me that her daughters would respond in Korean even if she asked a simple question in English such as “have you eaten already?”

That is, although Ms. Paras’ two daughters were born, raised, and educated as South Koreans, Ms. Paras considers her daughters different from native South Korean children. Instead of trying to emulate South Korean mothers to raise her daughters as South Koreans, however, which is a common strategy in other interracial families, Ms. Paras has consulted with her native families and relatives in regard to her daughters’ education and follows their advice. Accordingly, while other educated foreign mothers, such as Ms. Pongsong and Ms. Kikuchi, who believe it is their responsibility to learn about the South Korean education system as much as possible, or Ms. Duyen who wants to have some native South Korean replace a significant portion of her maternal role to make sure her sons to be educated as true South Koreans, Ms. Paras does not try to emulate South Korean mothers. Instead, she lets her daughters—who presumably know about South Korea better than her— to figure out their own way in terms of their schooling, while giving them a long-term direction for their future plan, which she learned from her own experiences as well as from native family and relatives.

In sum, it appears that foreign mothers’ educational aspirations for their children are closely related to their self-identification as foreigners, and, thereby, to the efforts to

raise their children either similar to South Koreans or better than South Koreans. In both cases, the ways that foreign mothers perceive the societal values of South Korea regarding children's education within the boundaries of their limited experiences in rural areas function as the criteria for them in educating their children.

5.1.2 Foreign mothers' life context

Parents' perception of their life context is an important parameter that predicts their actual involvement in their children's education (Green et al., 2007). To understand foreign mothers' perception of their life context, I observed their perceptions of their capability to engage positively in their children's education and use resources that are available to help do so. First, mothers' perception of their capability to educate their children effectively has been already discussed substantially above in the section of self-efficacy. As mentioned earlier, foreign mothers' perception of their ability is substantially related to their level of knowledge about South Korean society and to South Koreans' perception of them. Ironically, however, when I asked foreign mothers about their advantage as foreign mothers regarding their children's education, most mothers discussed their native language skills and multicultural experiences, but they seldom utilized these abilities for their children's intellectual development.

Second, most foreign mothers addressed economic circumstances as one of the most prominent barriers that hinder them from effectively engaging in their children's education, even though there were no interview questions that directly asked about their economic circumstances. Coleman (1988) argues that an English philosopher John Stuart Mill, could continue his learning because of his fathers' dedication to teaching his son by

himself, which ultimately enabled them overcome poverty. Regardless of their educational backgrounds, however, foreign mothers assert that they need economic capital to support their children's education effectively. As I mentioned earlier, foreign mothers believed that they would not be able to teach their children by themselves but needed someone to do that job for them, since most of them perceived that the ability were insufficient to teach their children. Interestingly, however, primary and secondary education is provided for free in South Korea, as are some extracurricular and afterschool programs aimed at interracial students. Also, the quality of education provided in the South Korean system is presumably high across the nation given the oversupply of high quality teachers in the country.

Ms. Roco's husband said, "We cannot send our children to *hakwon*, we cannot afford it." So, I told him, "we are poor too, but, still, you need to find ways to send your children to *hakwon*." Isn't it right? I believe it is parents' responsibility to provide educational opportunities for their children. (Ms. Paras)

The quote above shows that foreign mothers are frustrated by their economic circumstances because economic restraint may prevent them from sending their children to *hakwon*. For example, Ms. Paras believes that it is her couple's responsibility to provide sufficient educational support for their children. However, when it comes to the actual maternal involvement in her daughters' education, she only addressed sending her children to *hakwon*. Regardless of whether she actually sends or not, Ms. Roco also said that she is like other Korean moms because she is interested in her children's education and thereby sends them to *hakwon*. Some mothers who are relatively affluent show the tendency to send their children to too many educational programs. For example, Ms. Lim, whose children are even not school-age yet, told me that her family spends over two

thousand US dollars for her two children's education that comprises of various educational programs such as English and music classes, Taekwondo, etc. Ms. Duyen also tries to send her sons to as many educational programs as possible. Also, both Ms. Lim and Duyen believed that her children should be educated by professional educators, not by them. That is, since foreign mothers understand their maternal role in their children's education is to supervise them to go to *hakwon* or bring in private tutors to their home, they are hardly involved in the actual process of their children's academic development.

Foreign mothers' tendency to rely on *hakwon* or other educators may not only reflect their low self-efficacy related to their immigration background, but also the overall characteristics of South Korean families' childrearing style and educational problems. The high aspirations for children's education and academic success among South Korean parents and students are well known globally, namely "the Korean Zeal for Education" or "education fever" (교육열, *kyoyungnyol*) (Sorensen, 1994, p. 21). The Korean zeal for education and high academic achievement is even sensational for the developed and wealthy countries like the US. In particular, with the strong drive for educational reform, the US President Obama and his administration often present the South Korean education as a case worthy of emulation (Duncan, 2010). The education zeal has been a strong driving force for the high academic achievement of South Korean students, however, at the same time, it has generated myriads of social and educational challenges and problems in South Korean society as well. South Korean students show top scores in the international academic assessment such as PISA and TIMSS (Dillon,

2010; Masters, 2005; OECD, 2000, 2003, 2006); the enrollment rate of higher education institutions is almost 90% (H. Park, 2009).

However, the enormous size of shadow education (supplementary private academy and tutoring, a.k.a *hakwon* and *gwawhe*) industry and the burdensome expenditure of families have been regarded as educational policy challenges and social problems since the 1960s (C. Lee, Lee, & Jang, 2010), and the high suicide rate of students under the stress of examinations has been a serious social problem (S.-W. Kang, 2002). Some foreign mothers pointed out the chronic educational problems and issues of South Korea that include the enormous size of shadow education market and extreme pressure on children as well as parents.

I heard many people here saying, “Education is very important.” However, I think it is more important for my children to figure out what they want to do in the future than going to many *hakwon*. I graduated from college in Japan, but I sometimes feel regretful that I had not thought thoroughly about my talents or future but just kept studying. [...] However, I want to send my children at least to university, because the bachelors’ degree will be needed to fulfill a minimum requirement in the future job market. (Ms. Masahiro)

As the quote of Ms. Masahiro shows, when foreign mothers discover that their original educational philosophy contradicts to that of the society where they are currently situated, they would rather choose to follow the societal norms, although they may still not agree with them for the benefits of their children. As a result, their belief about proper support for their children’s development is compromised or usually given up.

5.1.3 Summary

In this section, foreign mothers' cultural capital was discussed under the two overarching concepts of maternal involvement theory as suggested in the theoretical framework for this study (Figure 10), which are mothers' motivational beliefs and their life context. In particular, foreign mothers' motivational beliefs were explored through three sub-categories: self-efficacy, role construction, and educational aspiration. Foreign mothers' perception of their life context had an impact on their perception of resources available for their maternal involvement.

First, the prime factor that constituted foreign mothers' self-efficacy was their identification as foreigners. I discovered that the foreign mothers in this study came to identify themselves as foreigners mostly because of their experiences of being perceived as such no matter how fluent they were in Korean, how knowledgeable they were about the culture, or how long they lived in the country. The self-identification significantly influenced foreign mothers' self-efficacy in regard to their children's education, but frequently in negative ways. In other words, comparing themselves with South Korean mothers, foreign mothers considered themselves incapable or ineffective, regardless of their actual academic background or knowledge, which ultimately hindered them to actively utilize their skills and knowledge in the way that would benefit their children's education.

Second, foreign mothers played the prime role in their families regarding their interracial children's education. The role construction of foreign mothers and their husband's expectations were similar to that of native South Korean mothers. However foreign mothers themselves as well as their family members believed that these mothers

may not be able to meet the criteria held by native South Korean mothers, especially because of their inadequate Korean language skills and knowledge about Korean culture. Moreover, while foreign mothers were required to fulfill the parental role deemed appropriate in South Korean society -- to raise their children as Koreans by engaging in activities such as teaching their children Korean language, manners, etc., --they were presumed not to transfer the embodied or institutional states of their own cultural capital to their children. Accordingly, foreign mothers' embodied and institutionalized states of cultural capital cannot help but be depreciated while their dependency on outsiders' help increases.

Third, most foreign mothers had high expectations of their children's education. The major driving force behind high educational aspirations for their children's education was their wishes to raise their children as "genuine" Koreans. In other words, foreign mothers' educational aspirations for their children were closely related to their self-identification as foreigners, and, thereby, to the efforts to raise their children either similar to South Koreans or better than South Koreans. For example, foreign mothers wanted to give educational opportunities to their children at least up to the university level (Bachelors' degree) because they believed South Korean mothers would do so as well. Therefore, foreign mothers' maternal role construction was critically formed according to the way they perceived the social norms of South Korea regarding children's education. Having the social value of education in South Korea as the standard, foreign mothers tried to support their children's education in a way their children could grow up as "true" South Koreans; although the degree of engagement may have differed depending on individuals.

Thus, when foreign mothers discovered that their original educational philosophy was contradictory to that of the society where they were currently situated, they would rather choose to follow the Korean societal norms for the benefit of their children, even if they did not agree with them. As a result, their belief about proper support for their children's development was compromised or usually given up. However, foreign mothers perceived their local, rural traditional societal norms to be the same throughout all of South Korea when in fact their perceived societal norms might not be considered appropriate any more in the other areas of South Korea. Then, the compliance with the societal norms presumed by those mothers would be actually a decision against the predominate practice of social values in contemporary South Korean society.

5.2 FOREIGN MOTHERS' SOCIAL CAPITAL

Foreign mothers' social capital is discussed under the last of three categories of the theoretical framework for this study (Figure 10), which is mothers' social relationship. Social relationship is a broader concept than "parents' perceptions of invitations for involvement from others," which is suggested in the original framework of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, 2005); they explain the invitations in three different ways: "perceptions of general school invitations," "perceptions of specific child invitations," and "perceptions of specific teacher invitations" (see, Figure 2 in Walker et al 2005 p. 88). Adding two core elements of social capital, which are social relationship and information channel, to the original framework, I investigate the characteristics of

social capital that foreign mothers own and their implications in their maternal involvement in their children's education. (Anderson & Minke, 2007).

5.2.1 Foreign mothers' social relationships

Foreign mothers' social relationships and information channels regarding their children's education were investigated through various ways. In addition to the interview questions that specifically focused on foreign mothers' social relationships, the snowball sampling method helped me to draw a web of foreign mothers' social network. Several questions were asked during the interviews to investigate foreign mothers' relationships with their family members, relatives, native family, and educators. Foreign mothers' intergenerational closure, social, economic, and/or religious activities were investigated as well.

First, I asked a couple of questions that were targeted to understand the overall characteristics of foreign mothers social network, and then, follow-up questions were asked depending on each interviewee's answer. The two starting questions were: first, "Who are the five persons with whom you contact most often in general (except for family members)? How do you define your relationship with each of them and why?"; second, "Who are the five persons with whom you speak most often in regard to their education (including family members), and why? How do you define your relationship with each of them and why?" By answering those two comprehensive questions, foreign mothers mentioned various types of social relationships that that they have had. It included information about their connection to ethnic community, native South Korean relatives, neighbors, and educators.

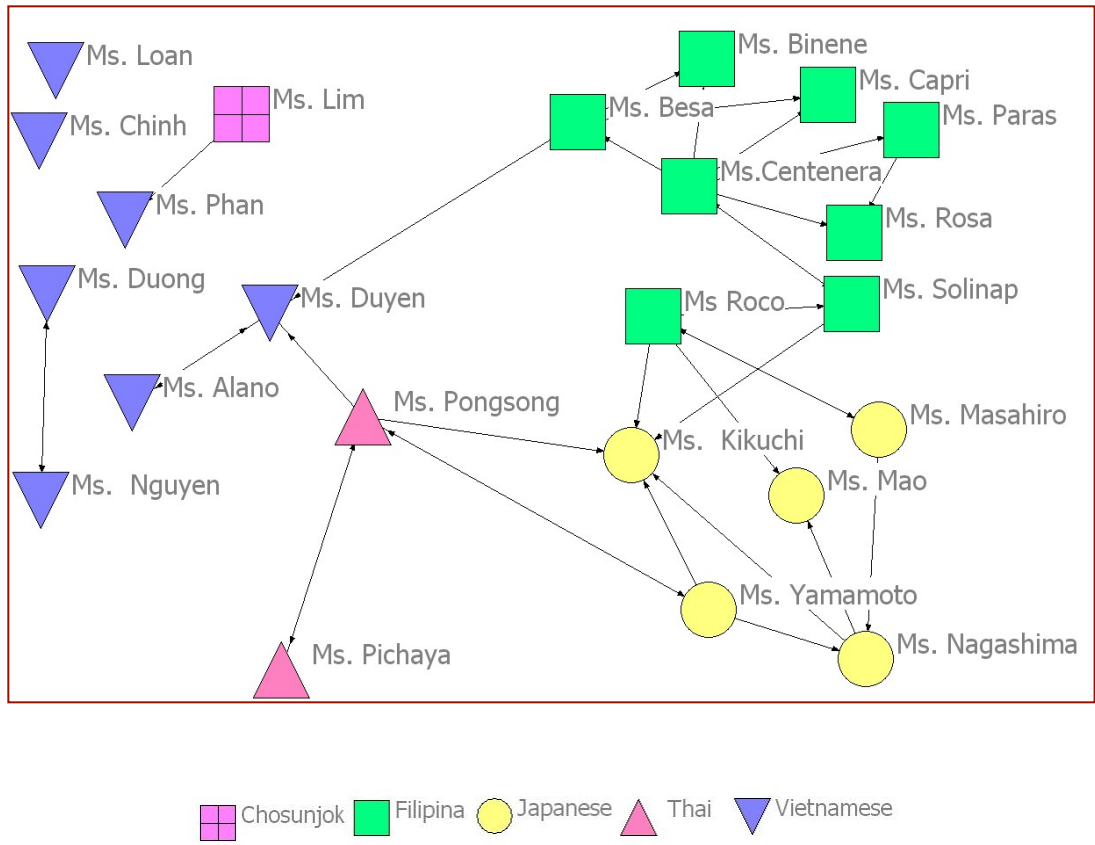


Figure 12. Netdraw visualizations of the social network style among foreign mothers by ethnic backgrounds

Figure 12 shows the overview of foreign mothers’ social network with other foreign mothers in Daesung County, which was delineated using a social analysis software tool UCINet v. 6.343 (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002) and Netdraw Network Visualization Software (v. 2.110). This figure is a visualization of the data drawn from the two interview questions presented above as well as through the snowball sampling method where I asked each mothers for recommendations for potential interviewees as a closing question of the interview. In particular, I used the categorization function of Netdraw software to see the distinct characteristics of foreign mothers’ social network within the region. The five different colored shapes indicate foreign mothers’ ethnic backgrounds and the arrows are for their relationship.

Attachment to ethnic community and geographical proximity

As Figure 12 shows that foreign mothers have social relationships that are predominantly focused on relationships with women from the same countries. Although the interview questions about their social relationships were not limited to friends from same ethnic group, the principal answers were about people from the same ethnic group. Except for a small number of mothers, such as Ms. Duyen, Ms. Pongsong, Ms. Roco, Ms. Kikuchi, and Ms. Yamamoto, most foreign mothers hardly had interactions with people outside of their ethnic boundaries. Also, given the small number of foreign mothers in the region, the overall size of foreign mothers' social network was small (comprised of only one or two ethnic friends). There are also some mothers who have a substantial social network, but it is almost exclusively comprised of the same ethnic group members.

For example, Ms. Centenera seems to be very closely involved in her Filipino community; she was mentioned by most Filipina mothers as “the closest friend,” and she was very actively engaged in Filipino community. However, Ms. Centenera told me that it was not easy for her to make native South Korean friends, although she tried to make friends outside of her ethnic boundaries especially with native South Koreans. She said, it was too difficult for her to understand native South Korean mothers not only because of the language barrier but also because of the different ways of communication. For example, she said, when she was asked about the income of her household or her husband's job, she was uncomfortable because she felt as if they were investigating her. Ms. Centenera told me that she had several experiences of being observed on the street, which, she thinks, due to her foreign appearance. Given that, one can guess that those Korean mothers who poured out too many questions to Ms. Centenera might have similar

curiosity about her especially considering it happened more than five years ago, because the foreign population in the region was even smaller than now that it was.

The nature of Ms. Nagashima's social relationships seems similar to that of Ms. Centenera in that both mothers' social relationships are focused on their ethnic community. In the case of Ms. Nagashima, she appears to be an active member of her religious community (*Tongilgyo*); she takes significant role as a pianist and teacher in the group and attends at least a couple of weekly meetings regularly. While Ms. Nagashima is actively involved in her ethnic community through the religious groups, she rarely has contacts with other people outside of that group. Although Ms. Nagashima speaks Korean fluently, she said when she has an opportunity to talk with native South Korean mothers such as in school events, she feels so intimidated and scared that she ends up spending MOST of the time with Japanese mothers. The only non-Japanese mother with whom Ms. Nagashima communicates with was a Vietnamese mother in her neighborhood. She said, because that Vietnamese mother also has children who are similar age with hers, she converses with her from time to time.

Interestingly, however, although Ms. Nagashima was hesitant to approach non-Japanese mothers in her son's school events, she felt comfortable to interact with the Vietnamese mother living in her neighborhood. The South Korean mothers whom Ms. Centenera met were also her neighbors, although she did not establish friendship with them. It was not smooth, but Ms. Centenera could interact with several native South Korean mothers because she used to live in an area where the density of population of mothers in her age group is higher than that of other regions in Daesung County. In Ms. Nagashima's case, she said that the only woman who was in her age group in her village

was the Vietnamese mother, while the rest of the residents were elderly people. Ms. Duong, Ms. Nguyen, and Ms. Loan were in the same shoes with Ms. Nagashima, in that those mothers also had only one or two neighbors who were around their ages, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. That is, the scope of those foreign mothers' social relationships was restricted not only because of the individual characteristics of foreign mothers, but also because of the large proportion of an elderly population in the rural community where they were situated.

