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Predictors of Child Well-Being within Multicultural Families in Korea

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Abstract

Using a survey of 123 biracial children with a Korean and a foreign parent, this study examines the predictors of child well-being within multicultural families in South Korea. We take a multidimensional approach to child well-being, focusing on five dimensions: nutrition, education, family well-being, social relations, and technology access. The findings suggest (1) the significant effects of family demographics and socioeconomic background on child outcomes. Mothers' age, education, and household income improve a child's well-being. In addition, (2) we find significant interactions across well-being dimensions. For instance, participation in private tutoring is strongly associated with a child's social relations and emotional well-being at home. Moreover, the findings indicate that (3) cultural aspects play a significant role in explaining child outcomes. In particular, children with a Vietnamese mother are much less likely to have access to Wi-Fi, while children with a parent from North America or Europe show higher Korean language skills. Policies targeting biracial children should aim to strengthen the socioeconomic situation of multicultural families and improve their access to afterschool education. Moreover, policy makers should be aware of the cultural differences across immigrant parents.

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Introduction

Children in South Korea generally perform well in "hard" measures of child well-being, such as physical health, education, and income. Korea provides among the highest standards of physical health and safety and features one of the most successful education systems in the world according to international student assessments such as PISA. In terms of income poverty, Korean children face a poverty risk (14.5%) that is not significantly higher than the average OECD child (14.0%). However, in contrast to other OECD countries, children in Korea are falling behind in 'soft" measures such as emotional well-being and mental health (OECD, 2017, 2019; Rudolf, 2020). This phenomenon is believed to be caused by high levels of academic stress, as well as a lack of play and sleep time (National Youth Policy Institute, 2019).

Children are dependent on adults, such as their parents and/or guardians. Thus, a child's well-being has its primary foundation in family well-being and family relationships (Andresen, Hurrelmann, & Schneekloth, 2012; Dinisman, Andresen, Montserrat, Strózik, & Strózik, 2017; Newland, 2015). Bronfenbrenner (1992) developed the ecological systems theory, which offers a connection between the child's life and its environment to observe the impact of external factors on the child's growth and development. Since a child's well-being is an ecological concept, it is determined by the level of parental, familial, communal, and social well-being (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2000). Thus, a child's well-being is heavily determined by the well-being of his or her parents and the overall functioning of the family. Family well-being can be understood as the state of affairs in which the needs of each member of the family are met (E. H. Kim & Nho, 2020), and it is closely related to a family's socioeconomic status. Past studies have shown how the socioeconomic status of the family affects multiple levels of child well-being, including health, as well as cognitive and academic development (Adler & Ostrove, 1999; Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). Recently, the measurement of child well-being has increasingly

shifted towards multi-dimensional measures that aim to assess the quality of a child's life in a more holistic manner (Ben-Arieh, 2008; Fernandes, Mendez, & Teixeira, 2013; National Research Council for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences, 2019).

Along with rising levels of immigration and the rapid growth of multicultural families in Korea over the past two decades, the number of biracial children in Korea has also increased. Biracial children in particular face additional problems compared to children with only Korean parents: they are often bullied for having a different skin color, uncommon facial features, different ways of speaking (i.e. unusual accents, improper grammar, etc.) or difficulty expressing themselves in the Korean language (Yoon, 2010; Brannen & MacLellan, 2014), or for simply the fact that they have a foreigner parent, particularly if that parent is from a relatively less developed country (Kang, 2007). Earlier studies primarily point to the negative effects of biracial children's "marginal" position, namely, not fitting into a single-race group, but rather finding themselves at the margin of two racial groups in society (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937). Campbell and Eggerling-Boek (2006) point out that this "marginal" position in society might lead to confusion over racial identity, which might cause poor psychological and social well-being among biracial children and youths. This pattern does not differ greatly in the context of Korean biracial children. Yang, Park, and Kim (2013) emphasize the cultural aspect of biracial children's well-being, which is that biracial children, unlike their monoracial counterparts, are born in a bicultural atmosphere that makes it more difficult to gain language ability and form self-identity, both of which may affect their subjective well-being. An, Lee, and Lim (2013) highlight the difficulties biracial children face at school and in terms of social relations. The school provides an environment that plays a key role in determining the well-being of children, while also being the main space where children build social relations (García-Bacete, Marande Perrin, Schneider, & Blanchard, 2014).