There is one Vietnamese mother nearby.[.....] Friends? No, I don't have any, because [in this village] there are only old men and women. They are all very old. I haven't seen anybody who are in 20s or 30s in this village. (Ms. Duong)

Moreover, while Ms. Nagashima had a religious community where she could interact with several Japanese mothers regularly, Ms. Duong did not participate in any social or religious activities. The only place she used to go outside of their village was a Korean language class in her first year in South Korea in 2006. However, she stopped going there after she conceived her first son and could not go back because now she has two young boys who need her care. The characteristic of Ms. Nguyen's social relationship was similar to that of Ms. Duong but even more isolated than that of Ms. Duong. Ms. Nguyen said there was one Vietnamese mother who was the only young woman in the village, and she never attended any social activities or educational programs after she immigrated and married in 2007. Like Ms. Duong, Ms. Nguyen had two boys and spent most of her time at home watching Vietnamese movies or television shows. Accordingly, Ms. Nguyen's Korean skill was still in the beginners' level and she had a hard time comprehending even conversational languages in Korean, and Ms. Duong's language skill was similar.

In the case of Ms. Loan who married a South Korean man in 2005, she could express herself significantly better than both Ms. Duong and Ms. Nguyen, although she also said there were no young people in her neighborhood. Instead of spending most of her time at home as Ms. Duong or Nguyen did, Ms. Loan said she went out to see people. She attended Korean language class for two hours on every Friday and spent time with elderly people visiting the community center everyday. When I asked her what she did in the center, she answered that she just watched elderly women playing card games, or chatted with them. Unlike Ms. Nguyen or Ms. Duong, Ms. Loan tried to construct friendships with elderly people in her neighborhood, although she also wished to have friends in her age group. While Ms. Duong and Ms. Nguyen were isolated in their villages, they had closely connected to their ethnic friends in other areas of the country. They told me that because they feel comfortable and free when they talk to their Vietnamese friends, it became their daily routine to call their friends and chat. Ms. Nguyen showed me a long list of her ethnic friends across the country in her mobile phone. Ms. Chinh, who was a newly wed woman from Vietnam, also told me that she had about 10 friends with whom she had regular contacts around the country.

Yes, I have lots of friends, may be about 10? Of course I have their mobile phone numbers and chat with them a lot. They live Seoul, Incheon, Daejun, everywhere. We lived together for three months in Vietnam to learn Korean language and culture together before we got married. (Ms. Chinh)

Since she received the preparatory bridal education, her Korean language skill was as fluent as Ms. Loan who lived in South Korea about 4 years longer than Ms. Chinh. Having no children yet, Ms. Chinh was active in learning Korean language she attended a couple of language programs. She also received cooking lessons that were freely offered

for foreign mothers in the region. Residing in South Korea only about one and half a year, however, Ms. Chinh had already experienced discrimination on the street several times. For example, she said, some elderly women scolded at her and prevented her from speaking in Vietnamese when she was chatting with her ethnic friends. She and her friends were so disturbed that they quarreled with the women and she said that those kinds of incidents happened three times in the short period that she was living in South Korea. While Ms. Chinh actively attended various educational programs to learn about Korean language and culture, she did not have any South Korean friends yet. Moreover, due to the bad experiences with random people on the street, she seemed to get defensive about South Koreans in general. Except for the learning programs, Ms. Chinh did not participate in any social or religious activities. She said that she went to a Catholic church when she first came to South Korea, but stopped going there because it was hard for her to understand the service, and thus, she got bored. It appeared that Korean language or culture classes were the only windows that she could get connected to people outside of her ethnic group.

Native South Korean friends

On the other hand, there were several foreign mothers who established friendships with people outside of their ethnic boundaries such as Ms. Duyen, Ms. Pongsong, Ms. Roco, Ms. Kikuchi, Ms. Yamamoto (see, Figure 12) and the former two had close South Korean mothers as well. While the social relationships of Ms. Roco, Ms. Kikuchi, and Ms. Yamamoto almost exclusively stemmed from their religious communities (*Tongilgyo*) where they met their spouses and immigrated to South Korea, Ms. Duyen's and Ms. Pongsong's social relationships were built through various ways such as geographical

proximity, through their children's schools, Korean language classes, etc. Once social relationships were formed through any of those ways, the relationships were nurtured by additional events and encounters given the small size of the local community.

I met them in *Tongilgyo*, because we all married through that church. I know most of the people in the church. You see many Vietnamese in the Cultural Center, right? And there are many Japanese in the church. But there are many Filipinos as well, not in my church but around the region. (Ms. Roco)

I met Young's mom (Ms. Pongsong) while I was taking a walk with my younger child, and then I saw her again in school because her son and my son are in the same grad. There is only one class at each grade here, you know? Once I got to know her, I found her a good person, and there are not many people here any ways, so I became closer to her. (Ms. H. Kwak)

Ms. H. Kwak is a native South Korean mother who was a good friend of Ms. Pongsong, and their relationship was the only intergenerational closure especially between a foreign mother and a native South Korean mother I discovered during the fieldwork within this study. Intergenerational closure is Coleman's (1988) signature concept that indicates social relationships between parents whose children's are also friends, which is an effective social network through which parents can share information about their children's education as well as supervise their children's extra-curricular activities through multifaceted channels. Ms. H. Kwak's and Ms. Pongsong's sons were not only in the same class in school, but also they also went to the same *Taekwondo* lessons and *hakwon* [supplementary private academy, which is a very unique type of private educational institution that covers various subjects as well as art, music as well as physical training program]. Thus, the two boys did their homework or played together many times in one of their houses, and the two mothers had more chances to converse about their children's education.

Ms. Duyen developed social relationships in a different way from those of Ms. Pongsong and the rest of the mothers. In Ms. Duyen's case, her sister-in-law played a significant role in the establishment of her social relationships within the community. When she married her husband in 2001, intermarriage was not as popular as when other Vietnamese mothers immigrated to South Korea approximately five years later. Then, there was no educational program for foreign mothers, and Ms. Duyen had to explore the way to learn Korean language and culture by making myriads of mistakes. Worrying about her, Ms. Duyen's sister-in-law traveled to see her from a remote city and prepared food for Ms. Duyen's neighbors to ask favors on behalf of her sister-in-law.

My sister-in-law prepared *dduk* (rice cake) for my neighbors to ask them to be kind to me, because I am a foreigner. You know, I did not know anything or anyone when I came to South Korea in 2001. [.....] Now, my "next-door-sister" (Ms. Y. Chun) is the closest person to me. Whenever I had a question, I went to my "next-door-sister." Now, I know a lot of South Korean mothers in this apartment building, they are all friends of my "next-door sister." (Ms. Duyen)

Ms. Y. Chun was Ms. Duyen's next-door neighbor. She was approximately 20 years older than Ms. Duyen, and shared many memories about Ms. Duyen's adjustment process to the community. However, the perspective of Ms. Y. Chun about her relationships with Ms. Duyen seemed to be different from the way Ms. Duyen perceived. While Ms. Duyen perceived Ms. Y. Chun as the closest and nicest person in her social relationships, Ms. Y. Chun perceived Ms. Duyen as a foreigner who might need her help. In particular, compared to the relationships between Ms. H. Kwak and Ms. Pongsong, the nature of the relationship of Ms. Y. Chun and Ms. Duyen were distinct. Ms. H. Kwak and Ms. Pongsong developed mutual relationships, in that both parties equally contributed to the relationships. Also, they seemed to enjoy the mutual benefits that the relationships

brought to them. For example, Ms. H. Kwak told me that sometimes she provided information about educational programs that Ms. Pongsong might be interested in and she believed that her family benefited from Ms. Pongsong's family, in that her son could be exposed to diverse culture and experiences through Ms. Pongsong's family.

However, in the case of Ms. Y. Chun and Ms. Duyen, the relationship seemed to be unbalanced because the information and resources flowed toward only one direction; for last one decade, Ms. Duyen was a recipient and Ms. Y. Chun was a provider. Moreover, the motivation of Ms. Y. Chun to provide help for Ms. Duyen was for philanthropic reasons; that is, because Ms. Duyen was a foreigner living in her neighborhood, Ms. Y. Chun thought she had to help her.

Sometimes, I felt exhausted because Ms. Duyen had so many problems and issues. I helped her because I knew she did not have any other person to help her. It was a bit tiresome though, since I had her almost every day bringing in something to read or interpret for her. [.....] Thus, I think it is burdensome for native South Koreans like me to have immigrants around because we have to be in a position to teach or help. Still, I believe that it is better for us [South Koreans] to help those immigrants as much as we can, considering how difficult it would be to live in a foreign country. (Ms. Y. Chun)

Ms. Y. Chun seemed to have played an important role in the lives of Ms. Duyen, like "a big sister." She provided myriads of support and advice for Ms. Duyen's family; from lending soybean source or eggs to her to helping her sons with their homework for about twenty days for free when Ms. Duyen was visiting her family in Vietnam. However, they did not find mutual interests within their social relationship and, thus, could not maintain balance in the relationship. One reason for this imbalance would be the age difference between the two mothers. Also, compared to the relationship between Ms. H. Kwak and Ms. Pongsong, which started several years after Ms. Pongsong arrived in

South Korea, the relationship between Ms. Duyen and Ms. Y. Chun initiated right after Ms. Duyen's immigration to the country. Therefore, Ms. Duyen might have started her relationship with Ms. Y. Chun with a more dependent attitude, whereas Ms. Pongsong must have adjusted to the society by the time she met Ms. H. Kwak and could have interacted with Ms. H. Kwak in a more balanced fashion.

Nonetheless, I believe Ms. Duyen's case provides important implications to promote social relationships between foreign mothers and their neighbors. Ms. Duyen's sister-in-law's intervention was crucial for her to start to build a social life in a foreign country especially when she did not have even basic communication skills in the dominant language. That is, native South Korean family members' or relatives' intervention can bridge the foreign mothers to the South Korean society in a way it would take much longer time for mothers to do by themselves. In that sense, one of the governmental education policies that provides the opportunities of mentorships and partnerships between foreign mothers and their South Korean counterparts seem to be an effective way to generate social relationships for foreign mothers.

Korean language teachers

Last but not least, several foreign mothers showed a strong emotional attachment to their Korean language teachers. Korean language programs appeared to be especially influential to foreign mothers, since most foreign mothers started to explore South Korean society outside of their family in the Korean language class. That is, since foreign mothers could barely communicate with local people when they first entered the country, the information that Korean language teachers conveyed in classes were perceived as crucial knowledge about the society. Likewise, Korean language teachers whom I met

within this study did not confine their role as language teachers but tried to engage in foreign mothers' lives on more personal levels.

For example, Ms. Paras had an intimate relationship with her Korean language teacher Ms. J. Won, and mentioned her as one of the closest persons in her social relationships. Ms. Paras said that she could share her personal issues and family problems with the teacher and the teacher was very supportive and compassionate about her situation. Ms. Duyen also told me that she had a tight connection to her Korean language teacher and the teacher was like a second mother to her. Ms. Duyen said, her "next-door-sister" was the first person that she contacted whenever she had questions or problems regarding her children's education and the Korean teacher was her second contact person for her regarding those issues. Whereas she did not feel comfortable to share her frustrations and emotional breakdowns with her ethnic friends, she could say everything to the Korean teacher. Both Ms. Paras and Ms. Duyen said they cried a lot before their Korean language teachers when they were sharing their struggles and difficulties in their lives in a foreign country, which shows the depth of trust that those mothers had in their Korean language teachers.

5.2.2 Foreign mothers' information channel

Foreign mothers' information channel regarding their children's education was investigated with interview questions about their on- and/or off-line information sources in regards to their children's education. Consistent with the findings of numbers of social capital theorists, the nature of foreign mothers' information channels regarding their children's education appeared to be closely related to the type of social relationships each

foreign mother had. In other words, the scope of foreign mothers' information channel for their children's education appeared to mirror the characteristics of foreign mothers' social and religious activities and their social relationships with their ethnic members, native South Korean relatives, and neighbors.

In general, native South Korean husbands and their extended family members were the most significant information sources for foreign mothers. Some mothers who were closely connected to their native families also sought out advice from their sisters or mothers in their native country, but foreign mothers seemed to take native South Korean's advice more seriously than that of their ethnic members. For example, Ms. Besa said that she did not seek advice from her Filipina sisters regarding her children's education, although she chatted with her sister regularly. She believed her Filipina sisters could not provide relevant information or advice for her. Ms. Duyen also told me that she did not follow her older brother's advice about children's education, even though she was aware of his professional experiences and knowledge as a principal in primary school in Vietnam.

Instead, those foreign mothers sought out advice from native South Koreans in their social network. As described earlier, Ms. Duyen received extraordinary support from her neighbors as well as from her sister-in-law living in Daejun. For the majority of foreign mothers who did not have South Korean friends, however, their native South Korean relatives were perceived as a crucial information channel about the South Korean educational system.

I talked a lot with my sister-in-law (her husband's older sister) in Busan about general educational matters. I believe she must be knowledgeable about the education system in South Korea, because she is a South Korean. Because of her

age, however, I sometimes felt a generational gap (laugh), so I could not take all of her advice. (Ms. Nagashima)

However, not all mothers had an information channel regarding their children's education. When mothers did not have someone to ask advice for their decision regarding their children's education, they searched for information by themselves. For example, Ms. Besa said she visited several *hakwon* in her neighborhood to investigate where to send her sons since she did not know anyone to ask for the information. In a similar situation, Ms. Luong's investigation for her sons' education was shallower than that of Ms. Besa's; she and her husband decided to send their first-born child to a specific preschool because that was the only institution that answered their phone call in her neighborhood. That is, without having the information channel for their children's education, Ms. Luong and her husband chose their son's preschool randomly.

Furthermore, it seemed that not all social relationships that foreign mothers owned were utilized as a valuable source of information for their children's education. That is, while some mothers perceived their native South Korean relatives or friends as an information channel, others did not. First, for the first marriage immigrant generation mothers, who married before 2005 when the interracial marriage suddenly boomed in South Korea, their social relationships with ethnic friends were not regarded as the source of information for their children's education. For example, Ms. Duyen explicitly said she did not expect to get new information or help from her Vietnamese friends since they were younger and less knowledgeable about Korean society than her.

Second, some mothers felt uncomfortable to share their struggles or challenges in regard to their children's education. A Filipina mother Ms. Besa said that although she was connect to her ethnic friends, she tired to distance herself from them because she was

afraid that her stories might become gossip among her small ethnic community members. As quoted above, Ms. Besa did investigations on educational institutions for her sons by herself, instead of asking other mothers because she believed her children's education was a private matter. A Vietnamese mother Ms. Alano said she did not share any educational challenges or difficulties that she encountered raising her children with other Vietnamese mothers as well, because according to her "Vietnamese are different from native South Koreans, in that they do not talk about their family issues with others." Ms. Alano also perceived that issues engendered regarding her children's education were family issues similar to the way Ms. Besa felt.

Considering other Filipina and Vietnamese mothers such as Ms. Paras and Ms. Duyen who sought out advice or information regarding their children's education through their social network, the passive attitude of Ms. Alano and Ms. Besa about seeking information channels does not seem to be explained by their cultural backgrounds. Also, Ms. Alano and Ms. Besa were not significantly alike in terms of their educational backgrounds, and their level of Korean language ability. Thus, it is difficult to understand the factors that made Ms. Besa and Ms. Alano feel uncomfortable to share difficulties about their children's education. However, in the case of Ms. Alano, it seemed that she did not have many contacts with people, and the only friend that she mentioned during her interview was Ms. Duyen.

Additionally, Internet websites were not often visited as an information source for children's education. Most mothers did not have access to the Internet, while some of those who had Internet access used it as the medium of social networking mostly with their ethnic members, or for entertainment. In particular, Filipina mothers such as Ms.

Roco, Ms. Centenera, and Ms. Paras told me that they used Internet websites for social network or personal email services, while two Vietnamese mothers Ms. Luong and Ms. Nguyen watched Vietnamese movies and TV shows provided on the Internet websites. Those Vietnamese mothers told me that they could also watch Korean movies and TV shows through those websites, since Vietnamese translations were offered on the website. Ms. Nagashima was the only mother who used the Internet to search for information regarding their children's development. A couple of mothers such as Ms. Duyen and Ms. Pongsong said they did not use the Internet frequently because it was too challenging for them to find relevant key words in Korean to find the information for their children's education.

While the Internet was unpopular among foreign mothers as an information channel for their children's education, there were mothers who searched for information by reading books. Three out of the four Japanese mothers I interviewed, Ms. Masahiro, Ms. Nagashima, and Ms. Kikuchi, told me that they continued to read Korean books on education to improve their maternal involvement. Moreover, these mothers visited the local public library searching for information regarding their children's education and learned from books from time to time. Moreover, Ms. Kikuchi regularly visited the public library to obtain information about educational programs for her sons as well as for herself. Those three Japanese mothers took book reading on as one of the ways to increase their knowledge about Korean education because their Korean language skills were fluent enough as well as they were living in close proximity to the public library.

Last but not least, it is important to understand the information that foreign mothers access through their relationships with educators such as their children's

schoolteachers, *hakwon* teachers, private tutors, and their Korean language teachers. First, as I discussed above, Korean language teachers played an important role in foreign mothers' lives in multifaceted aspects as an important information channel. A Korean language teacher in the Cultural Center (CC), Ms. A. Paik said that she not only taught Korean language to her students but also provided diverse information that foreign mothers needed to know to successfully play their roles as mothers and housewives in the society. Ms. H. Sung, who was also a Korean language teacher and program coordinator in the CC said her Center created Korean cooking lessons for foreign mothers and offered it once in a semester because she believed providing practical knowledge to foreign mothers would be as useful as helping them to master Korean language skills in their real life situations. Moreover, she said the CC offered lessons such as the basic skills to take care of babies for foreign mothers.