This study aims to examine the predictors of biracial children's well-being by employing a multidimensional approach to improve the

understanding of child well-being within multicultural families in South Korea. We focus on the following five dimensions of child well-being: nutrition, education, family well-being, social relations, and technology access. Our empirical investigation is further motivated by the segmented assimilation theory, which posits that a combination of various factors determines immigrant children's outcomes in the host society. In particular, we examine the roles of family demographics and socioeconomic backgrounds in explaining child outcomes. In addition, we are interested in potential interactions between different dimensions. Finally, we aim to study cultural effects (the cultural background of the foreign spouse) in explaining differences in child outcomes across various biracial children. Thus, we examine the following hypotheses: (1) Family demographics and socioeconomic background have an impact on child well-being; (2) There are interactions between different dimensions of a child's well-being. In particular, we hypothesize that afterschool educational activities might impact other dimensions of child well-being. (3) Child well-being outcomes depend on the cultural/national background of the immigrant parents.

This study contributes to existing academic literature in two ways. First, previous studies on the well-being of multicultural families have largely focused on immigrant parents, usually foreign brides, and their well-being (e.g., Yun & Kang, 2015). There is still a lack of research focusing on the children of marriage immigrants in Asia, particularly of biracial children in Korea. Second, when measuring multicultural children's well-being, many past studies have focused on a single outcome of income, education, health, or satisfaction with life rather than utilizing a multidimensional approach as in our study (e.g., An, Lee, & Lim, 2013). Given that individuals derive meaning and satisfaction from many aspects of their daily lives, including monetary factors, health, and social relationships, focusing only on one dimension can lead to ignoring other aspects that might be of importance. Finally, very few quantitative empirical studies exist for biracial children in Korea, and they have often been limited to using only a few control variables. This study provides a wider account

of child well-being and aims to capture more dimensions of the well-being of biracial children in Korea. The latter also allows us to unveil the interactions between various dimensions of child well-being.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the concept of the multidimensional measurement of child well-being. Section 3 provides a brief background of the situation of multicultural families and biracial children in South Korea. Section 4 introduces the data set and methodology employed in this study, and the results are then presented in Section 5. Section 6 summarizes the findings and concludes the paper.

Multidimensional Measurement of Child Well-being

The development of quality of life indicators for children is still a relatively young field that started in the late 1970s (Ben-Arieh, 2008). Before the 1970s, the primary focus was on the development of poorly children or how to rectify children's basic needs (Gabel & Zhang, 2017). In 1979, UNICEF, the World Bank, and Child Trends of the US initially published reports to document the quality of life for children, followed by OECD reports and individual country reports. This kind of reporting arose due to the recognition and reconceptualization of childhood as a unique developmental period, which is more than merely a period of preparation for adulthood. In order to understand the child developmental stage as its own singular period in human development, theorists and scholars needed explanations that took into account the multidimensional aspects of a child's development. As these theories evolved, more scholars began to pay attention to multidimensional measures of child well-being, rather than just focusing on a single dimension (Ben-Arieh, 2008). Fernandes, Mendez, and Teixeira (2013) categorized measures of child well-being into eight different dimensions on the basis of previous evidence (Land, Lamb, Meadows, & Taylor, 2007; Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2006, 2007; UNICEF, 2007): material well-being, housing context, neighborhood environment, health (behaviors), school/education,

leisure and recreation, social relations, and physical and psychological traits (p. 812). Hanafin, Brooks, Carroll, Fitzgerland, Gabhainn, and Sixsmith (2007) noted that multidimensional measures of child well-being allow encompassing various areas of life from the perspective of a child, emphasizing the importance of formal and informal support relationships, as well as including whether a child lives up to the normative standards suggested by society. In sum, the well-being of a child refers to a desirable state of developmental capacity for the child's future, as well as their living a healthy and happy life in the present. Well-being can be defined as a concept that simultaneously involves an objective environment and subjective perceptions and emotions. Thus, the concept of child well-being can evolve together with socioeconomic development (National Research Council for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences, 2019).

Korea has recently started developing a National Child and Youth Well-Being Indictor System (National Research Council for Economics, Humanities, and Social Sciences, 2019). The child well-being index includes the dimensions of health, academic development and capacity, physical situation and living environment, outside activity participation, safety measures, relationships, and subjective well-being (National Research Council for Economics, Humanities, and Social Sciences, 2019). Given the current state of the available data, the index shows that children in Korea currently have to delay their happiness expectations for the future rather than being able to enjoy it in the present.

Biracial Children in South Korea

Theories on immigrant adaptation have largely been built on the basis of US immigration experiences. Classical assimilationists argue that there is a natural process by which diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture and gain equal opportunities in society (Park, 1928). Modern assimilationists have noted that even after controlling for socioeconomic backgrounds, children from some ethnic groups are more suc-

cessful than their counterparts from other groups. Therefore, they point out the neglect of structural constraints by the Parkian tradition, and have stressed institutional factors such as social class, phenotypical ranking, and ethnic subsystems in determining the social mobility of immigrants (Zhou, 1997). Incorporating these additional factors, the segmented assimilation theory offers a theoretical framework for understanding into which segment of the host society a particular immigrant group may assimilate. According to this theory, a range of individual and contextual factors determine assimilation outcomes. The most important individual-level factors are education, aspiration, host country language skills, place of birth, age upon arrival, and length of residence in the host country. Structural factors usually include race, family's socioeconomic background, and place of residence.

While Korean society is arguably much less multicultural than US society, similar processes of immigrant adaptation can be observed. Biracial children in Korea often struggle to find their identity, form a sense of belonging, and integrate into Korean society (Yamanaka, 2017). Whether these biracial children succeed largely depends on their access and commitment to education. As previous research has shown, the socioeconomic status of parents, and in particular their level of education, strongly determines the struggle of immigrants and their children's life outcomes in South Korea (Yoon, 2010; Yun & Kang, 2015; Chung et al., 2016). According to the 2015 Korean National Survey of Multicultural Families, 63% of immigrant families had monthly incomes below 3,000,000 KRW; thus, many were living below the country's poverty line (Chung et al., 2016). Other frequently reported problems were language barriers, limited access to social services, and difficulties in educating and raising children. In a 2008 census of multicultural families, the majority of children surveyed were referred to as "fallen-behind," "neglected," or "school dropouts." Over 8,000 children were not receiving any kind of education, mostly because undocumented immigrant parents hesitated to send their children to school or because they lacked monetary support (Yoon, 2010). Henceforth, this leads to children not being able

to receive proper education, and even if they did attend school, they would often not be able to attend regularly due to their parents' unstable socioeconomic situation.

Integration into Korean society is also a tremendous challenge for biracial children compared to single-raced children in South Korea due to language barriers (Kuramoto, Koide, Yoshida, & Ogawa, 2017). Since biracial children usually attend a Korean educational facility, speaking in Korean with their Korean parent will not be a problem; however, communication with their foreign parent will likely be more difficult. Moreover, since the immigrant parent is often the mother, and given the dominant role that mothers play in the development of children's linguistic abilities, biracial children's Korean language abilities can often be insufficient due to the poor level of immigrant mothers' Korean (J. E. Kim, Kim, Kim, Kim, & Oh, 2014; Won & Kim, 2014). In addition, while many researchers have highlighted the importance of the family's socioeconomic status for a child's language abilities, J. E. Kim et al. (2014) stressed that it is even more important in the case of multicultural families.

Social exclusion from Korean society is another factor that threatens the well-being of biracial children and their families. Among other kinds of exclusion biracial children face, psychological exclusion has been found to have the most significant impact (Oxman-Martinez, Armstrong, Beiser, Choi, Moreau, Ogilvie, & Rummens, 2012). Given that multicultural families already face discrimination and disrespect within Korean society, the psychological impact of neglect and disconnection lowers these children's self-esteem. Social exclusion usually worsens when biracial children lack Korean language skills. Park and Lee (2016) conducted a study measuring the rate and risk factors of biracial children and adolescents' suicidal behaviors, and found the rate to be three times higher than that among single-raced Korean adolescents. Their study indicated that the main risk factors of suicidal behavior were socio-demographic factors, perceived stress, and the presence of numerous major stressors, including low socioeconomic status, lack of social resources,

and poor academic performance.