My job here is to teach Korean language. But I think I also need to help my students when they seek out advice or counseling. I feel I have become like a “guardian” for them or they have become my “family members” when I see them in my classroom. (Ms. J. Won)

A Korean language teacher in the Center for Multicultural Family (CMF), Ms. J. Won had similar beliefs about her role, and tried to engage in foreign mothers' lives on more personal levels. Even if there were no extra compensation for Korean teachers, all three teachers within this study continued their support for foreign mothers outside of the classroom. Accordingly, several foreign mothers including Ms. Paras and Ms. Duyen told me that they felt very closer to their Korean language teachers as mentioned earlier. Moreover, Ms. Pichaya expressed her deep disappointment with new Korean language teachers because the new teacher was “just teaching Korean” while she expected to

receive more than language lessons. Recalling her previous experiences with former Korean language teachers who used to get involved in her life more deeply, she felt that she did not receive enough care and attention from the new teacher, without knowing the extra care and attention that she received earlier were Korean teachers' voluntarily services for which the teachers were not rewarded.

Second, while foreign mothers' relationships with Korean language teachers assisted them to perform their maternal role better in a broader sense, their relationships with the educators of their children may have more direct influence on their involvement in their children's performance in school. However, it appeared that not many foreign mothers actively interacted with either their children's schoolteachers or *hakwon* teachers. Having the limited contacts with their children's teachers, mothers seemed to rarely benefit from those teachers' professional knowledge and information. Regarding their relationships with schoolteacher, while most foreign mothers said that they tried to participate in school activities when there were notifications from the school, they barely had opportunities to converse with their children's schoolteachers individually. For example, Ms. Pongsong said that although her son's schoolteacher told her to contact him whenever she needed to counsel about her sons' education, she did not go to see him because she did not know what to discuss with the teacher. Likewise, the level of most foreign mothers' communications with foreign mothers' relationships with *hakwon* teachers or private tutors appeared to be only basic level as well. Mothers told me they asked teachers if their children were okay in the class but did not ask specific questions about their children's learning.

While most foreign mothers had limited interactions with educators, two Japanese mothers Ms. Kikuchi and Ms. Yamamoto seemed to actively seek out advice from their children's schoolteachers and *hakwon* teachers. In particular, Ms. Yamamoto said she had visited her children's *hakwon* every month to discuss about their academic progress with the director of the *hakwon* where she had sent her daughters almost 7 years. She said although it varied from time to time, she conversed with the director of the *hakwon* about an hour each time. Ms. Kikuchi showed even more active and closer relationships with various teachers of her three sons. She said that she not only communicated with her sons' current teachers, but also kept contacting her son's former teachers in school, kindergarten, and preschool to obtain advice depending on the type of questions she had. She said, sometimes she visited school to see the teachers, but often she just called them and asked for advice.

The Korean language skills of the two mothers were extraordinarily fluent, which might be related to their educational backgrounds as well as their long-term residency in the country; both mothers entered South Korea in the mid-1990s. Nonetheless, since they were not active in relationships with native South Koreans on a personal level, I asked if they did not feel uncomfortable when they communicated their children's teachers. They said that their Korean language proficiency differed depending on the listeners. For example, Ms. Kikuchi said she felt uncomfortable to converse with some teachers and did not communicate with them well, while most of the times she could converse with teachers without any problems. In general, Ms. Kikuchi said that she felt comfortable when she had conversations with her sons' teachers. Ms Yamamoto was not as active as Ms. Kikuchi in her relationships with schoolteachers while she had tight relationships

with her daughters' *hakwon* teachers. Ms. Yamamoto seemed to feel uncomfortable to meet her daughters' schoolteachers similar to the rest of foreign mothers felt.

It is not easy to explain why Ms. Kikuchi and Ms. Yamato were distinct from other foreign mothers in terms of their relationships with educators. However, it appeared that their close relationship with educators had positive influence on their children's schooling. For example, Ms. Kikuchi promptly contacted her sons' schoolteachers when her sons were bullied by their classmates; her two younger sons were bullied because of their Japanese heritage after history lessons about conflicting relationships between Korea and Japan. She could intervene promptly because she felt comfortable to call her sons' schoolteachers and discuss about her concerns.

6.2.3 Summary

The two types of people with whom foreign mothers predominantly interacted with except for their spouses are their ethnic group members or their relatives—either native South Korean relatives or native family. Some mothers had stronger connections with their native families or their husbands' families, while others had developed friendships with native South Koreans. However, it did not seem easy for most foreign mothers to build personal relationships with Korean mothers. Native South Korean family members or relatives can intervene to help build the relationships by bridging the foreign mothers to the South Korean people. Additionally, the scope of those foreign mothers' social relationships was restricted because of the large proportion of the elderly population in the rural community where they were situated.

No more than a couple of foreign mothers seem to be active in their ethnic communities, but the majority of foreign mothers do not participate in their communities regularly. *Tongilgyo* was the only institutional community where several foreign mothers were regularly involved, especially those who married through that religious community. In particular, for most Japanese mothers who actively attended the religious meetings, it was an important social network and source of information. Most foreign mothers have attended Korean language programs, and these classes contributed to engender social relationships among the mothers. Overall, foreign mothers have built close relationships with other foreign mothers, especially mothers from their own ethnic groups, and the characteristics of their social relationships were mostly informal, comprised of a small number of ethnic friends.

The scope of foreign mothers' information channel for their children's education appeared to mirror the characteristics of foreign mothers' social and religious activities and their social relationships with their ethnic members, native South Korean relatives, and neighbors. Korean language teachers played an important role in the foreign mothers' adjustment process by providing various information and support. On the contrary, not many foreign mothers actively interacted with either their children's schoolteachers or *hakwon* teachers. Additionally, Internet websites were not often visited as an information source for children's education, while there were mothers who searched for information by reading books.

5.3 FOREIGN MOTHERS' INVOLVEMENT SYTLE IN CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

I describe the maternal involvement patterns of foreign mothers in terms of their home-based and school-based involvement in their children's education. The characteristics of these involvement styles are analyzed along the framework that I have complied based on social capital theory and cultural capital theory as well as Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997, 2005) framework on the parental involvement process. In particular, borrowing concepts the work of a Bourdieuan scholar, Lareau (1987, 2002, 2003), namely the comparison between *concerted cultivation* and *natural growth* of childrearing styles taken by parents from different socioeconomic classes in the USA, I analyze foreign mothers' involvement styles in relation to the type of social and cultural capital that they own.

First, I describe foreign mothers' home-based involvement in children's education under three sub-themes: 1) their overall maternal involvement style, 2) the issues related to foreign mothers' Korean language skill, and 3) the characteristics of extracurricular activities that foreign mothers provide for their children. In particular, the description of the type and frequency of interactions that foreign mothers have with their children in regard to their schooling and intellectual development are provided. Factors that influence maternal interactions with their children are explained as well.

Second, the school-based involvement of foreign mothers is also explained under three subthemes: 1) factors that influence foreign mothers' participation in their children's school events, 2) some examples of foreign mothers' efforts to support their children's adjustment to schooling, and 3) the implications and influence of school events

that are specifically targeted at foreign mothers' involvement. To understand foreign mothers' school-based involvement better, foreign mothers' experiences of discrimination in the extremely homogenous South Korean society, as well as the characteristics of their social relations, are analyzed. While foreign mothers' home-based involvement is delineated mostly within the boundaries of each family, focused on the relationship among family members including their children, the school-based involvement is interpreted based on the analysis of foreign mothers' experiences in a broader societal context, in contact with various people such as educators, relatives, neighbors, etc.

5.3.1 Home-based involvement

Concerted cultivation or accomplishing natural growth?

Home-based parental involvement can be defined as interactions between the child and parent outside of school (Hoover-Dempsey and Sadler 2005 in Green, et al., 2007, p. 534). To understand the type of interaction and educational involvement that foreign mothers have with their children, I initiated conversations with them through two open-ended questions: 1) How often do you speak with your children? 2) How often do you speak with your children about their education? (i.e., homework). Additionally, questions regarding the role of foreign mothers and their native South Korean spouses in children's education also triggered conversations about mothers' home-based involvement in children's education. The quotes below are examples of how foreign mothers within this study discussed education with their children.

At home? I don't talk to my children that long, may be thirty minutes? When my children get home, I just ask "do you have homework today?" I don't need to talk much to them, because they know what they have to do and do their studies by themselves. (Ms. Roco)

I talk a lot with my children. I usually talk with them before they go to bed. Also, I always ask them "Have you finished your homework?" (Ms. Centenera)

Ms. Roco and Ms. Centenera are both Filipina mothers who teach English in various settings. Currently, Ms. Roco teaches in a private academy and Ms. Centenera in a local elementary school. Also, both of them volunteer as translators in the local police station or municipal office, etc. They were able to build successful careers in South Korea because of the higher education that they received in English in the Philippines: Ms. Centenera has a Bachelors degree and a post-graduate degree in education, and Ms. Roco attended university, although she has not finished her degree. Having similar, ethnic and linguistic as well as career and educational backgrounds, the type of conversations that those two mothers have with their children is similar too. Despite their career as educators and higher education backgrounds, it appears that both mothers do not engage actively in their children's academic development. most days, they chat with their children on various subjects; however, those conversations do not necessarily involve education-related matter. Furthermore, some limited educational conversations that they have with their children are only about their children's homework; mothers ask either whether their children have homework or whether they have finished their homework, but do not engage beyond this level.

As shown above, however, these two Filipina mothers' conversations regarding children's homework are not specifically aimed to oversee or help with the assignments; homework is discussed just as one of the topics of their daily conversation. In that sense,

the interaction style of these two mothers' does not involve "supervising, monitoring, and overseeing the educational experiences of their children" and resembles that of working-class parents rather than middleclass parents in the USA (Lareau, 1987, p. 82). Lareau (2003) discovered that one of the distinct characteristics of the marginalized groups' childrearing practices is that their parental involvement does not satisfy the expectations of their children's school teachers. For example, working class or mothers below the poverty line did not comply with the request of teachers "to review and reinforce the material learned in class (e.g., to help their children learn their spelling words)" (Lareau, 1987, p. 76). Similar to those working class mothers, the reinforcement of children's learning at Ms. Roco's and Ms. Centenera's home appears to be very limited as well, given the nature of conversations that they have with children. It was the same in other foreign mothers' cases; except for two, the foreign mother interviewees within this study showed that they were similarly or even less involved in their children's education at home. Moreover, having limited interactions with children, these mothers show the limited extent of understanding of their children's academic performance. It was unclear how these mothers attempt to foster or assess their children's talent or capacity. Accordingly, mothers' educational plans or expectations of their children's future were not specific, being very vague or just idealistic.

Ms. Besa is also a Filipina mother with two sons, one in primary school and one in kindergarten. She teaches the culture and history of the Philippines as a guest lecturer in local preschools and kindergartens. Ms. Besa said she wants to send her children to college, like every other foreign mother told me during interviews. However, what made her family distinct from others is that she and her husband were considering universities

in the Philippines as optional choices for their children because they found it cheaper than in South Korea. However, other than the economic aspect, it appears that she has not thought, planned or investigated to prepare their children for their university education. For example, her interracial family is monolingual; none of her sons or husband speak Tagalog or English with her. It is reasonable to assume that if they were seriously considering universities in the Philippines as an option for her sons, she would have taught her sons the language, at least to a basic level. On the other hand, it seems that she is just waiting for her children's natural growth by providing care, instead of actively engaging in their development.

I don't know what to teach, because if they are not capable, I cannot help them, you know? They would choose what they want to do." (Ms. Besa)

I don't talk to my children a lot. I just say, "Have you eaten?" I used to check my son's homework, but now it is too difficult for me to help them. [.....] I want to give my children as many educational opportunities as possible, which is a natural desire for moms, you know? I want to send my children not only to just undergraduate, but also graduate school (laugh). However, it is up to them. I cannot force them to do something either study or going to college, right?" (Ms. Phan)

Ms. Phan, a Vietnamese mother who has been living in South Korea since 1995 and has two children, one in primary school and one in kindergarten, told me a similar story. Ms. Phan's Korean was exceptionally fluent compared to other foreign mothers, especially Vietnamese mothers in this study, because she met and married her husband much earlier than most of the Vietnamese mothers who married their South Korean spouses through international matchmaking agencies. Ms. Phan originally entered the country in 1995 as a foreign laborer, and married her husband who was working in the same factory in 1997, just before the interracial matchmaking business boomed in the

country. Although she has not built a career like other Filipina mothers, given her long-term stay in the country as well as her fluent language ability, she seems to have faced fewer challenges compared to other foreign mothers in their life contexts. However, she does not seem to have specific plans or intentions to help her children perform well at school or to prepare them for the future. Instead, she believes that she just needs to wait until her children discover what they want to do or what they can do well. Furthermore, even if their children do not show interests or talents in any specific subjects or fields, it seems she would hardly intervene or guide her children closely, for example, by providing different types of experiences to stimulate her children's thoughts: "everything is up to them, I cannot force them to learn or to dream about their future, right?"

In addition, it was hard to find any foreign mothers who carefully plan extracurricular activities for their children with the intent of fostering their children's development. On the contrary, it appears that mothers spontaneously choose the type of extra-curricular activities for their children, or let their children choose any activities that they wish, as long as the family can afford it. For example, Ms. Centenera wants her elder son to become a policeman, because she thinks policemen look great, a judgment that is unlikely to reflect her sons' interests or talents. Nonetheless, Ms. Centenera was extremely unhappy with her husband's decision for sending her sons to fencing class. I asked her whether she thinks the fencing class might be helpful for him to become a policeman in the future, she said yes. Even when I made a connection between the type of education and training that her son is currently receiving and her expectations for her son's future, she did not seem to be interested in the relevance of that relationship. She

just wanted to stop sending her son to fencing class because he does not enjoy learning fencing.

In sum, the experiences and challenges of those four foreign mothers regarding their children's education show some similarities, in that their conversations with children are very limited not only in terms of the amount of time, but also in terms of the level of engagement in the intellectual development of their children. Furthermore, given that these four mothers perceive their lives as less challenged compared to other foreign mothers in this study, it is likely that other foreign mothers may have even less concrete information and fewer ideas about their children's education and future. In particular, the three Filipina mothers represent the type of ideal case among married immigrant mothers, as depicted by the mass media, for the career opportunities that they can enjoy, and education and language backgrounds (Y. S. Park, 2008). Another common reason that accounts for foreign mothers' involvement style is their Korean language proficiency; foreign mothers often attributed their limited maternal engagement in their children's schooling to the language barrier that they face.

Language issues

Ms. Centenera told me that she does not supervised her son's homework because she believes her Korean is inefficient to teach her sons, one in third grade and the other in kindergarten. When I asked why she does not teach her sons in English if she feels uncomfortable to do so in Korean, she replied to me that she was afraid of confusing her sons by doing that.

If I teach my son in English, he would be confused. If I use English terms, for example, for mathematics, it would be too difficult for him. I really want to teach him, but I can't (because I don't know these terms in Korean). My first son is

really interested in insects, trees, plants and those things, and you know my major at university was Forestry. But because my son does not understand. if I teach in English, I cannot teach him. If I were in the Philippines, I can teach him everything, but because I am here (in South Korea), I can't. (Ms. Centenera)

As a guest English lecturer in a local elementary school, Ms. Centenera must have known about South Korean mothers' strong drive for teaching English as early as possible. Introducing the educational zeal of South Korean parents as an ideal case, the US Secretary of Education Duncan cited the conversation between President Lee of South Korea and the US President Obama: "parents, even his [President Lee's, South Korea's] poorest families, were insisting on importing thousands of English teachers so their children could learn English in first grade—instead of having to wait until second grade." (Duncan, 2010). President Lee's suggestion to implement English immersion education in public schools during his presidential campaign has triggered a huge debate across the country (Blair, 2008; Noh, 2008). Although this policy suggestion was not realized within the public education system, early English education is getting popular and there are numerous private preschools and kindergarten that offer English immersion education; in these private institutions, the whole curriculum is conducted in English including gymnastics and art education (N. H. Kim & Kim, 2008). Not all parents would be able to afford those expensive private English immersion programs. However, there are various kinds of English education programs in the private sector as well as extra-curricular programs in the public sphere.

Ms. Centenera teaches classes in the afterschool programs in a local primary school as well as in the *English Village Program* that offers a short-term residency English immersion programs for primary school children paid for by the taxpayer. However, in contrast to the well-known South Korean parents' zeal for early English

education, Ms. Centenera refuses to teach her sons the language. Ms. Centenera's hesitancy might be related to the language environment of her family as well as the broader society. During my fieldwork, I met only one family that actually practiced bilingualism; however, even in that family, the native South Korean father does not speak or intend to learn his wife's native language. Thus far, Ms. Centenera's husband has never intended to learn English or Tagalog as well, although they have a tentative plan to immigrate to the Philippines and start a small business there when their sons graduate from high school. Furthermore, her sons not only do not speak their mothers' native language, but also appear to have a negative attitude toward the language. Ms. Centenera told me that when she told her son "Hurry up" in English in a public place, her older son told her, "Mom, please stop speaking in English to me, that is embarrassing..." Although Ms. Centenera evaluated her sons' English and Tagalog as fluent; she told me that she was unwilling to enroll her sons in the English immersion camp where she taught because she did not want to be embarrassed by letting other teachers know that her sons' English skills were poor.

Therefore, it appears that Ms. Centenera had difficulties teaching her sons her native languages, and also communicating with them properly, given her Korean language difficulty. During the formal interview as well as in the casual conversations with me, Ms. Centenera spoke both in English and in Korean, because she was not able to herself fully express solely in Korean yet, although she has been mainly living in South Korea since 1999. Her verbal language skills were about advanced-intermediate level, but she said it is even more difficulty for her to understand written Korean, and that she recently decided to go to a Korean language class every Friday. The lack of Korean

language proficiency is a major barrier that also prevents Ms. Besa from helping her son complete his homework, although her Korean language ability is better than that of Ms. Centenera and Ms. Roco. Her son, who is in second grade, does not seek help from her with his homework any more because he knows that she would not be able to help him any longer. As I mentioned earlier, Ms. Besa's family is also monolingual and her family members barely know her native language. Therefore, it may be assumed that the depth of the communication of those mothers, both Ms. Besa and Ms. Centenera, with their sons must be limited, given the Korean language proficiency of the mothers and their sons' knowledge and/or attitude toward their mothers' native language.