Lee, Park, Kim, and Park (2014) conducted a qualitative study on how the cultural background of the mother affects biracial children. Their study focused on Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipino mothers, which represent the three largest populations of marriage immigrants in Korea. The study showed that according to the socio-cultural aspects of the mother's home country, the meaning and/or standards of nurturing their children differed. For instance, Vietnamese mothers showed similar attention and expectations as Korean mothers in terms of education, whereas Chinese mothers showed frustration about whether education should be the responsibility of the nation or of individual families.

Data and Methodology

Survey Design and Implementation

This study uses data from a survey conducted with immigrant parents from 123 multicultural families with children in Seoul, Jeollanam-do, and Gyeonggi-do between March and August 2016. Foreigners currently married to a Korean spouse were interviewed both online and offline, using social media and community centers where many marriage immigrants learn the Korean language and culture. The survey collected information on immigrants' overall quality of life in Korea and asked in-depth questions regarding their current marriage and their children's well-being. Out of the total sample of 123, 51 respondents filled in the online survey, while 72 were interviewed in person. In ninety-six percent of all cases surveyed, the immigrant interviewee married to a Korean was female. In-depth information was collected only for the immigrant's first child.

Empirical Approach

Child well-being in this study was analyzed using five dimensions: nutrition, education, family well-being, social relations, and technology

access. Child nutrition was measured using the child's BMI, which was calculated using the height and weight of each child. Child education was measured by looking at whether the child attends private education activities, the expenses of the child's education, and the child's Korean skills. Family well-being was measured by observing the parents' relationship, whether the family goes on family trips, and the family's monthly income. A child's social relations were measured using the question "Does your child bring friends over to his/her home or go out to play with his/her friends from school?" Finally, technology access was proxied by the family's availability of Wi-Fi at home.

Predictors of the well-being outcomes of child i, Y_i, can be estimated using the empirical model in equation (1):

$$Y_i = a + Child_i^{'} \beta + Family_{i'} \gamma + N_i^{'} \theta + \varepsilon_i \tag{1}$$

where $Child_i$ and $Family_i$ are vectors that include sets of variables of child characteristics and family characteristics for child i, respectively. Child characteristics include age, sex, and, for some models, the child's smartphone use, as well as private tutoring participation. Family characteristics include household size, parental education, sex, age, and years in Korea of the immigrant parent. The vector N_i includes dummy variables that refer to the nationality of the immigrant parent. The error term ε_i is assumed to be well-behaved. The model in equation (1) can be estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents the summary statistics for all variables used in this study. A total of 123 immigrants married to a Korean and residing in Korea participated in the survey; among those, 118 were women and 5 were men. Respondents' mean age was 34.52 (SD=7.13) and, on average, the respondents had lived in South Korea for 8.01 (SD=5.54) years. The most frequent countries of origin were Vietnam, China, the United States, and the Philippines. The majority of respondents had completed

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Mean (SD)
Child outcomes	
Nutrition	
BMI	17.248 (3.966)
Education	
Private tutoring participation (1=Yes)	.390 (.489)
Ln private tutoring expenses	12.156 (1.153)
Korean skills	3.204 (1.070)
(Scale from 1 ("Beginner") to 4 ("Native level"))	
Family well-being	
Ln monthly HH income (equivalized)	14.143 (0.654)
Family vacation	.691 (.464)
Parents fight	.992 (1.231)
Once a month	.211 (.410)
Once a week	.146 (.355)
Few times per week	.114 (.319)
Once per day	.016 (.127)
Several times per day	.016 (.127)
Social relations	
Social relations	.504 (.502)
Technology access	
Wi-Fi access	.879 (.327)
Child characteristics	
Gender (1=male)	.444 (.499)
Child's age	2.203 (1.187)
Age 0–3	.341 (.476)
Age 4–7	.341 (.476)
Age 8–11	.138 (.347)
Age 12–15	.130 (.338)
Age 16–18	.0487 (.216)
Smartphone	.306 (.463)