In fact, all foreign mothers in this study including the ones cited above, expressed similar types of frustrations with regard to their limited Korean language skill, although the levels of their language proficiency vary. Similar to the rest of the mothers who mentioned basic communication problems with children because their language skills, Ms. Duyen also told me about her frustration caused by the language barriers.

I would love to have long conversations with my children, if my Korean were fluent. But because of the language barrier, I cannot converse with my children freely, although I wish I could. (Ms. Duyen)

Ms. Duyen is a Vietnamese mother whose sons are first and second graders. However, given her exceptional Korean language proficiency, I was wondering why she feels insufficient in the communication with her sons in Korean. Ms. Duyen told me that her frustration is not only about difficulties in daily-based communications with her sons, but also about the feeling of incapability when she wants to foster the intellectual and linguistic development of her sons.

If I were a Korean mother, I can give my sons better answers and guidance. Let's assume my son is curious about wild animals and asks, "Mom, how does baby bear look like?" I wish I could provide the examples of every type of bears, famous stories about bear, and etc. for my son. However, because I am a foreigner, I can't. I cannot give him the rich description. I may just give him the simplest answer, "Bear is bear. (Ms. Duyen)

Compared to other mothers who believe their home-based involvement in children's schooling is limited to providing care or checking homework, Ms. Duyen expressed her wish to engage in the learning and thinking of her sons more in depth. According to Ms. Y. Chun, Ms. Duyen's neighbor, Ms. Duyen attempts to teach her sons at home, and if she has difficulties to help her children, Ms. Duyen seeks help from her South Korean neighbors or relatives and has them to guide her sons, if necessary. Although Ms. Duyen's educational background is different from other Filipina mothers introduced above, coming from an educators' family (Ms. Duyen's older brother is a primary school principal, her mother is a retired preschool principal etc.), Ms. Duyen showed the type of beliefs in maternal role that resembles that of middle-class mothers in the USA, in that Ms. Duyen tries to get involved in her sons' academic development in various ways (Lareau, 1987, 2002, 2003). Ms. Duyen's neighbor, Ms. Y. Chun stressed many times that she believes Ms. Duyen is an outstandingly smart person saying "Although Ms. Duyen is a foreigner she is very smart way better than Koreans [mothers] in many cases."

However, both Ms. Duyen and her neighbor Ms. Y. Chun told me that Ms. Duyen's maternal involvement is not as effective as it can be because of her lack of Korean proficiency; although Ms. Duyen is one of the most fluent foreign-born Korean speakers I ever have met. Ms. Duyen even told me that, if she teaches her sons in Vietnamese, she would make them just a "fool" in South Korea. That is, although Ms.

Duyen believes in the maternal role that may have motivated her to engage in children's education more effectively and stronger than other foreign mothers, because of her lack of Korean language skill and cultural knowledge, she seems to have faced extraordinary challenges in childrearing.

My sons will live in this country [South Korea], any way. So, I want them to be educated in the Korean style and don't want them to be separated from other South Korean children. It would be good to know about their mother's country too, but sometime later if there is a chance. However, they don't need to learn about Vietnam now. I have been discriminated a lot because I am from Vietnam, why would I want my children to grow up as foreigners here and be bullied? (Ms. Duyen)

Also, I happened to be with Ms. Pongsong, a Thai mother with two children when she got a phone call from the county office that she had been recommended to help another foreign mother nearby with regard to her children's education. Ms. Duyen turned out to be Ms. Pongsong's client. Given Ms. Duyen's fluent Korean skills as well as knowledge and strong motivation for education, Ms. Pongsong told me that she was confused and did not know what to tell Ms. Duyen. At Ms. Pongsong's request, I was present in the advice session between Ms. Pongsong and Ms. Duyen, and in line with what Ms. Pongsong had told me earlier, Ms. Duyen did not seem to have faced unusual challenges with regard to children's education either. However, according to the stories from Ms. Y. Chun, Ms. Duyen has struggled considerably in terms of children's schooling. The stories surrounding the same set of experiences therefore clearly differ according to source, making, obtaining a realistic portrayal of events difficult to determine.

Moreover, the two sons of Ms. Duyen not only have underachieved at school, they were also diagnosed with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), which Ms. Duyen did not reveal to me during the interview. Ms. Y. Chun assumed that Ms. Duyen's frustrations with her children's education and consequential aggressive behaviors, including corporal punishment, might have contributed to her sons' ADHD a view not supported by a professional operational therapist whom I consulted about Ms. Duyen's case. Nonetheless, Ms. Y, Chun argued that the challenges that Ms. Duyen's sons have been through, including the ADHD, must be related to Ms. Duyen's ineffective maternal involvement style caused by her lack of Korean language skill and knowledge, suggesting there would no problems for mothers whose Korean is fluent. In addition, Ms. Duyen also considered her ethnic and language backgrounds are critically hindrance to engaging effectively in her children's development.

In sum, it appears that the major medium of communication in interracial families is Korean, and, in general, foreign mothers hesitate to use their native language with their children. Although the Korean mass media has depicted Filipina mothers as the privileged language group because they can develop professional careers as English teachers in South Korea and can teach their children English effortlessly. This was far from the reality of this study's Filipina participants. Often depicted as another privileged language group, Japanese mothers' families seem to not benefit from the mothers' language, which is contrast to the common assumptions in mass media reports or governmental policy documents. In reality, only one Japanese mothers' family among the many in this study was partially bilingual. Even in that family the interracial children can speak in Japanese with their mother, but cannot write Japanese, and their father has very

Japanese knowledge. The tendency of monolingual communication is even stronger in Vietnamese mothers' homes.

However, as long as Korean is regarded as the only proper language for education in foreign mothers' families, these mothers' interactions with their children are presumed to be passive. Mothers' language skill is almost ignored in this assumption, given that even those with exceptional Korean skills also describe difficulties when they have to communicate solely in Korean. Therefore, although mothers may uphold the type of maternal role beliefs that motivate them to support their children in various ways, these beliefs and desires rarely seem to be realized. In particular, the type of information and knowledge that foreign mothers can acquire regarding their children's development, such as their academic aptitude or talents, –which is crucial to support children effectively–are presumed to be limited, because mothers refuse to converse with their children in their native language. Because of the lack of proper information regarding their children, the scope of mothers' involvement in their children's education becomes restricted, and their expectations for their children's education and future become abstract, which prevents them from providing specific effective support for their children's educational success.

Extra-curricular activities

Lareau (2003) discovered that middle class parents in the States tend to orchestrate their children's leisure time by providing various extra-curricular activities that occupy a significant amount of their children's time, whereas working-class or poor parents allow their children to “hang out” (p.31). Chua (2011), the author of a bestselling (yet controversial) memoir entitled, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (2011), shows an extreme example of controlling her daughters' extra-curricular activities. She allow even

rented many public spaces, such as hotel lounges, restaurants, etc. to keep her daughters practice their musical instruments, while their family was traveling abroad. Inspired by Chua's (2011) book, the Los Angeles Times recently published an article that compares the families of two teenage high achievers. Larriva's family is portrayed as an example of a laidback and balanced parenting style, and Lee's family as a typical Asian immigrant family who pushes their children's academic achievement hard (Watanabe, 2011). While Larriva's daughter's summer schedule is filled with non-academic activities such as camping, museum and art gallery visits etc., the schedule of her counterpart is occupied with tutoring, advanced classes, and test preparation.

From the standpoint of Lareau (2002), the parental involvement style of those two families would be regarded as alike, in that both sets of parents are deeply involved in their children's development by structuring their leisure time guided by a strong intention to foster their children's development. In other words, the parenting styles of both families present the characteristics of the *concerted cultivation* of childrearing style, rather than that of the *natural growth*. Although Larriva's summer schedule may appear irrelevant to increase test scores, the diverse socio-cultural experiences offered for her is believed to contribute ultimately to her development in multifaceted ways over the long-term. In the case of Lee's family, the goal of the parental involvement is clearer, in that the whole schedule is directly focused on the academic development of their son. Lareau (2002) discovered that distinct from middle-class parents' intentional provision of extra-curricular activities, working-class and poor parents tend to allow their children more freedom during leisure time, without having specific plans or goals for the time. In that sense, although Mr. Larriva said that he wants to allow his daughter to enjoy her

childhood, the nature of his daughter's experiences is likely to be very different from children who have no structured activities.

Given the importance of educationally beneficial extra-curricular activities to distinguish the parenting style of the upper classes from that of the lower classes, I investigated the type of extracurricular activities that foreign mothers provide for their children. As I briefly mentioned earlier, Ms. Centenera's sons go to private fencing class because her husband insists, "Boys need to get physical training." However, in most cases, the extracurricular activities in the interracial families in this study were decided by the children. Also, affordability is the most influential criteria in the process of mothers' final decision making. Ms. Centenera's sons do not participate in the supplementary afterschool program, even though she would like them to do so, because one son found it uninteresting. Ms. Pichaya, a Thai mother with three children, two in primary school and one in preschool and Ms. Roco represented many participants when they said:

My children decide what they want to do after school, if they want to learn computing, then, they can go to learn it. If they want to learn art, they can learn art (these are offered at school with a very low price). However, if they want to learn Taekwondo or piano, they cannot learn them all, because these are expensive. Then, I would say, take one that you really want to learn. (Ms. Pichaya)

My younger daughter said, 'I want to learn to play the piano.' So, I sent her to a piano academy. Then, she said, I want to get art lessons too. She wants to learn everything (laugh). However, I told her, wait until next year, if you still want to learn art next year, I will send you. Maybe she would lose interest, you never know (laugh). Because now I am sending my elder daughter to a supplementary academy too, I cannot afford two lessons for my younger one. (Ms. Roco)

Since the type of extracurricular activities are decided by the children, rather than according to mothers' specific intentions to facilitate specific development, most mothers'

goals in this regard seem unspecific. Also, there was no study participants who oversees their children's learning at a private academy. Accordingly, when they do not see significant progress in a year or so, several mothers just stop sending their children to piano or Taekwondo lessons, instead of searching for ways to improve or facilitate their children's learning.

I gave my first son piano lessons for about two years. However, he is not able to play anything now, even though I spent so much money on it. Now, I am sending only my second one to the piano academy, but I am not sure if he will be able to play the piano later. (Ms. Besa)

I don't send my son anywhere (He does not participate in any extra-curricular activities) because I did not find any educational outcomes from him. I used to send my son both to Taekwondo and piano lessons for a couple of years, but I don't send him anymore." (Ms. Phan)

Given that *hakwon* has been extremely popular in South Korea for several decades (C. Lee et al., 2010), it is hard to assert that the tendency to send children to diverse types of *hakwon* is an exclusive childrearing style of foreign mothers. Still, there are some foreign mothers who have specific expectations about *hakwon* that are distinct from what may be the norm for Korean mothers. Some foreign mothers told me that they send their children to extracurricular activities to expose them to a Korean-speaking environment, because they worry about their children's lack of Korean vocabularies due to their limited exposure at home. However, since many extracurricular activities occur at the request of the children, few mothers appear to investigate thoroughly whether their *hakwon* best meets their children's developmental needs. Instead, *hakwon* was mostly chosen by "chance" or geographical proximity. For example, Ms. Luong said that she and her husband decided to send their eldest child to a certain institution because that was the only place that answered their phone call among the several educational institutions in

her neighborhood.

As briefly discussed earlier, another important motivation of foreign mothers to send their children to *hakwon* was to follow social norms. That is, because other South Korean mothers send their children to *hakwon*, or because their children's friends go, they came to perceive sending children to *hakwon* as a maternal obligation. Accordingly, some mothers even exaggerated the number of *hakwon* attended by their children. For example, although I asked specifically about the educational programs in which their children are currently enrolled, foreign mothers tended to list as many programs as possible by including educational programs that their children no longer attend.

My brother in Vietnam, who is a primary school Principal told me, "Don't send your children to many supplementary programs. It is not good for their balanced development." I agree with him and know what he means. But, you know, I cannot stop sending my children to those programs because I worry, may be my sons would be bullied if they do not go to *hakwon*, when his classmates go. (Ms. Duyen)

Ms. Duyen tries hard to comply with the social norms regarding children's education in her community by sending her children to diverse *hakwon*, although her own educational philosophy is different. Instead of following the advice of her brother who has professional knowledge of children's development, she decided to try the way of native South Korean mothers. As I mentioned earlier, Ms. Duyen showed a strong motivation to raise her children as South Korean so that they would not feel the same discrimination that she has experienced as a foreigner.

In sum, the extracurricular activities in which interracial children predominantly participate are either *hakwon*, or afterschool programs offered by their schools. Only a couple of mothers, including Ms. Pongsong, provide their children with some activities

that are different from those offered by the rest of the mothers. Ms. Pongsong takes her children to the local library regularly and has her husband to read books with them every Sunday, although she complained about her husband's attitude saying that he is not active enough in these activities.

Generally speaking, foreign mothers show three major patterns in regard to the extracurricular activities that they provide for their children: 1) foreign mothers send their children to *hakwon* at the request of their children, rather than based on their specific educational goals; 2) one of the most significant factors that influence their decisions regarding their children's extracurricular activities is affordability, rather than a specific educational motivation or intention; 3) some mothers feel that they are obligated to send their children to *hakwon* because they perceive that is what native South Korean mothers do, and therefore believe it is the proper way to support their children's development.

5.3.2 School-based involvement

I define foreign mothers' school-based involvement in their children's education as "the participation of mothers in their children's school activities" by drawing core concepts from Green et al.'s (2007) similar definition of parental school-based involvement. Several scholars' findings suggest that various forms of invitations to school events, either from schoolteachers or their own children, have significant influence on parental participation (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Green et al., 2007; Walker et al., 2005). I have therefore also explored foreign mothers' interactions with their children's schoolteachers, as well as their relationship with the mothers of their children's classmates. Several questions were asked, including one specific question, "how often have you participated

in activities in regards to your children's schooling?," and other questions that investigated foreign mothers' social relationships related to their children's school. These questions helped me draw a comprehensive picture of foreign mothers' school-based involvement in their children's education.

There are two types of events in which parents would participate at children's schools in a South Korean context: 1) watching children's activities as an audience, and 2) providing voluntarily services for the school. Examples of typical school events include parents' meetings (biannual), classroom observations (annual), children's field day (i.e., sports day), etc. The major purpose of parents' meetings (학부모회, *hakbumohoi*) are to solicit voluntarily services or donations for the school, and most parents' meetings in South Korean schools are attended only by mothers because of societies traditional gender roles. Although parents' meetings are symbolic organizations that do not hold any specific authority over school policy, it is believed that mothers who are involved in *hakbumohoi* are usually wealthy and influential, and, accordingly, their children get more attention from their schoolteachers. These types of Korean mothers' influence and active roles in children's schooling is also known as "skirt wind" (치마바람, *chimabaram*), which is a figurative expression that emphasizes the role of mothers (skirt) and their influence (wind) in children's education (K. S. Chang, 2004, p. 63)

"Because I am a foreign mom"

Hakbumohoi (pause and sighs), I don't feel comfortable joining mothers' meetings. I just go to watch children's events such as on field day or a classroom

observation [pause]. A meeting where only mothers are gathered, I may have felt uneasy, I guess, I did not think about these things before. While I have been talking to you, I was asking to myself why I haven't participated in mothers' meetings (*hakbumohoi*). I am not sure, because I never thought about it, but I guess I might have felt uncomfortable to see a bunch of (native Korean) mothers at school. (Ms. Kikuchi)

Ms. Kikuchi is a Japanese mother who immigrated to South Korea in 1996 and has three sons, two in primary school and one in secondary school. Ms. Kikuchi's response surprised me especially when I learned that she might have felt uncomfortable to meet with a group of South Korean mothers. Most of all, Ms. Kikuchi was the only foreign mother among the study participants who was substantially prepared before she entered South Korea. Whereas the majority of recent Vietnamese immigrant mothers barely know about South Korea before they enter the country, Ms. Kikuchi spent three years learning Korean language, the culture including food recipes and history in Japan, after she was engaged to her husband. Accordingly, she showed a comprehensive understanding of South Korean society, as evidenced by her knowledge of the history, culture, as well as her excellent communication skills.

Also, Ms. Kikuchi and her husband were one of the most educated interracial couples, in that both parents held college degrees. Although there were several foreign mothers who received higher education in their native countries, only a couple of South Korean husbands have college degrees. Most of the foreign mothers' husbands have lower degrees than their wives. Ms. Kikuchi and her husband also have greater professional experiences than other interracial families. Thus, she could have provided good economic as well as cultural environments that facilitated their children's intellectual development and educational performance, which is often not present in other interracial families. In addition to her language proficiency and educational background,

Ms. Kikuchi has continued to read books and acquire skills specifically to improve her parenting. She also has spent substantial time with her three sons and helped their studies by aiding them with their homework and doing examination preparation with them. As a result, her elder son has shown excellent academic achievement and leadership in his school. Although Ms. Kikuchi was not content with her younger sons' academic achievement and aptitude, she has continually assessed their sons' talent and helped them to develop skills in subjects with which they have difficulty.

My husband' expectations on my sons are too high—he wants our sons to go to one of the prestigious universities (laughs). My elder son once told us that he wants to go to medical school. However (sighs), I think that is too much for him, because I don't see him having talents at that level. Regardless, my husband believes that they need to go to the best higher educational institution. However, you know, since I spend more time with my sons and am always with them, I know their capability (laughs). So, I always ask my sons, “What subjects interest you?” to help them discover and realize their talents. I am afraid that they may become frustrated. If they do not understand themselves properly, and thereby go in the wrong direction. (Ms. Kikuchi)

From this conversation, I learned that Ms. Kikuchi has been actively involved in her sons' academic development by providing specific and continual guidance, and that she has tried to cultivate her sons' development and assess it properly. She also told me that she strives to participate in her children's events at school to support them. Nonetheless, Ms. Kikuchi has not attended *hakbumohoi* or similar types of meetings and, accordingly, does not know her sons' classmates' mothers. In fact, Ms. Kikuchi does not have any South Korean friends. She said this may be related to the structure of her family life—because she lives with her mother-in-law, it has been difficult for her to bring friends home. This, she believes, has somehow restricted her social relationships.