Family characteristics	
HH size	3.911 (1.086)
Mother's schooling	14.431 (3.165)
Father's schooling	14.366 (2.612)
Age of immigrant parent	34.516 (7.133)
Immigrant parent younger than spouse (1=Yes)	.846 (.363)
Gender of immigrant spouse (1=Male)	.041 (.198)
Ln years in Korea	8.009 (5.544)
Family income and assets	
House ownership (1=Yes)	.480 (.502)
Living in apartment building (1=Yes)	.504 (.502)
Nationality of immigrant parent	
China	.195 (.398)
Philippines	.130 (.338)
USA	.146 (.355)
Canada	.081 (.274)
Europe	.089 (.287)
Other	.146 (.355)

Notes: N=123.

their high school education or above: 36 were high school graduates, 45 were college graduates, and 29 held a graduate school degree. Their spouses showed similar patterns: 47 held high school degrees, 56 graduated from post-secondary institutions, and 14 graduated from graduate schools. As for the child's information, the survey asked participants to fill out the eldest child's information only; thus, the following profile about children is limited to the respondent's eldest child. The average age of the child was 6.47 years (SD=4.53). Children's level of Korean proficiency was ranked from 1 ("beginner") to 4 ("native level"). More than half of the children were rated by the respondent to have native-level Korean skills, which suggests that the majority of children in the sample

were born and raised in Korea. Of the children, 67.7% attended an educational facility, varying from daycare to high school, and 38.7 percent participated in afterschool educational activities. With regard to social relations, 50.4 percent reported that their child either brings friends over or goes out to play with friends. Concerning Wi-Fi access, 87.9 percent of households reported having a Wi-Fi connection.

Results

Table 2 presents the results of estimating Equation (1) for each of the nine child well-being outcomes across the five dimensions of nutrition, education, family well-being, social relations, and technology access. Although the sample is relatively small, regressions can explain between 17.3 percent (family vacation) and 56 percent (Korean skills) of the variation in child outcomes. Starting with nutrition, BMI in column (1) is negatively and statistically significantly related to the male sex, as well as to social relations. In contrast, BMI is positively related to age, which is commonly found in the literature and does not necessarily indicate poor nutrition in older children. Among various nationalities, BMI is highest among children with a Chinese parent, although this effect is only statistically significant at the 0.1-level. Columns (2) to (4) examine the predictors of multicultural children's education. Participation in private tutoring increases with age and peaks between the ages of 8 and 15. Moreover, mothers' education has a positive impact on private tutoring participation. In particular, one additional year of the mother's schooling increases the likelihood that her child participates in private tutoring by 3.56 percentage points. According to column (3), private tutoring expenditures increase with the age of the immigrant parent. Column (4) indicates that a child's Korean language skills are positively related to age, household size, smartphone ownership, and the number of years that the immigrant parent has lived in Korea. In addition, the Korean skills of biracial children are significantly better if the foreign parent is from North America or Europe.

The regression results for family well-being are reported in columns (5) to (7). According to column (5), income poverty is higher among families with younger children. Moreover, column (6) indicates that families with higher incomes and those whose first child is a son are more likely to go on family vacations. The latter is likely to reflect son preference, which has historically been strong in Korea (Das Gupta, Zhenghua, Bohua, Zhenming, Chung, & Hwa-Ok, 2003). Column (7) examines the predictors of the frequency of conflict between parents. Multicultural couples are more likely to fight when the child's mother is more educated, when the immigrant parent is younger than her spouse, and when the immigrant parent is from Canada. Interestingly, parents were less likely to fight when the child participated in private tutoring.

Private tutoring participation is a strong correlate of social relations, which is examined in column (8). Social relations further increase with the age of the child and peak during their high school years. Family income and assets all show positive coefficients with social relations, yet only one variable is significant at the 0.1-level. Finally, column (9) examines the predictors of technology access by examining whether families have Wi-Fi access in the home. Living in an apartment building increases the likelihood of a multicultural family having Wi-Fi access by 16.5 percentage points. Moreover, multicultural children with foreign parents from Vietnam are substantially less likely to have Wi-Fi access compared to other nationalities.