However, I discovered that she is popular among the immigrant mothers, especially Japanese women, and is known to be very successful with regard to her children's schooling. Several immigrant mothers recommended Ms. Kikuchi to me, and they unanimously told me that Ms. Kikuchi's sons are good at school. Furthermore, Ms. Kikuchi also told me that she has been closely involved in the Japanese community and has a good relationship with other immigrant mothers. Therefore, it appears Ms. Kikuchi's reasoning about her passive attitude toward parents' meetings—that she might have worried that it would be uncomfortable around South Korean mothers—is appropriate. Accordingly, she was not able to build close relationship with South Korean mothers. Given Ms. Kikuchi's educational and professional backgrounds as well as her Korean language proficiency and knowledge of Korea, it may be even more challenging for other foreign mothers, whose knowledge and language skills are weaker, to participate actively in the school events of their children.

Ms. Kikuchi said she might have avoided being around a group of native South Koreans in case she would be uncomfortable. However, she had trouble explaining why she felt that way. She repeatedly attributed any challenges that she has faced regarding her children's education to her nationality saying, "Because I am a Japanese mom." That is, although Ms. Kikuchi has learned South Korean culture and language almost two decades, these factors are still major barriers to her involvement in her children's education, especially her school-based involvement. This suggests factors such as language, culture, or ethnicity may contribute to her personal barrier. Ms. Centenera also told me about similar experiences; she felt uneasy to attend *hakbumohoi* and she stopped

going there after having attended only one session a long time ago. She explained her challenges:

One of the biggest challenges to me (to be involved in my children's schooling) is to meeting with schoolteachers or participating in parent's meetings. I worried a lot before going to those meetings, because I didn't know what to say there. So, after I attended a parents' meeting once, I decided not to go anymore. You know? Korean mothers speak so fast, it is very hard for me to understand them. [...] I know I have to change my attitude, maybe I will change it for the coming year when my son becomes a fourth grader because it is important to meet with other mothers. Actually, my son's schoolteacher gave me his phone number and told me to contact him whenever trouble occurs, but I have not called him at all because [pause], I am worried that he may think I have too many questions or problems because I am a foreigner, and moreover, what if the teacher takes pity on my son because he is a foreigner? (Ms. Centenera)

As a Filipina mother who holds a postgraduate degree and teaches English in a local elementary school. Therefore, Ms. Centenera meets with many teachers daily, although her son does not attend the school where she works. Nonetheless, Ms. Centenera has felt uneasy when she has to meet with her son's teacher or attend parents' meetings. Moreover, Ms. Centenera was aware of the importance of interactions and relationships with the mothers of her son's classmates, since these types of relationship may help her to improve her support of her son's schooling. In reality, however, she does not have any South Korean friends and most of her friends were Filipinas with whom she speaks in Tagalog or English, although she told me that she wishes to have a good Korean friend.

Both Ms. Kikuchi and Ms. Centenera were well educated and speak Korean far better than other immigrant mothers in this study. However, both mothers returned to a similar concern about their ethnic and language backgrounds saying, "Because I am a foreign (Japanese or Filipina) mother." That is, the fact that they are not native has prevented them from being actively involved in their children's education one way or

another, despite the fact that they are educated, have fluent language skills and in-depth knowledge of the society, and in some Filipina mothers' cases, also have successful career. However, because foreign mothers were born, raised, and educated in countries other than South Korea, hurdles and discriminations appear permanent and unavoidable. Discrimination is directed at them solely on the basis of their race/ethnicity and original nationality. Unless either their identity or the perspective of South Koreans regarding non-native South Korean is transformed, the current challenges may continue to hinder foreign mothers' involvement in their children's education.

Korean name, citizenship and stereotype

Some foreign mothers obtained South Korean names and citizenship to overcome the challenges generated in the enormously homogenous socio-cultural and ethnic context of South Korea. In particular, with an aim to protect their children from any discrimination including bullying in school, some foreign mothers decided to abandon their original names and/or citizenship and obtained Korean ones to cover their identity in formal documents. During my fieldwork, I encountered several foreign mothers who initially introduced themselves with their Korean names to me; most of them told me that they changed their name to help their children's adjustment to school and because to prevent discrimination based on maternal nationality.

I changed my name and acquired South Korean citizenship right before my first child was born. I changed my name because I thought 'if I keep my Vietnamese name it might cause confusion when my children go to school, particularly if my Vietnamese name appears in formal documents.' Well, my name is a bit long and hard to pronounce too. It is better to have a short and easy name, isn't it? (Ms. Phan)

Ms. Phan's concerns regarding ease of pronunciation may be valid, given the homogenous ethnic composition of South Korea and the resulting lack of cultural diversity. However, I discovered that most Vietnamese mothers' names were not longer, but rather shorter, than common Korean names, given that Korean names comprise two to three syllables and Koreans perceive the length of words according to the number of syllables that each word comprises. Nonetheless, all Vietnamese mothers whom I met have changed their names when they acquired South Korean citizenship and introduced themselves to me in Korean names, except for Ms. Duyen. Although Ms. Duyen did not pick a Korean name, her motivation when she obtained South Korean citizenship was similar to that of other mothers who changed their names for their children's schooling.

I obtained South Korean citizenship, but I did not change my name. In fact, it's been only a couple of years since I obtained the citizenship, although I have been living here more than ten years. I did not want to obtain South Korean citizenship, but I decided to do so for my children. I thought it might be complicated when my sons enter school, if I don't change my nationality. Anyway, I have to raise my children in South Korea. (Ms. Duyen)

That is, some foreign mothers like Ms. Duyen and Ms. Phan had a hope that by presenting themselves with Korean names and/or citizenship on the documents that they submit to school when their children enter the South Korean public education system, they would be able to hide their families' interracial backgrounds from their children's teachers. In this way, they believed that any potential discrimination that their children may otherwise encounter at school would be prevented or, at least, decreased. However, if foreign mothers perceive that their identity needs to be disguised for the benefits of their children at school, it is very unlikely that they would actively attend school-based activities, as their foreign backgrounds could be uncovered by their presence at these

events. Furthermore, given the type of efforts to provide their children with a platform where they could be considered as “native South Korean,” it stands to reason that they had multiple negative experiences sending their children to school, approximately 8 years on average, which have led them to believe that their children may experience difficulties because of maternal nationality.

Some people said to me, “You came to this country because there is nothing in the Philippines.” Then, I replied to them: “Please don’t say things like that. There are poor people as well as rich ones in the Philippines. It is same with this country where there are rich as well as poor people.” Then, they seemed to understand. However, whenever I hear things like that, I feel really offended and frustrated. (Ms. Roco)

Ms. Roco told me that she was hurt by people who assumed that she married her husband only to escape from hunger and extreme poverty. Ms. Centenera also shared with me that people stared at her in public spaces with suspicious eyes as if they need to check out her outfit, accessories, etc. She told me that because people often observe her in public spaces, she feels that she needs to wear appropriate clothing and to behave nicely so that they (South Korean people) would not look down her as well as other people from the Philippines. She becomes an ambassador for the Philippines.

In addition, Ms. Duyen told me that her elder son was bullied in preschool several times and was hurt because one of his friends’ mothers told her son not to play with Ms. Duyen’s son simply because Ms. Duyen is Vietnamese. Ms. Duyen also said that she got the impression from the first preschool her older son attended that the teachers there paid less attention to her son compared to other (Korean) children in the same class. One day she went to pick up her son, but no one there knew where he was—he was sleeping in a doll’s house without any supervision—and she believed that the same thing would not

happen if she were a South Korean mother. Ms. Duyen obtained South Korean citizenship as a proactive effort made for her children based upon her previous experiences.

I have encountered various discriminatory remarks about foreign mothers made by South Koreans during my fieldwork as well as through the mass media. In particular, I discovered that because foreign mothers are from so-called developing countries, their motivation for intermarriage is attributed solely to economic benefits. These benefits include not only the expectation of better living conditions for the immigrants in South Korea, but also monetary support for native families back home. Furthermore, foreign mothers are presumed to be indifferent to other family matters, including their children's education, while striving to ensure easy access economic opportunities in society, including social welfare benefits by securing South Korean citizenship.

For example, Ms. H. Sun, the Director of the Center for Multicultural Families in Daesung County, asserted that economic benefits are the prime-driving factor of interracial marriage, especially from the women's side. Ms. H. Sun insisted that interracial marriage enables women from poor countries to escape from their economic hardships and to provide financial aid for their native families afterwards by transferring their husband's money, or the money they would make in South Korea with permanent residential status (easily obtained through marriage), to their families in their native countries.

Ms. H. Sun even told me that she has felt sorry for the future "native South Korean" generation because of the enormous social cost that would be generated by interracial families and their descendants. Specifically, she predicted that interracial

children would become an undereducated marginalized group because they have foreign mothers who do not properly support their children's education. Moreover, she asserted that foreign mothers would drain money from South Korea by receiving payouts from the South Korean national pension fund in their native countries, because She believes these marriage immigrants would leave the country after their "old" husbands passed away—the average age difference of those interracial couples, for example Vietnamese-Korean marriages is over 17 years (J. Kim, 2010).

Ms. H. Sun's perception of foreign mothers can provide some crucial implications to speculate the type of prejudice that foreign mothers may face in South Korean society. Ms. H. Sun is one of few South Koreans who have substantial contacts with foreign mothers, and, moreover, her profession is to advocate for the basic rights and welfare of multicultural families. In particular, her worry about the future of South Korean society especially regarding the money drain that may be generated by foreign mothers who would take advantage of South Korea's social welfare system is too early to be an accurate prediction, and there is no evidence or any substantial data to support her argument.

In contrast to her prediction, however, most foreign mothers in this study expressed their wishes to stay in South Korea for the rest of their lives. Some mothers simply said that South Korea is where their homes are. Moreover, many others told me that they discover themselves becoming "more Korean" and "less Filipina, Japanese, Thai and Vietnamese" as the time that they have spent in South Korea has increased. A couple of mothers told me that they might return to their native countries; however, no one told me that they want to leave their husband and return their countries of origin by

themselves. On the contrary, they may go back to their native countries with their husbands either because of some social or economic opportunities that they foresee now or because of the difficulties that they have faced in South Korea, including discrimination and prejudices. That is, some foreign mothers' wishes to return to their country of origin appear to have been generated as a consequence of their experiences in South Korea, rather than a part of their initial plan when they married South Korean men.

Not all of the interpretations of Ms. H. Sun on issues regarding foreign mothers appear inaccurate. South Korean citizenship might be one of the benefits that foreign mothers can obtain through interracial marriage, which is seen as a pet especially for some mothers from developing countries. For example, several foreign mothers told me stories of their friends, family members, or acquaintances who experienced difficulties entering South Korea because of the strict immigrant control imposed on people from developing countries. For example, Ms. Pichaya's maternal family from Thailand visited her several years ago with the financial aid of a philanthropic private foundation in South Korea. According to Ms. Pichaya, however, her mother and brother were not allowed to stay in South Korea longer than four days because the foundation was afraid of losing control over the Thai visitors and that they might disappear and stay in South Korea illegally.

Although it is uncertain whether Ms. Pichaya's interpretation is correct, it appears that the experience of Ms. Pichaya's family certainly reflects the type of difficulties that people from developing countries may face when they enter and/or stay in South Korea. Ms. Lim, Ms. Paras, and several others also mentioned the privilege of obtaining South

Korean visa or citizenship, especially for people from countries such as China or the Philippines, and shared their personal experiences and understandings.

It is very difficult for Chinese to obtain South Korean citizenship except through marriage. For example, my brother is with my family here, but he has to work very hard and study a lot to apply for the citizenship [.....]. His Korean proficiency is not that at level yet. In particular, I heard that it is very hard to pass the written examination. (Ms. Lim)

Coming to Korea is very difficult. I introduced a Filipina girl to one Korean (guy in my village), and it has been already eight months since they got married, but (she has) not come yet; she has been waiting for the visa already eight months, because it is difficult to get a Korean visa, and the rules been kept changing. (Ms. Paras)

However, in contrast with the perception that foreign mothers do not seem to be interested in children's education and may have obtained South Korean citizenship solely for economic benefits, many foreign mothers expressed their wishes to support their children's schooling by presenting themselves as South Korean to schoolteachers, at least in terms of their legal status. Moreover, it appears that several foreign mothers have changed their names and citizenship aiming to adjust to South Korean society by becoming legitimate members. Thus, their new Korean names symbolically represent their legal and social status within the society.

However, despite the time that they have spent in the country, their citizenship, language ability or emotional and psychological attachment to the country, these immigrant mothers appear to be regarded as foreigners rather than South Koreans with one of many kinds of possible backgrounds. Some foreign mothers shared their frustrations with me in the process of developing the sense of belonging to the society including Ms. Roco said:

I believe I am a South Korean now. So, when someone asks me “where are you from?” I would answer, “I am not coming from anywhere else. I am just a Korean.” However, people were suspicious about my answer because of my face and challenged me, “why you are saying you are a Korean when you have a different look?” Then, I answered. “I am a Korean because I have lived here for more than 15 years and because I have Korean citizenship. (Ms. Roco)

Ms. Roco’s account represents the type of struggles that foreign mothers have gone through and would continue to experience in South Korea given the extremely homogenous social composition of the country. Thus, for mothers like Ms. Roco, Ms. Duyen, Ms. Phan, Ms. Centenera, and many others, gaining a South Korean name and citizenship becomes a kind of maternal involvement in support of their children’s schooling as well as an attempt to identify themselves properly in society. As mentioned earlier, mothers have made these sorts of efforts because they have come to believe that their children might be disadvantaged due to maternal heritage and unchangeable traits such as ethnic and racial backgrounds.

In addition, people, who attribute the citizenship issues solely to the economic benefits that may follow, assume that Japanese mothers, being from a developed country, would not obtain South Korean citizenship. However, the Japanese mothers with whom I met showed the whole range of the spectrum regarding their attachment to the South Korean and Japanese society. Their attitudes toward South Korean citizenship were not unanimous: Ms. Masahiro, who married in 1998, told me that she feels like she has become almost a Korean now, Ms. Nagashima said she is half and half, while Ms. Kikuchi said she would obtain South Korean citizenship in the near future.

I still keep my Japanese citizenship, however, I am thinking of changing it into South Korean in the near future. I did not do it last time (when she married) because I worried my parents would be sad if I abandon my Japanese citizenship too early. Also I thought it would be easier for me to hold Japanese passport when

I visit my parents. But now I am thinking it would not be a problem to have South Korean one to travel Japan. I will obtain South Korean citizenship because I will live here. (Ms. Kikuchi)

Ms. Kikuchi has lived in South Korea for almost 15 years, and including the three years of preparation period before her marriage, Ms. Kikuchi has been exposed to Korean culture and language for almost two decades. Ms. Kikuchi also told me that now she feels different among her native family members due to the change in her communication style, which has become closer to the Korean style. However, she feels that she still has many things to learn about Korean language and culture. However, as her time in South Korea passes, she attaches herself more to South Korean society, where she has built her own family.

Ms. Yamamoto, however, a Japanese mother who has lived in South Korea since 1997, and has three daughters in second, fourth and sixth grades, told me that although she has been living in South Korea almost 13 years, she is, and always will be, Japanese. Having a strong self-identification as an ethnic Japanese, she has been active in learning diverse things about South Korea as well, not only the language and culture, but also various technical skills and knowledge, such as fabric art and design for her future career. Furthermore, Ms. Yamamoto, who teaches Japanese in a local primary school, was the only foreign mother in this study whose children were actually raised as bilinguals. It appears that Ms. Yamamoto's clear identification as a Japanese mother is closely related to her daughters' Japanese language proficiency. Ms. Yamamoto told me that she explicitly addresses herself as a Japanese mother to her daughters, and tries to speak Japanese at home as much as possible. At the same time, Ms. Yamamoto told me that she has tried very hard to learn Korean to become a model for her daughters. Accordingly,

her Korean was exceptional; the conversation that I had with her flowed seamlessly and our interview lasted for almost 4 hours.

Thus, depending on individual foreign mothers, South Korean citizenship can be regarded as an option as a result of their adjustment to the society or lack thereof. For example, Ms. Kikuchi is raising her three sons as Korean and she feels herself transforming into a Korean, she would change her citizenship. However, Ms. Yamamoto, who confidently upholds her Japanese identity and raises her daughters as bilingual believes her children can embrace both Korean and Japanese heritages. She does not feel it is necessary to acquire South Korean citizenship. In fact, Ms. Kikuchi told me that her sons started to learn Japanese at school in Ms. Yamamoto's class.

The biggest ethnic group of all interracial students is the Japanese who are from a richer country than South Korea. 20% of study participants were Japanese mothers (see, Table 8). Moreover, 13 out of 20 mothers met their husbands in ways other than through professional matchmakers; ten mothers were introduced through their religious community (*Tongilgyo*) and the rest three in different ways. Given that foreign mothers married South Korean men through various ways, it stands to reason that these mothers' motivation for intermarriage would be diverse as well.

For example, Ms. Pongsong said that she married her husband because of the social pressure she received as a single woman in her 30s living in Bangkok, although she had a successful career. She said that she was not really thinking of a Korean or Japanese man, but just searched for a proper person for her because she could not find any in her country. That is, Ms. Pongsong regarded the intermarriage with South Korean as one of many options for potential husband. In Ms. Paras' case, she said that she married her

husband in the hope of building an ideal family that was promised by a religious leader whom she happened to meet in her senior year on campus. She said that because she lost her mother when she was still a secondary student, the message to build an ideal family struck her so strongly that she could not wait to finish her last semester at the university. Half of the foreign mothers within this study met their spouses through this same religious community.

Moreover, even if the economic benefits might be a driving factor for some foreign mothers when they met their South Korean spouses through international matchmaking agencies, it does not mean that these women continually perceive their marriage only from the economic standpoint. As Faier's (2007) excellent ethnography about intermarriage between Filipina temporary immigrants and Japanese peasant in a Japanese rural region delineates, the motivations and emotions related to marriage are changeable. For example, a Filipina confessed that her prime reason to marry a Japanese man was to ensure their immigrant status. However, she asserted that her mind has been changed: " "Only in the beginning," she responded. "Not any more. I love my husband." "(Faier, 2007, p. 148) Therefore, it is hard to assert that female marriage immigrants in South Korea who met their spouses through professional matchmaking agencies would be only interested in economic benefits while they are indifferent about other family issues, including their children's education.

In sum, there seems to be a variety of factors that influence foreign mothers' self-identification and attitudes toward South Korean society, which would critically influence their school-based maternal involvement style. For some mothers, the time they spent in South Korea is a decisive factor in the construction of their self-identification,

and thereby their maternal involvement style, while for others that is not the case. As a result, some mothers have chosen to change their nationality as well as their names believing it would help their children's adjustment to school. Other mothers, like Ms. Yamamoto does not consider citizenship as a primary way to support her children's schooling, adopting other types of maternal involvement styles instead.

Events that focused on multicultural families

Parents are willing to participate in one-off school events if their children's teacher request it, even when they may not have sufficient time and/or resources, as long as it does not require a continuous dedication of the same (Anderson & Minke, 2007). Similarly, foreign mothers appear to visit schools when there are specific invitations from their children's schoolteachers, even for events that they would not be willing to attend otherwise. In particular, foreign mothers prefer to join the type of school events through which they can contribute to the school, or when the events are specially designed for them.

First, Ms. Kikuchi, and Ms. Yamamoto mentioned special meetings for foreign mothers and their children's schoolteachers, arranged by their children's school. Instead of having formal programs, this meeting is an informal lunch meeting between foreign mothers and their children's schoolteachers once a semester. It occurs in a local restaurant, and foreign mothers are not expected to pay anything. According to Ms. Kikuchi and Ms. Yamamoto, these sorts of meetings are beneficial because they can get to know their children's schoolteachers better through these opportunities. Both mothers told me that in the beginning, they did not feel comfortable meeting a lot of teachers at once. However, through these experiences, they were encouraged and more confident to

approach their children's schoolteachers more readily than before. This gave them access to useful information about their children's schooling.

At the same time, however, Ms. Kikuchi said, although she was very grateful for the school's special care for interracial students and their families, she also worried that she received too much support from school. In particular, Ms. Kikuchi mentioned the Korean traditional relationship between parents and teachers, that mothers are supposed to provide gifts and services for schools and teachers not vice versa. It is unclear whether Ms. Kikuchi ever received any complains from South Korean people about the special cares that she has received from her sons' schools. However, it seems that those types of events or governmental support offered exclusively for foreign mothers have attracted concerns and complaints from South Koreans.

For example, Ms. H. Kwak who is a good friend of Ms. Pongsong, made a joke that sometimes she feels jealous of Ms. Pongsong and her Vietnamese sister-in-law because of the abundant governmental supports for these foreign mothers. Ms. H. Sun warned that the current governmental aid for interracial families might have sent the wrong message to interracial families as if the government would take care of everything for them for free. This may have unintentionally discouraged their long-term adjustment to the country. Ms. Y. Rhee, who is a former public officer of the CMF, said that she felt uncomfortable when she had to allocate governmental aid exclusively for foreign mothers, while she noticed there were native South Korean people whose life circumstances were worse than those foreign mothers who received the aid. In addition, except for Ms. Kikuchi, and Ms. Yamamoto, there were no other foreign mothers who mentioned the lunch meetings with schoolteachers. This suggests that either the information about the

lunch meeting was not properly delivered to other mothers, or other foreign mothers declined the offer, even though it was from their children's teachers. In either case, it is interesting to note that only two out of twelve foreign mothers whose children were school-age were actually involved in those meetings.

Second, foreign mothers actively participate in school events when they can contribute something to the events. In particular, several foreign mothers were excited talking about their volunteering experiences at multicultural events in their children's schools, which is recently burgeoning across country. Ms. Pongsong and Ms. Yamamoto said they volunteered in the multicultural food festival; Ms. Pichaya volunteered as an interpreter as well as a guest speaker talking about Thai culture; Ms. Besa has taught about culture and history of the Philippines in various institutions; Ms. Paras and Roco were also invited to talk about Philippine society and culture; Ms. Duyen taught Vietnamese culture; Ms. Lim was invited as a guest speaker about Chinese culture, etc.

The mothers who have volunteered for their children's school events told me that these experiences have positively influenced their families. Most of all, children were happy to see their mothers at school events. Mothers believed that, having seen their mothers knowledgeable and capable of delivering lectures, performance, or cooking lessons, children became more self-confident and comfortable with their interracial families. Thus, not only native South Korean students, but also interracial students and their families benefit from those kinds of multicultural events or educational programs. A couple of mothers including Ms. Kikuchi said that they would also willing to go to school for cleaning or distributing lunchboxes to children, while they may feel uncomfortable when they have to visit schools for formal meetings.

In sum, as Anderson and Minke (2007) pointed out, schoolteachers' specific invitations effective at promoting school-based involvement by foreign mothers in their children's education. In particular, foreign mothers preferred to participate in school events through which they can contribute to the school, rather than attend events to receive support from teachers. Considering it is rare for native South Korean students in rural areas to have multicultural experiences, the currently increasing multicultural events in schools, which usually involve foreign mother volunteers, seem to be an excellent way to provide multicultural education for native South Korean students as well as to assist interracial children in learning their mothers' heritage.

5.3.2 Summary

In this section, the maternal involvement patterns of foreign mothers are described in terms of their home-based involvement and school-based involvement in regard to their children's education. Similar to those working class mothers' involvement styles, which is to wait for the *natural growth* of their children, the overall reinforcement of children's learning at foreign mothers' homes appears to be very limited as well given the nature of conversations they have with children. Moreover, having limited interactions with children, these mothers show the limited extent to which they understand their children's academic performance. It was unclear how these mothers attempt to foster or assess their children's talent or capacity. Accordingly, mothers' educational plans or expectations of their children's future were not specific, but very vague or just idealistic.

One common reason that accounts for foreign mothers' involvement style in their children's education was their Korean language proficiency; foreign mothers often attributed their limited maternal engagement in children's schooling to the language barrier they face. The major medium of communication in interracial families was Korean, and, in general, foreign mothers were hesitant to use their native language in the communication with their children. Although Filipina mothers have been depicted by Korean mass media as the privileged language group who teach their children English effortlessly, it was far from the reality of most Filipina mothers' homes. Often depicted as another privileged language group, Japanese mothers' families seemed not to benefit from the mother's language as well, which was also different from the common assumptions of the mass media reports or the governmental policy documents. In reality, only one Japanese mother's family among the many within this research was partially bilingual; her interracial children could converse in Japanese with their mother, but did not have written Japanese skills. Moreover, her husband had very limited knowledge of Japanese. The tendency of monolingual communication was even stronger in the homes with Vietnamese mothers.

Furthermore, the type of information and knowledge that foreign mothers can acquire regarding their children's development, such as their academic aptitude or talents, which is crucial to support children effectively, were presumed to be limited because mothers refuse to converse with their children in their native language. Because of the lack of proper information on their children, the scope of the mothers' involvement in children's education became restricted, and their expectations on their children's education and future became abstract, thus preventing them from providing specific and

effective support for their children's educational success. As long as Korean is regarded as the only proper language as the medium of education in interracial families, foreign mothers' interactions with their children cannot help but continue to be passive. Even foreign mothers who were exceptionally fluent Korean speakers had difficulties to communicate solely in Korean. Therefore, although mothers may have high educational aspirations for their children and wish to support their children in various ways, those mothers' attempts would be rarely realized.

Given the importance of extra-curricular activities in Korea, the type of extracurricular activities that foreign mothers allow for their children was investigated to understand different parenting styles. Foreign mothers show three major patterns in regard to the extracurricular activities that foreign mothers provide for their children: first, foreign mothers send their children to *hakwon* at the request of their children rather than based on the mother's specific educational goals; second, one of the most significant factors that influence the mothers' decisions about their children's extracurricular activities is economic affordability and not a specific educational motivation or intention; third, some mothers feel that they are obligated to send their children to a *hakwon* because they perceive that is what native South Korean mothers do and therefore is a proper way to support children's development.

In addition, several mothers expressed concerns about their ethnic and language backgrounds saying "because I am a foreign [Japanese or Filipina] mother," which prevented them from actively participating in their children's school events. In other words, even if they were educated, had fluent language skills and knowledge of the society or even had a successful career, the fact that mothers are not native in the South

Korean society had prevented them from being actively involved in their children's education one way or another. Various factors presumably influence foreign mothers' self-identification and attitudes toward South Korean society, which could critically influence their school-based maternal involvement style. For some mothers, the time they spent in South Korea is a decisive factor in the construction of their self-identification, and thereby their maternal involvement style, while for others it is not the case. As a result, some mothers have chosen to change their nationality as well as their names believing it would help their children's adjustment to school. Mothers like Ms. Yamamoto do not consider citizenship as a primary way to support their children's schooling but choose to employ other types of maternal involvement styles to support their children's schooling.

Additionally, as Anderson and Minke (2007) pointed out, schoolteachers' specific invitations were effective in encouraging foreign mothers to increase their school-based involvement in their children's education. In particular, foreign mothers prefer to participate in school events in which they can contribute to the school, rather than visit events to receive supports from schoolteachers. Considering it is rare for native South Korean students in rural areas to have multicultural experiences, the current increase in multicultural events in schools, which usually involve foreign mother volunteers, seem to be an excellent way to provide multicultural education for native South Korean students as well as to assist interracial children to learn their mother's heritage.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the study and its findings. I then summarize the nature and scope of foreign mothers' cultural and social capital in relation to their styles of involvement in their children's education guided by the theoretical model suggested earlier (Figure 10, p.108). I then put these findings into a wider context within the literature, contributing to a more finely nuanced understanding of immigrant populations' experiences regarding their children's education. The chapter ends with policy implications and suggestions for future research.

6.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

6.1.1 Foreign mothers' cultural capital and their compliance with the norms of the rural community

It appeared that foreign mothers frequently felt pressure to raise their children to be indistinguishable among other South Korean children. Some foreign mothers and South Korean fathers mentioned that they would like their children to become competent in both their mother's and father's languages and cultures, but mothers' languages and cultures were treated as something extra rather than essential or valuable, even including

languages such as English and Japanese that are treated as important capital in South Korean society. Accordingly, the priority of parenting was on the acquisition of the norms and values of South Korean mothers. However, because the majority of mothers did not have substantial opportunities to learn about the values of the dominant group, their abstract understanding of South Korean society and the limited scope of their experiences in the rural community guided their understanding of appropriate parenting.

- **Foreign mothers' maternal role construction:** Almost all foreign mother interviewees had high aspirations for their children's education. However, only a few mothers have actualized their wishes for their children's education by making specific education plans or engaging in their children's education effectively either at home or through school activities.
- **Foreign mothers' self-efficacy:** The majority of participants self-identified as foreign mothers, and this appeared to influence substantially their style of involvement in their children's education. Only one mother strongly identified as a foreigner without linking this to any value judgment. The rest of mothers perceived their immigrant backgrounds negatively. As a result, they were disadvantaged or marginalized.
- **Being perceived as "foreigners":** The strong self-identification of mothers as "foreigners," regardless of their current citizenship status or knowledge of the society and the language, appeared to be developed and reinforced through their interactions with their family members, relatives, neighbors, and the broader society, which often involved discrimination and stereotypes. Foreign mothers were frustrated by their perception of South Korean society as extremely

exclusive, as it bestows South Korean nationality only to those born in the country. . For example, even *Chosunjok* (ethnic Koreans from China) and North Korean defectors are not defined as “South Koreans.”

- **Foreign mothers’ roles as the major caregivers and educators in their families:** While family members and the broader society perceived foreign mothers as “foreigners,” they expected those mothers to play the major role in raising and educating their interracial children in the way native South Korean mothers do. This implies monolingual communication and a monocultural home environment, which exclude foreign mothers’ native culture and language from their interactions with their children. Nonetheless, most foreign mothers were expected to play the major caregivers’ and educators’ roles to comply with the traditional gender roles assigned by their Korean spouses or elder family members. Additionally, since their Korean spouses worked outside the home, they were unavailable for this role.
- **Rarely seeking out help, advice, and information from native South Koreans:** The majority of mothers believe that “native South Koreans know better than me,” but rarely sought out help, advice, and information from native South Koreans, including their spouses, family members, neighbors etc. for three reasons:
 - 1) They were the principal caregivers and educators in their family, and, thereby believed that they needed to figure out things regarding their children’s education by themselves;
 - 2) They did not know where to inquire—not many foreign mothers had close relationships with South Koreans except their family members or

relatives;

3) They felt embarrassed to expose their situation to others. Some Vietnamese mothers even said, “It is a private issue.” Several mothers were afraid of being judged by doing so and perceived as “incapable because they are foreigners.”

- **Monolingual and monoculture in interracial families:** The transmission of mothers’ cultural capital barely happened because: 1) Bilingual communication and biculturalism were not welcomed, and were even prohibited in some interracial families; and, 2) foreign mothers were expected to educate and support their children in the way of South Korean mothers, which means the medium of daily communication as well as education at home should be Korean. It proved difficult for them to find the extra time and resources to transmit their own languages and cultures to their children. Mothers may find time to teach their original languages and cultures once their children master those of Korean, but this is disadvantageous because doing so prevents their children from being raised as “genuine Koreans.”
- **Mothers’ experiences of being discriminated:** Also, given the experiences of being disadvantaged and stereotyped due to their immigrant backgrounds, most foreign mothers determined to raise their children as “genuine Koreans” who would be indistinguishable from other South Koreans. This wish was developed and reinforced by the discriminations and disadvantages that they experienced (“worries about people’s *sisun* [eyes, perceptions]”) and by frustration when they tried to follow South Korean mothers’ example, while their heritage and previous

experiences were often ignored.

- **Mothers' embodied and institutional forms of cultural capital:** In addition to the languages and cultures of foreign mothers, which were not supposed to be utilized in their maternal involvement in their children's education, other values, such as the educational philosophy and professional experiences of those mothers, appeared to be excluded from their parenting as well. In particular, when those values were unlike with those of the elderly family members or the way societal norms were perceived by foreign mothers. For example, even mothers whose native language was English or Japanese, which are highly valued in South Korea, did not teach their children these languages.
- **Wishes to emulate South Korean mothers:** The majority of foreign mothers had high aspirations for their children's education. Interestingly, however, foreign mothers' high aspirations for their children's education were often related to their wishes to meet the social standards of South Korea by emulating South Korean mothers' maternal involvement style, i.e., sending their children to *hakwon*, or hoping the child attends college.
- **Rare contacts with South Korean mothers and limited knowledge of the societal norms:** The most common strategy adopted by foreign mothers in regard to their children's education is to emulate South Korean mothers. However, most foreign mothers did not have substantial interactions with native South Koreans or the overall South Korean society. Thus, the maternal involvement style of South Koreans or the societal norms that foreign mothers believed and upheld might not be influenced by substantial interactions with South Koreans or a concrete

understanding of the society, but rather shallow and abstract ones.

- **Foreign mothers' perception of their life context:** Foreign mothers' perception of life context (resources and capacity) is closely related to their self-efficacy. This is because some knowledge and skills, such as the Korean language level, substantially influence their self-efficacy and are regarded as important for successful involvement in their children's education. Most mothers mentioned their family's economic condition as the prerequisite of successful parenting because they believed that it would be better to put their children's education in professional educators' hands than theirs.
- **Foreign mothers' compliance with the values of the community:** When foreign mothers discover that their original educational philosophy contradicts that of the society where they are currently situated, they would rather choose to follow the new societal norms, although they may still not agree with them for the benefits of their children. As a result, their belief about proper support for their children's development is compromised or usually given up. This hinders foreign mothers from contributing to any positive changes and improvement of the society such as some patriarchic values that families in rural areas might still uphold. However, in most cases, foreign mothers yield to the traditional values and practices of the rural society.

6.1.2 Foreign mothers' social capital and South Korean family members' and relatives' role as a bridge for them to the broader society

The two types of people with whom foreign mothers predominantly interacted, except for their spouses, were their ethnic group members or relatives—either native South Korean relatives or original family. Some mothers had stronger connections with their original families or their husbands' families, while others had developed friendships with native South Koreans.

- **Social relationships centered on same ethnic groups, but limited interactions with South Koreans:** Overall, foreign mothers have built close relationships with other foreign mothers, especially mothers from their own ethnic groups, and the characteristics of their social relationships were mostly informal, comprised of a small number of ethnic friends. However, it seemed difficult for most foreign mothers to build personal relationships with South Korean mothers. Some native South Korean family members or relatives intervened successfully to help build relationships between foreign mothers and South Korean people.
- **Large portion of elderly populations in rural areas:** Foreign mothers tended to have strong social relationships with people who were from the same ethnicities or who were geographically close. The scope of foreign mothers' social relationships was restricted because of the large proportion of elderly people and the small number of young people with immigrant backgrounds in the rural community where they were situated.

- **Low participation rate in their former community:** The majority of foreign mothers do not participate in their communities regularly. *Tongilgyo* was the only institutional community where several foreign mothers were involved regularly, especially those who married through that religious community. For most Japanese mothers who actively attended the religious meetings, it was an important social network and information source.
- **The significance of Korean language classes and teachers:** Most foreign mothers have attended Korean language programs, and these classes contributed to engender social relationships among the mothers. Korean language teachers played an important role in the foreign mothers' adjustment process by providing information and support. Korean language teachers' voluntary efforts and extra-services were not rewarded with any additional benefits, although their role for the adjustment of foreign mothers was crucial not only as the information channel, but also for emotional support.
- **Relationships with educators:** Not many foreign mothers actively interacted with either their children's schoolteachers or *hakwon* teachers. In most cases, foreign mothers' conversations with their children's schoolteachers or teachers in *hakwon* were restricted to ensuring whether their children were "fine" in *hakwon*, rather than discussing the contents of the actual learning there. Most foreign mothers felt uncomfortable interacting with their children's schoolteachers, except Ms. Kikuchi and Yamamoto. Only these two mothers engaged in children's learning closely and asked questions about their children's learning experiences there (i.e., academic progress or development). Interestingly, some

mothers said their Korean language proficiency varied depending on the listeners' attitude. When their children's schoolteachers seemed to be interested in listening to them, those mothers felt less pressured and more comfortable conversing in Korean.