Our results confirm several factors that were asserted in previous literature. In line with previous studies (Yoon, 2010; Yun & Kang, 2015, Chung et al., 2016), the regression results in Table 2 columns (3), (6), (8), and (9) confirm how family income and assets positively influence several dimensions of biracial children's well-being. Columns (2), (3), and (7) suggest the important role of the mother's age and education for a child's education access and the occurrence of conflict between parents. Moreover, columns (1), (3), (4), and (9) particularly highlight the cultural aspects of the immigrant parent in determining child outcomes, which is in line with Yang, Park, and Kim (2013) and further

Table 2.
Predictors of Child Outcomes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Nutrition	*Education*			*Family well-being*			*Social relations*	*Technology access*
	BMI	Private tutoring participation	Ln private tutoring expenses	Korean skills	Ln monthly HH income (equiv.)	Family vacation	Parents fight	Social relations	Wi-Fi access
Child characteristics									
Gender (1=male)	-1.339**	0.0325	-0.103	-0.0782	-0.0576	0.168**	0.218	-0.0724	0.0445
	(0.654)	(0.0742)	(0.234)	(0.173)	(0.122)	(0.0837)	(0.231)	(0.0854)	(0.0570)
Age 0-3	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age 4-7	0.419	0.267**	0.308	0.824***	0.185	-0.00971	0.369	0.239**	-0.0436
	(0.863)	(0.108)	(0.308)	(0.241)	(0.147)	(0.0982)	(0.342)	(0.109)	(0.0747)
Age 8-11	1.959*	0.644***	-0.498	0.856**	0.248	-0.153	0.497	0.352**	-0.0958
	(0.988)	(0.144)	(0.602)	(0.369)	(0.182)	(0.143)	(0.437)	(0.141)	(0.0855)
Age 12-15	4.215***	0.591***	0.142	0.709*	0.299*	-0.162	1.080*	0.379**	0.0200
	(1.234)	(0.171)	(0.440)	(0.380)	(0.154)	(0.176)	(0.567)	(0.154)	(0.0666)
Age 16-18	5.914***	0.420*	-0.931*	0.861**	0.431*	0.0308	-0.0812	0.495**	-0.117
	(1.707)	(0.245)	(0.531)	(0.430)	(0.224)	(0.188)	(0.572)	(0.208)	(0.196)
Private tutoring participation							-0.555**	0.244**	
							(0.263)	(0.113)	
Smartphone				0.400**					
				(0.193)					
Social relations	-1.388**								
	(0.627)								

Family demographics

HH size	0.237	-0.0143	-0.0211	0.160***	-0.0494	0.0409	0.158	-0.0195	0.0234
	(0.338)	(0.0360)	(0.169)	(0.0599)	(0.0449)	(0.0386)	(0.119)	(0.0399)	(0.0298)
Mother's schooling	0.212	0.0356**	0.0709	-0.0264	0.0187	0.0120	0.111**	0.0128	0.0156
	(0.133)	(0.0146)	(0.0453)	(0.0362)	(0.0206)	(0.0185)	(0.0492)	(0.0161)	(0.0146)
Father's schooling	0.212	-0.0276	-0.0443	-0.0276	0.0415	0.0111	-0.00893	-0.0182	-0.0208
	(0.167)	(0.0196)	(0.0733)	(0.0450)	(0.0266)	(0.0216)	(0.0618)	(0.0199)	(0.0186)
Age of immigrant parent		0.00754	0.0676***				-0.0426*		
		(0.00965)	(0.0217)				(0.0220)		
Immigrant parent younger than spouse							0.970***		
							(0.294)		
Gender of immigrant parent (1=male)								0.405**	
								(0.187)	
Ln years in Korea				0.382**					
				(0.177)					

Family income and assets

Ln monthly HH income (equivalized)	-0.214	-0.0125	0.0632	0.0616		0.188**		0.105	-0.00653
	(0.476)	(0.0572)	(0.281)	(0.140)		(0.0736)		(0.0750)	(0.0526)
House ownership		0.0779	0.616*				-0.367	0.168*	
		(0.0805)	(0.336)				(0.254)	(0.0935)	
Living in apartment building								0.124	0.165**
								(0.0868)	(0.0651)

Nationality of immigrant parent
(Reference: Vietnam)