- **Information channels:** The scope of foreign mothers' information channels about their children's education mirrored the characteristics of their social and religious activities and the scope of their social relationships with their ethnic members, native South Korean relatives, and neighbors. Additionally, foreign mothers seldom visited Internet websites as an information source for children's education, although some mothers searched for information by reading books.

6.1.3 Foreign mothers' parenting style: Making minimum intervention in children's "*natural growth*" both at home and in school activities

The parenting style of foreign mothers in this study was similar to the US working class parents who waited for the "*natural growth*" of their children in a study by Lareau (1987, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). The conversations of foreign mothers' with their children seldom involved topics that were intended to stimulate their children's intellectual, emotional, linguistic, or cultural development. Foreign mothers' relationships with their children's school were similar to those of the US working class parents. Foreign mothers often distanced themselves from schoolteachers and just tried to comply school policies believing "educators know better." Instead of simply leaving their children's schooling in educators' hands, however, middle class parents in the US sometimes challenged and even attempted to alter school policies for the benefit of their children (Lareau, 1987,

2003).

- **Conversations on simple levels:** The overall reinforcement of children's learning by foreign mothers appeared to be very limited given the nature of conversations that they have with their children. Some mothers believed that they had a substantial amount of conversation with their children. However, what they actually discussed with their children were trivial topics such as food and homework.
- **Restricted information about their children's development:** The type of information and knowledge foreign mothers acquired regarding their children's development, such as their academic aptitude or talents—which are crucial to support children effectively—seemed to be limited because mothers were not supposed to converse with their children in their native languages. Because of a lack of proper information on their children, the scope of mothers' involvement in their children's education could not help but be restricted and their expectations about their children's education and futures became abstract. This prevented them from providing specific and effective support for their children's educational success. Foreign mothers, including exceptionally fluent Korean speakers, had difficulties in communicating solely in Korean. Therefore, although mothers may have high educational aspirations for their children and wish to support their children in various ways, those mothers' attempts would be unlikely to be actualized.
- **Extracurricular activities:** Foreign mothers showed three major patterns with regard to the extracurricular activities that they provide for their children: first,

foreign mothers sent their children to *hakwon* at the request of their children rather than based on their specific educational goals. Second, one of the most significant factors that influenced their decisions about their children's extracurricular activities was affordability and not a specific educational motivation or intention. Third, some mothers felt that they were obligated to send their children to *hakwon* because they perceived it as what native South Korean mothers would do and, therefore, the proper way to support their children's development.

- **Acquiring Korean citizenship to support their children's education:** Some mothers chose to adopt Korean nationality as names, believing it may help their children's adjustment to school. These mothers seemed to believe that they could help their children receive less unnecessary attention and avoid discriminatory experiences at school by doing so. Only one mother did not consider citizenship as a primary way to support her children's schooling, employing other types of maternal involvement styles instead.
- **School events targeted at foreign mothers' participation:** Foreign mothers preferred attending school events through which they could contribute, compared to visiting schools just to receive support from schoolteachers. In addition, foreign mothers appeared to worry about being among many South Korean mothers because most of them were not confident about their language skills.

6.2 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FINDINGS

One of the important contributions of this study is a description of the type of social and cultural capital that foreign mothers possess, and the mechanism that influenced them either to use or ignore these nonmaterial resources in their involvement in their children's education. The initial theoretical model of this study was a synthesis of parental involvement process model of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997) and cultural and social capital theory (Figure 10, p.108); I utilized the conceptual richness of cultural and social capital theory to delineate empirically some socio-cultural factors suggested to be influential in parents' involvement in their children's education in the literature. By doing so, I provide the in-depth explanation of foreign mothers' parenting experiences in South Korea.

Also, this study makes some important contributions to the development of parental involvement theory and cultural and social capital theory. In particular, this study depicts the hidden process of the negotiations of various socio-cultural factors in foreign mothers' daily lives regarding their children's education. This type of description is distinct from the prior literature of parental involvement; it describes the inter-relationships among the circumstantial factors in foreign mothers' lives, which were reduced as separate measurable variables in the earlier literature including in the Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) model. By providing the in-depth description of the characteristics of foreign mothers cultural and social capital, this study contributes to the development of these two important societal theories as well.

Figure 13 delineates the process of foreign mothers' involvement in their children's education, starting from two distinct positions: 1) mothers who have high

aspirations for their children’s education; and, 2) mothers who do not.

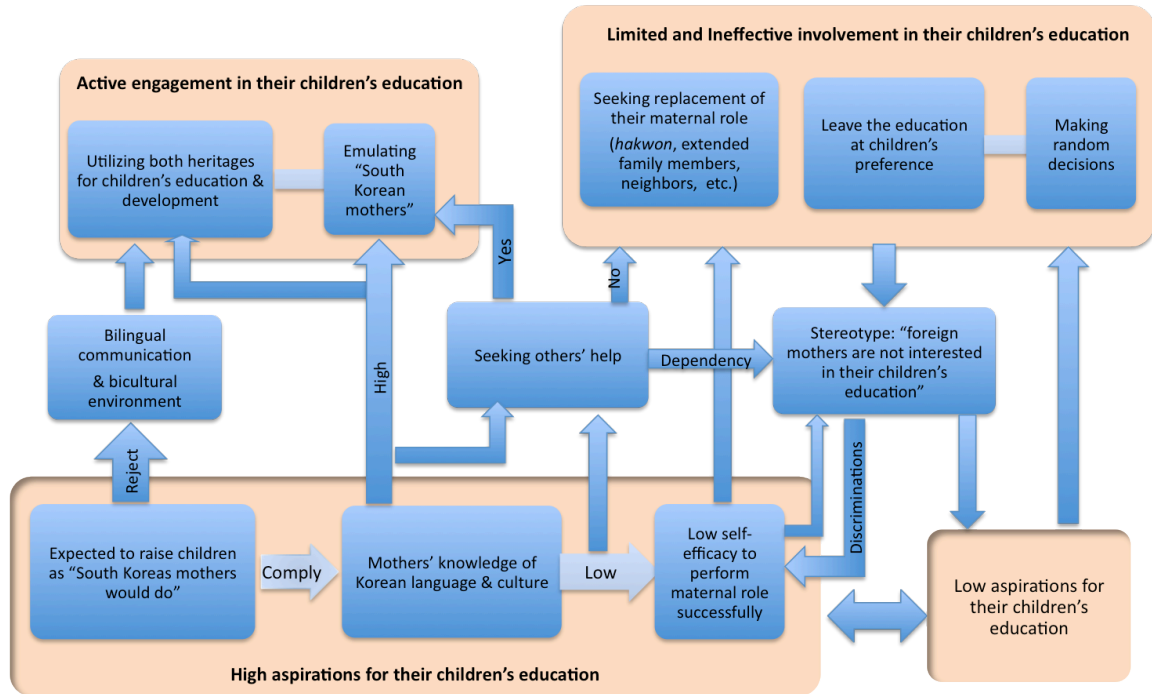


Figure 13. The process of foreign mothers’ involvement in their children’s education

I first explain the mechanism through which the mothers who have higher educational aspirations make decisions regarding their children’s education. In contrast to the popular stereotype of foreign mothers and their interracial families—that they are uninterested in their children’s education—most foreign mothers in this study showed high aspirations and expectations regarding their children’s education and future. However, as in previous studies, not all of the high maternal aspirations are actualized through their daily involvement in their children’s education. This disconnect between aspirations and behavior has not yet been explained substantially in the literature.

The findings of this study suggest that foreign mothers’ high aspirations for their children’s education were not easily transformed into practice for several reasons. First, the most prominent hindrance was the perceived pressure to raise and educate their children in the same manner as other South Korean children. This expectation implies

monolingual communication and a monocultural home environment. Only one mother opposed this societal pressure and tried to teach her children both parents' languages and cultures.

When mothers chose to comply the societal expectations, their knowledge of Korean language and culture become prime factor deciding their maternal involvement pattern. Mothers could satisfy the societal expectation to raise their children in the "South Korean style," when they were knowledgeable in Korean language and culture. With fluency in the dominant language and society, these mothers seemed to have better access to information and resources in support of their children's education. However, since most foreign mothers were not confident of their knowledge of Korean language and culture, the expectation to use only Korean in their interactions with their interracial children seemed to discourage many from being actively involved in their children's learning.

Only two types of mother showed active involvement in their children's education under this pressure: first, mothers who had gained a functional fluency in Korean language and culture, enabling them to teach their children and locate appropriate resources—they tended to "seek out others' help" effectively as suggested in Figure 13; second, those who managed to oppose the societal expectations of monolingual and mono-culturalism. The latter managed to use the embodied and institutionalized forms of cultural capital, such as the information and knowledge acquired through their education and experiences from their home country, which had been delivered in their native language. These two types of mothers all continued to have high aspirations for their children's education.

However, most mothers who were not competent in the Korean language tended to either seek out others' help or develop lower self-efficacy, which functioned in an indistinguishable manner. These mothers expressed doubts about their ability to engage in their children's education effectively, which they often attributed to their immigrant backgrounds and led them to believe "South Koreans might know and teach better than them." This type of incompetence felt by most foreign mothers had prevented them from engaging in their children's learning actively as well as from seeking out information and resources needed for successful parenting.

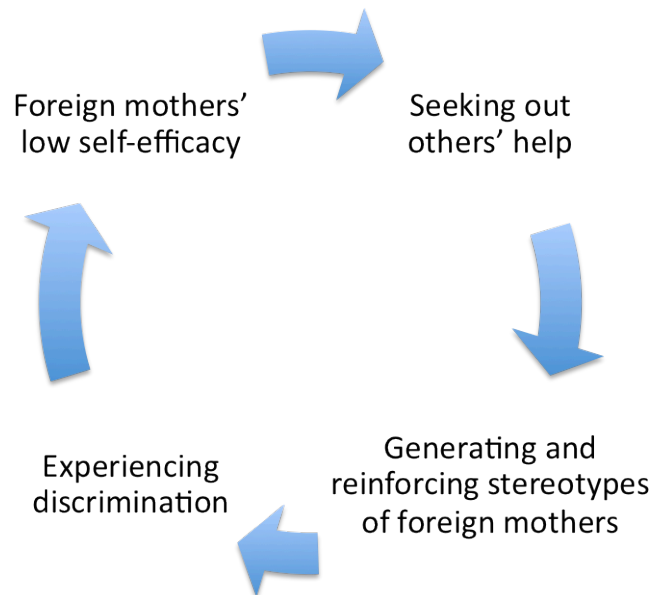


Figure 14. The vicious cycle of the low self-efficacy of foreign mothers

Furthermore, the low self-efficacy of most foreign mothers appeared to reinforce the stereotype that foreign mothers are uninterested in their children's education. This stereotype seemed to be generated and reinforced especially when mothers tried to seek out others' help. Some South Korean interviewees mentioned this act of seeking help as

an evidence of foreign mothers' dependency or lack of maternal role construction as major caregivers and educators of their family. Unfortunately, foreign mothers' self-efficacy appeared to be more jeopardized when they encountered these stereotypes. Thus is created a vicious cycle of the low self-efficacy of foreign mothers, their limited maternal involvement in their children, and the ensuing misunderstandings of foreign mothers (Figure 14). It prevents mothers from using their resources and capital in both material and non-material forms for the effective involvement in their children's education.

The second position may be foreign mothers who have lower aspirations for their children's education. This was often assumed as the prime reason of foreign mothers' inactive involvement in their children's education by nave South Korean interviewees. However, none of the mothers in this study had lower aspirations for their children's education. Also, all mothers wanted to provide their children with better educational opportunities. Nonetheless, many foreign mothers showed limited and ineffective involvement in their children's education by solely relying on others' help, leaving the educational choices at children's preference, or making random decisions. Some suggestions for policy interventions to interrupt the vicious cycle and the ineffective maternal involvement will be presented in the following section.

6.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study suggest some important policy implications. Growing numbers of educational policies thus far have been introduced for multicultural children. However,

only a few policies have addressed the challenges that foreign mothers' face, and even fewer aimed to empower these mothers for successful parenting (Table 3, p.44). Figure 15 presents several possible policy interventions (purple stars, numbered 1-6) that would eliminate some prominent barriers that prevent foreign mothers from actively engaging in their children's education).

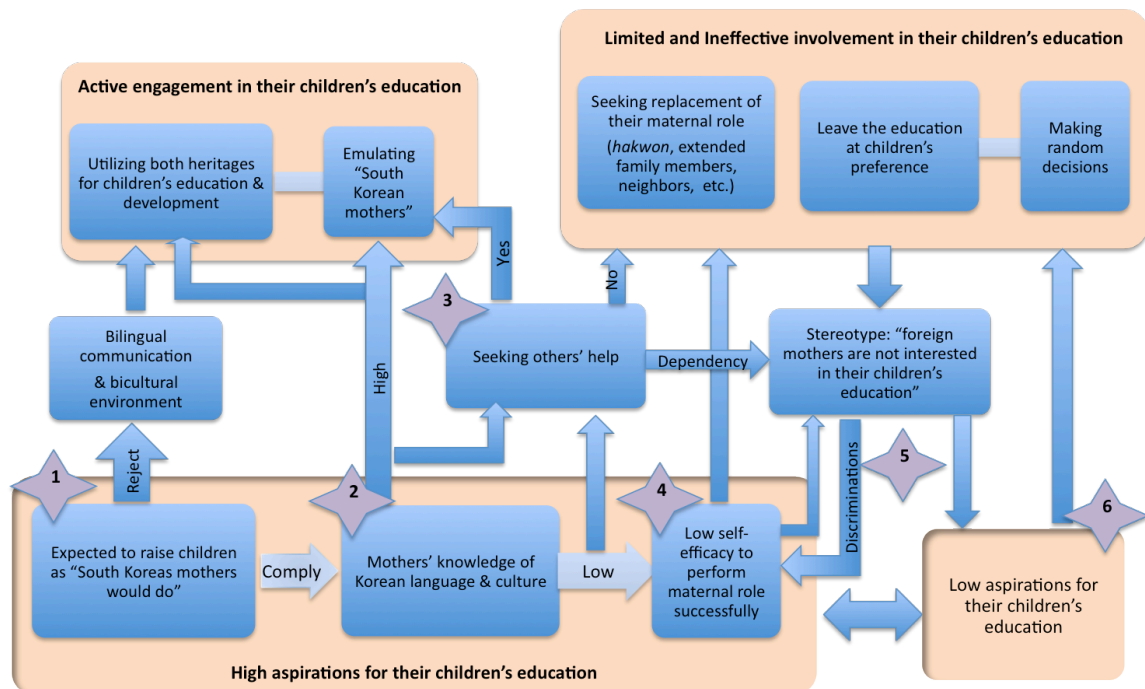


Figure 15. Possible policy intervention during the process of foreign mothers' involvement in their children's education

First, educational policies can challenge the expectations imposed on foreign mothers by their families as well as the broader society. Those expectations enforce foreign mothers to emulate their South Korean counterparts and to nullify their own languages, knowledge, and experiences (star 1). The government can introduce policies that encourage foreign mothers to engage in their children's education actively by underlining the importance of children's communication with their parents in any

language. The majority of inter-racial families are monolingual, using only Korean. Foreign mothers whose Korean is not fluent enough are limited in the richness of verbal interactions that they can have with their children. This sparse verbal home environment may be detrimental to children, especially during the early stages of development. Accordingly, inter-racial children are frequently not exposed to sufficient early stimulation for linguistic, emotional, and intellectual development.

Thus far, most education policies targeted at foreign mothers in South Korea have been to provide information, resources, or Korean language and culture programs, which were crucial to support those mothers for effective involvement. Similarly, education policy approaches encouraging foreign mothers to utilize the information and resources that they already possess, such as their native language, culture, and educational and professional experiences, seem also to be important. In particular, the government can deliver this information or these resources while providing various educational programs, such as language and cultural lessons or mentoring programs. It is also important to raise awareness of Korean language teachers, mentors, and public officers who appeared to be the major information channel of foreign mothers with regard to their childrearing and children's education.

In addition, educational policies can also intervene to improve the understanding of diversity and multiculturalism of interracial families' family members and relatives. The beliefs of foreign mothers' spouses and other family members in monolingualism and monoculturalism as well as some traditional family values often appeared to discourage foreign mothers from employing their knowledge and experiences properly in their maternal involvement. Except for only a few who were able to resist this, most

foreign mothers in my study complied with the traditional family values and the patriarchic gender roles.

Second, it is important to ensure adequate education opportunities for foreign mothers to enhance their Korean language and cultural proficiency continually (star 2). Findings show that foreign mothers' knowledge of Korean language and culture explains substantially the type of decisions they make with regard to their children's education. However, most mothers were unconfident about their ability and knowledge. However, many reported that they attended Korean language classes for only one or two years, since most classes were for beginners. Although they wanted to continue to learn Korean, it was hard for them to find upper level classes.

Third, educational policies can facilitate foreign mothers' access to resources or information necessary for their involvement (star 3). Findings show that most foreign mothers were not very active in seeking help or information from others, and most did not have any information channels. Only several mothers mentioned that they had close friends or neighbors from whom they could solicit advice or information. Although only a few foreign mothers in this study had social relationships with South Koreans, the majority of South Korean interviewees perceived foreign mothers as extremely dependent on others' help regarding their children's education. Foreign mothers were frequently considered irresponsible regarding their maternal role. However, it was not because foreign mothers did not understand their maternal role nor were uncommitted to their children's schooling. Rather, it was because they came to believe that their knowledge, information, and capability might not be sufficient to perform their socially-expected maternal role successfully.

Fourth, education policies can empower foreign mothers to improve their self-efficacy (star 2). As discussed earlier, mothers' self-efficacy is as important as their actual resources and capabilities. When mothers feel comfortable in their involvement in their children's development, they would be willing not only to utilize the resources that they possess but also seek necessary information and resources. However, when mothers doubt their capability, they would not even use what they already have.

Fifth, the government needs to prevent and eliminate stereotypes of foreign mothers, which, in many cases appeared to be generated and enforced by the misunderstandings of those mothers (star 5). For example, some South Korean interviewees of this study judged foreign mothers as incompetent regarding their children's education because they assumed foreign mothers might not have "proper" maternal role construction and have low aspirations for their children's education. Perceived as incapable regarding their children's education and having experienced various discrimination, foreign mothers' self-efficacy declined and, thereby, they limited their maternal involvement or sought replacement of their maternal role. Thus, societal expectations became a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Sixth, education policies can intervene to raise the awareness of mothers regarding the importance and role of schooling in South Korea as well as to provide information about the South Korean education system. All foreign mothers in this study had high aspirations for their children's education, which aligned with the national trend. However, the high expectations of children's education were not necessarily accompanied with their active and effective support for their children. Some of the reasons seemed to be the lack of foreign mothers' knowledge about the South Korean

education system and the role of education in the country. Several mothers mentioned the differences that they recognized between the systems of South Korea and those of their native countries, and the difficulties they had understanding the South Korean one, which frequently made them hesitant to be actively involved in their children's education.

Last but not least, schools can promote foreign mothers' active school-based involvement in their children's education by offering opportunities for foreign mothers to contribute to the schools or at specific events or meetings targeted at them. In particular, schools may offer events that specifically require foreign mothers' participation. Findings show that foreign mothers felt more comfortable visiting schools and meeting with their children's teachers when they could contribute to the school than when they just received support. Some good examples that schools already introduced might include multicultural events such as food festivals or special lectures on various countries. Having seen their mothers as knowledgeable and capable of delivering lectures, performances, or cooking lessons, children became more self-confident and comfortable about their interracial family backgrounds.

Also, mothers believed that meetings in schools must be beneficial because they allow them to get to know their children's schoolteachers better. But not many mothers have attended meetings with their children's schoolteachers due to fear of being stereotyped or judged by the teachers by exposing their foreign backgrounds. Thus, events through which foreign mothers would learn about their children's schools and teachers and, thereby feel safe to attend meetings with the teachers, would be effective at drawing mothers' into active school-based involvement. In addition, schools can facilitate social relationships between foreign mothers and their South Korean counterparts, which

would function as important information channels for foreign mothers. Since the size of social network matters to ensure the flow of information and resources among members, school events that help foreign mothers to meet with various mothers and build small communities afterward would be effective.

6.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

There are many more educational issues regarding interracial children in South Korea to be investigated, given the short history of marriage immigrants as well as the growing number of interracial children in school. Considering the scale and the nature of the research, the findings of this dissertation do not represent the experiences of foreign mothers nationally. In particular, given the geographical boundaries of the fieldwork, its implications on the experiences of foreign mothers living in urban areas might be limited. Also, since the main focus of this study lies on interracial families comprised of foreign mothers, South Korean fathers, and their interracial children, experiences of other types of interracial families' regarding their children's education may differ. For example, the increasing number of families that involve either foreign-born children or native South Korean children from parents' previous marriages.

The comparative analyses of foreign mothers' experiences among various ethnic groups, different ages or religious groups are other important issues that this study did not address in-depth. Last, a long-term investigation of foreign mothers' experiences regarding their children's education can make substantial contributions to education studies and policies not only in South Korea but also globally. A longitudinal study on

immigrant families' education issues has been never conducted in South Korea and this type of study has been rare in other countries as well. Based upon the limitations of this study as listed above, I suggest some possible research topics:

1. A large-scale study on foreign mothers' experiences at the national level would be meaningful. In particular, one can develop quantitative measures to test empirically the conceptual framework that the findings of this study suggest (Figures 13, 14, and 15).
2. The comparative analysis among foreign mothers from different ethnic or religious groups, urban-rural regions, or diverse types of family structure (extended or nuclear families, etc.) would provide more in-depth understanding of foreign mothers' experiences regarding their children's education. It would also provide a more finely nuanced understanding of foreign mothers as a heterogeneous group.
3. I would emphasize the importance of longitudinal studies on foreign mothers' experiences in regard to their children's education, from the preschool and kindergarten level to the higher education level. As children grow, the number of years that foreign mothers have spent in South Korea also increase. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that the extent of foreign mothers' maternal experiences and the scope of their knowledge of South Korea will also change. A longitudinal study could trace the changes of mothers' experiences with regard to their children's education as their knowledge of South Korean language and culture grows and also as their children go through different type of challenges and pressure at different educational levels. Moreover, since the introduction of

multicultural students in its school system is very recent in South Korea, not many studies were conducted encompassing students and families at various school levels, and most studies on this population were focused on the primary school level or below. Therefore, it would be meaningful to continue the investigation on interracial children's and their families' educational experiences as they grow.

APPENDIX A

A-1: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR FEMALE MARRIAGE IMMIGRANTS

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

A. Name of Interviewee: _____

B. Date of Birth: _____

C. Ethnic background: _____

D. What is your native language: _____

E. What other language/s do you speak (at what level):

F. What is your educational background:

G. How long have you been in South Korea and where:

H. How many children do you have and what grade(s):

I. Contact information:

GENERAL QUESTIONS

On Female immigrant mothers' self-identification in the South Korean society

1. How would you identify yourself in South Korean society?
2. What language/s do you speak with your family members and with people outside of your family and why?

On Parental/Maternal Roles

- 3a. What are your roles in your family in regards to your children's education and why?
- 3b. What are your spouse (or other family members)'s roles in regards to your children's education and why?
- 4a. How often do you speak with your children?
- 4b. How often do you speak with your children in regard to their education? (i.e. homework)

On expectation on children in relation to schooling

5. How do you define education for your children and their future and why?
6. What are your expectation on your children's education and their future? And why?
7. What types of future plan do you (and your family) have in regard to your children's education and why?

On experiences in regard to children's schooling

8. What types of challenges have you faced concerning education of your children?
9. What have you tried to overcome those challenges?
10. How successful have you been to deal with your challenges regarding education for your children?

On social capital and cultural capital

- 11a. What types of social/cultural/religious activities do you participate and why?
- 11b. How often do you participate in the social/cultural/religious activities listed before and what types of roles do you have in these activities?
- 12a. Who are the five persons with whom you contact MOST often in general (except for family members)? How do you define your relationship with each of them and why?
- 12b. Who are the five persons with whom you speak MOST often in regard to their education (including family members), and why? How do you define your relationship with each of them and why?
- 13a. Where do you obtain information in regard to your children's education?
- 13b. Do you obtain information in regard to your children's education through internet web sites?
 - a. If yes, explain your experiences (i.e. how have you learnt about the resources, how often have you utilized the resources and etc.).
 - a. If no, explain why.

- 14a. How many educators (including teachers or private tutors) do you know? And what types of relationship do you have with these educators?
- 14b. How often do you speak with educators (including teachers or private tutors) concerning your children's education?
15. How often have you involved in activities in regard to your children's schooling?
16. How many parents have you known in your children's school? And how often do you speak with these parents, in particular activities in school or children's education?
- 17a. What types of activities/supports are you acquainted with provided by (non-) governmental organizations (including schools) in regard to your children's education?
- 17b. Where do you obtain the information on the activities/supports listed above?

On education policy in support of the female immigrants

- 18a. Have you received any supports from (non-)governmental organizations (including schools) regarding your children's education?
- b. If yes, explain your experiences.
 - c. If no, explain why.
- 18b. How helpful are these (non-) governmental supports for you in regard to your children's education?
19. In what ways can governmental organizations (including schools) better support your needs in regard to your children's education?

Closing questions

20. What else would you like to share not already covered in this interview?
21. Do you know of other individuals to whom I need to speak?

A-2: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR SOUTH KOREANS
RELATED TO FEMALE IMMIGRANTS

- A. Name of Interviewee: _____
- B. Gender: _____
- C. Title/Institution: _____
- D. Email: _____
- H. What other languages do you speak other than Korean? _____

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

❖ *Policy Makers and Researchers*

1. How long have you been working in (an) occupation(s) relating to multicultural issues (including current occupation)
2. What types of duties have you taken relating to multicultural issues (including current occupation)
3. Have you been working or/and studying abroad: (If yes, in which country and how long)
4. How would you define multicultural families in South Korea?
5. What are characteristics of multicultural families in South Korea?
6. Are there any changes in the scope or/and nature of South Korean public education with the introduction of multicultural families?
 - a. If yes, what types of changes have been occurred?
 - b. If no, why do you think that the introduction of multicultural families does not cause any changes in Korean public education?
7. Do you think the introduction of multicultural families to Korean educational system would be an opportunity or a challenge?
 - d. If you think it as an opportunity, explain.
 - e. If you think it as a challenge, explain.
8. How would you identify the priorities of educational policies/studies in regards of multicultural families in general? Why?
- 9a. What types of educational policies/studies have been placed concerning multicultural families?
- 9b. How successful are these educational policies in supporting multicultural families in Korean public education?
- 10a. Are there educational policies which have special emphasis on immigrant women concerning their children's education?
- 10b. How successful are these educational policies in supporting immigrant women in regards of their children's education?
11. In what ways can education policies better support students and parents of multicultural families?
12. What else would you like to share not already covered in this interview?

❖ *Spouses*

1. How would you identify your spouse in South Korean society?

2. What language/s do you speak with your family members and with people outside of your family and why?
- 3a. What are your roles in your family in regards to your children's education and why?
- 3b. What are your spouse (or other family members)'s roles in regards to your children's education and why?
- 4a. How often do you speak with your children?
- 4b. How often do you speak with your children in regard to their education? (i.e. homework)
5. How do you define education for your children and their future and why?
6. What are your expectation on your children's education and their future? And why?
7. What types of future plan do you (and your family) have in regard to your children's education and why?
8. What types of challenges have you faced concerning education of your children?
9. What have you tried to overcome those challenges?
10. How successful have you been to deal with your challenges regarding education for your children?
11. What types of social/cultural/religious activities do you participate and why?
12. What else would you like to share not already covered in this interview?

❖ *Friends/Neighbors*

1. How would you identify female immigrants in South Korean society?
2. What language/s do you speak with the female immigrants you have known and why?
3. What types of social/cultural/religious activities do you participate with female immigrants and why?
4. How often do you interact with female immigrants whom you have known?
5. What else would you like to share not already covered in this interview?

APPENDIX B

MAJOR POLICIES OF THE SOUTH KOREAN ADMINISTRATION (2009)

Ministry	Major Policy Instruments
Ministry of Education, Science and Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote academic studies on multicultural education • Open classes on multicultural education in the national primary teachers' universities • Support students' clubs whose activities are related to multicultural learning in the national primary teachers' universities • Provide mentoring programs for multicultural students • Provide information and counseling service for the multicultural parents • Support teachers' training programs that emphasize multicultural education, and spread success stories • Provide multicultural education programs for native South Korean students
Ministry of Health and Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enact social integration policies for the multicultural families • Support social adjustment of the multicultural family(Korean language programs, multi-language services) • Provide babysitting services for multicultural families • Establish and operate the "Center for the Multicultural Families" • Oversee commercial matchmaking agencies • Support the marriage preparation of the prospective female marriage immigrants
Ministry of Gender Equality and Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote the human rights of female immigrants and their independence • Operate Emergency Call Center and Shelters and Independency Centers, and provide specialized training programs for female immigrants

Ministry of Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supervise all governmental policies related to foreigners • Establish standard for governmental policies for the social integration of immigrants • Administer VISA, permission for the stay and the naturalization of immigrants
Ministry of Public Administration and Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish the policy framework for local governments that implement policies related to foreign residents • Provide social welfare services in the area where foreign residents are concentrated • Support the settlement of foreign residents and provide education programs
Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and distribute Korean language workbooks • Train the Korean as a second language teachers, and enhance professionalism in Korean language education • Improve the social understanding of multicultural society • Develop cultural contents from a multicultural perspective
Ministry of Employment and Labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the employment of female marriage immigrants • Provide counseling and training programs for marriage immigrants' employment
Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide agricultural education for female marriage immigrants

Resource: Lee, J.-B., Kim, H., Byun, J.-I., and Chae, J.-E.(2009, p. 324).

APPENDIX C

RELATIONSHIP OF RESEARCH AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WITH KEY CONCEPTS FROM THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Research questions	The numbers and key concepts of interview questions	Concepts from theoretical framework (see, Figure 10)
Research question 1-1: The characteristics of foreign mothers' cultural capital	1. Mothers' self-identification	Mothers' motivational beliefs • Mothers' self-efficacy • Maternal role construction • Mothers' aspiration for their children's education
	2. Mothers' language usage within and/or outside of their family	
	Extra 4. Mothers' perception of their weakness and/or strength as foreign mothers	
	3a. Mothers' role in their children's education	
	3b. Other family members' role in foreign mothers' child's education	
	5. Mothers' perception of their children's education	
	6. Mothers' expectation their children's education	
	7. Mothers' plans for their children's education	
	Extra 1. The usage of mothers' native languages in conversations with their children	
	Extra 3. Mothers' perception of their knowledge of Korean language and culture	
Extra 2. The motivation and process of mothers when they intermarry South Korean men	Life context (Capability & resources)	
Research question 1-2: The characteristics of foreign mothers' social capital	4a. The characteristics and frequency of mothers' conversation with their children	Mothers' social relationships • Their children • Educators • Others (friends, neighbors, and relatives) • Intergenerational closure • Community membership
	11a. Social/cultural/religious activities that mothers participate in and mothers' commitment level to those activities	
	12a. Close friends or neighbors	
	Extra 9. Mothers' relationship with relatives	
	12b. Mothers' social relations close to children's education	
	14. Mothers' relationship with educators	
	16. Mothers' intergenerational closure	
	13a. The source of information regarding children's education	Information channel (On & off-line)
	Extra 7. Mothers' major contacts to solve urgent challenges regarding their children's education	
	13b. The usage of online websites to obtain information regarding children's education	
Research question 2: Foreign mothers' involvement in children's education	4b. The frequency and characteristics of mothers interaction with their children regarding education	Home-based involvement
	15. The frequency, characteristics and motivations of mothers' participation in their children's school activities	School-based involvement
	8. The types of challenges that mothers have faced regarding their children's education	Mothers' experiences regarding their children's education
	9. Strategies to overcoming challenges enlisted above	
	10. Success of strategies to overcoming challenges enlisted above	

APPENDIX D

CODING SCHEME1: FOREIGN MOTHERS' CULTURAL CAPITAL

Provisional codes (Summaries of interview questions)	Simultaneous codes & “InVivo codes”	Meta codes (Patterned codes)		
1. Mothers' self-identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Attachment to heritage ▪ Bilingualism and biculturalism (“Japanese style,” “Filipina mother,” etc.) ▪ Contrast and/or conflict between two cultures (societies) ▪ Experiencing discriminations ▪ Korean culture acquirement & Korean language learning ▪ Job experiences 	Mothers' self-efficacy	Mothers' motivational beliefs	Cultural capital
2. Mothers' language usage within and/or outside of their family				
Extra 4. Mothers' perception of their weakness and/or strength as foreign mothers				
3a. Mothers' role in their children's education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Major parental role in children's education (Foreign mothers and other family members' role) ▪ Generational gap in the interracial family ▪ Mothers' self-identification and identification of their children ▪ Korean citizenship ▪ Acquiring Korean language and culture ▪ Strengths and weakness as foreign mothers 	Maternal role construction		
3b. Other family members' role in foreign mothers' child's education				
5. Mothers' perception of their children's education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Importance of education in children's lives and future ▪ Educational aspiration for their children ▪ Expectation of children (in general) ▪ “Because they are Koreans” 	Educational aspiration		
6. Mothers' expectation of their children's education				
7. Mothers' plans for their children's education				
Extra 1. The usage of mothers' native languages in the conversations with their children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Job experiences ▪ Education level ▪ Perception of their knowledge of Korean language and/or culture ▪ Attachment to native families ▪ Rural lives ▪ Economic problems, family issues, etc. 	Resources & capability	Life context	
Extra 3. Mothers' perception of their knowledge of Korean language and culture				
Extra 2. The motivation and process of mothers when they intermarry South Korean men				

CODING SCHEME2: FOREIGN MOTHERS' SOCIAL CAPITAL

Provisional codes (Summaries of interview questions)	Simultaneous codes & "InVivo codes"	Meta codes (Patterned codes)		
4a. The characteristics and frequency of mothers' conversation with their children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Foreign mothers' self-identification ▪ Mothers' perception of their children's identification ▪ Mothers' expectation of their children's future 	With their children	Mothers' social relations	Social capital
12a. Close friends or neighbors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ South Korean friends ▪ Other mothers outside of school 	With friends and neighbors		
Extra 9. Mothers' relationships with relatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ South Korean relatives ▪ Family structure 	With relatives		
12b. Mothers' social relationships developed around the issue of their children's education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Family structure ▪ Connection to the native families 	With others		
Extra 7. Mothers' major contacts to solve urgent challenges regarding their children's education				
14. Mothers' relationships with educators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Private academy teachers (tutors) ▪ School (kindergarten) teachers ▪ Korean language teachers 	With educators		
16. Mothers' intergenerational closure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relationship with mothers of children's classmates ▪ Interactions with South Korean mothers versus foreign mothers 	Intergenerational closure		
11a. Social/cultural/religious activities that mothers participate in and mothers' commitment level to those activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social network among foreign mothers ▪ <i>Tongilgyo</i> and religious communities ▪ Ethnic community 	Group membership		
13a. The source of information regarding children's education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Connection to and/or the frequency of interactions with the native family 	Off-line	Information channel	
13b. Gaining information regarding children's education via Internet		On-line		

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