China	2.358*	0.105	0.556	0.251	0.151	0.0740	-0.00424	0.0520	0.351***
	(1.270)	(0.132)	(0.440)	(0.234)	(0.175)	(0.147)	(0.373)	(0.132)	(0.115)
Philippines	-0.316	0.132	0.137	0.411	0.0230	0.104	-0.0534	0.221	0.356***
	(1.162)	(0.132)	(0.414)	(0.290)	(0.229)	(0.173)	(0.492)	(0.159)	(0.113)
USA	-0.950	0.177	0.502	0.733*	0.264	0.0705	-0.143	0.0938	0.262*
	(1.373)	(0.148)	(0.602)	(0.438)	(0.257)	(0.166)	(0.488)	(0.165)	(0.149)
Canada	-0.305	0.218	0.804*	1.043***	0.430	0.0755	1.114**	0.0211	0.373***
	(1.644)	(0.188)	(0.452)	(0.370)	(0.288)	(0.201)	(0.508)	(0.249)	(0.126)
Europe	-1.782	0.0305	0.955	0.840*	0.432	0.0663	-0.172	0.0633	0.332**
	(1.639)	(0.175)	(0.614)	(0.462)	(0.278)	(0.190)	(0.634)	(0.213)	(0.141)
Others	-0.228	0.245	1.052***	0.427	0.163	0.145	0.316	0.0287	0.261**
	(1.164)	(0.150)	(0.394)	(0.263)	(0.256)	(0.163)	(0.431)	(0.177)	(0.126)
Constant	13.23*	-0.204	7.730*	0.644	13.17***	-2.566**	-0.579	-1.315	0.631
	(7.214)	(0.881)	(3.954)	(2.132)	(0.389)	(1.005)	(1.144)	(0.996)	(0.763)
Observations	123	122	75	115	123	123	122	123	123
R-squared	0.290	0.452	0.353	0.560	0.192	0.173	0.213	0.393	0.273

Notes: OLS estimations. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

lends support for the ethnic factor discussed by Zhou (1997). Our empirical analysis, however, spotlights unique factors that were rarely mentioned in previous literature, such as the importance of private tutoring participation for a child's social relations (8) and parental relationship quality (7). This expands the earlier related analyses for Korea, such as those by An, Lee, and Lim (2013).

Discussion and Conclusion

The well-being of a multicultural child is influenced by both her family's background and the level of support from the host society. Children from multicultural families are naturally at a higher risk of deprivation in various dimensions of well-being, from material to emotional. This study examined the predictors of child well-being in multicultural families in Korea. Employing a multidimensional approach to child well-being, this study focused on five dimensions: nutrition, education, family well-being, social relations, and technology access. First, the findings suggest significant effects of family demographics and socio-economic background on child outcomes. Mothers' age, education, and household income significantly affect children's well-being. In particular, the mother's education level increases the likelihood that a biracial child attends private afterschool education, holding everything else constant. Second, we found significant interactions across well-being dimensions. For instance, participation in private tutoring is strongly correlated with children's social relations and emotional well-being in the home. Third, our findings indicate that cultural aspects play a significant role in explaining child outcomes. For example, children with a Vietnamese mother are much less likely to have access to Wi-Fi in the home, and children with a parent from North America or Europe show higher Korean language skills.

In comparison to earlier studies, our findings extend the effect of mothers on child outcomes. We confirm that, like other studies that focused on the mother's role in the child's education (Yoon, 2010), maternal

education level plays a key role in a child's educational achievements. A noteworthy difference is that our study focuses on effects related to a child's access to private afterschool educational activities, rather than school itself, given that the former plays an important role in determining academic success in East Asia. Another significant effect of afterschool activities is that they affect the biracial child's social relations and emotional well-being. Private afterschool activities (such as Hagwon, etc.) play an important role in the educational achievements and self-satisfaction of students in Korea (Hwang, 2001; J. H. Kim & Park, 2010; S. Kim & Lee, 2010). However, many past studies failed to measure how access to these activities (or lack thereof) affects the well-being of biracial children.

Our findings suggest that policies targeting biracial children should aim to strengthen the socioeconomic situation of multicultural families and improve their access to afterschool education. Moreover, policy makers should be aware of the cultural differences across immigrant parents.

This study is not without limitation. Given the limited sample size of the survey of biracial children, future studies are needed to corroborate the associations found in our study.

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