

Policy Responses to the Educational Exclusion of the Migrant Women in South Korea

Kim, Soon-yang (Yeungnam University)

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to anatomize the contemporary situation of migrant women's educational exclusion, trace the factors that cause their educational exclusion, and deliberate on policy responses to promote their educational inclusion. To the end, this article first debated the theoretical framework on educational exclusion within a broader concept of social exclusion and established the analytical framework by connecting three influencing factors – educational environment, educational contents, and educational process and administration – and setting up migrant women's poor command of Korean language as an intermediary. Following the analytical framework, this article made certain the harsh reality of the educational exclusion of migrant women and examined the factors that cause the educational exclusion of migrant women. According to various materials and survey data, migrant women were confronted with poverty, insufficient family support, and lack of time and information in terms of educational environment. While educational programs were irrelevant and overlapping, gradual enrichment programs and program evaluation systems were poorly equipped. Educational method was uniform, whereas delivery system was fragmented and inaccessible. Migrant women's incompetent command of Korean language further excluded them educationally. As policy and administrative responses to the educational exclusion of migrant women, this article suggested the following: improving the relevance of program contents, establishing the robust delivery system, and optimizing the educational process.

Key Words: migrant women, educational exclusion, social exclusion, South Korea

I. Introduction

While South Korea (hereinafter Korea), for a long time, has maintained ethnic homogeneity, the massive influx of foreigners in recent years transforms her to a multicultural society at a rapid speed. In 2013, foreigners who stay long-term in Korea exceed 1,445 thousand, recording 2.8% of total population. Even though the rate of foreigners to total population is much lower than that of Western

advanced countries, it is unprecedented that a large number of foreigners rush in Korea.

Among diverse kinds of foreigners in Korea, migrant women (or international marriage immigrant women) are a core component of multicultural society. With the sharp decline of birthrate, many Korean bachelors in rural and urban peripheral areas look for their fiancés from developing countries, such as China and Southeast Asian countries. As of 2012, while the ratio of international marriages occupies 8.7% of total marriages, international marriages between Korean men and foreign women are 6.3% of total marriages and 72.9% of international marriages. The number of migrant women reaches 226 thousand in 2012 (National Statistics Office, 2013). Further, as time passes, migrant women give birth to children to establish multicultural families. As of 2013, the number of migrant women's children amounts to 191 thousands (<http://kosis.kr>).

Meanwhile, the majority of migrant women suffer social exclusion in many aspects: economic poverty, unemployment, mal-adaptation to Korean society, linguistic barriers, and ill health. Among them, the educational exclusion of migrant women is a particularly urgent task to be tackled, because it functions as a key source of other dimensions of social exclusion. Educationally-excluded migrant women have difficulties in getting decent jobs, eventually making them poverty-stricken. In particular, the educational exclusion of migrant women may pass down poverty for generations. Thus, timely and relevant policy responses to tackle the educational exclusion of migrant women are imperative to make them free from the shackles of poverty and other dimensions of social exclusion.

Against these backdrops, the principal purpose of this article is to anatomize the contemporary situation of migrant women's educational exclusion, trace the factors that cause their educational exclusion, and deliberate on policy responses to promote their educational inclusion. To the end, this paper schedules to contain the following items:

- Explores theoretical perspectives on educational exclusion within a broader context of social exclusion;
- Examines the current situation of migrant women's educational exclusion;
- Anatomizes the factors that give rise to their educational exclusion; and
- Deliberates on policy responses to tackle their educational exclusion

II. Theoretical Discussion and Analytical Framework

1. Social Exclusion

In recent years, the term 'educational exclusion' becomes prevalent as a part of broader social exclusion. Social exclusion is the situation that particular individuals or groups are excluded from the society against their will. The UK Social Exclusion Unit (1997) defines social exclusion:

Social exclusion is shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environment, bad health and family breakdown.

While the term 'poverty' is related only to economic dimension, social exclusion is broader and multi-dimensional concept encompassing political participation, adaptation to society and culture, health, housing, language, and education as well as economic poverty (Percy-Smith, 2000). Moreover, social exclusion pays bigger attention to the process leading to exclusion and thus is more dynamic. Social exclusion also emphasizes the relational property among human beings and between society and individuals (Room, 1995). Further, in the term 'social exclusion', there are agents that bring about it, and thus individuals are excluded systematically by the society, community, and groups to which they belong. And social exclusion is usually out of the victim's control and, as poverty does, tends to continue and pass down through vicious cycle (Buchardt et al., 1999).

Theories on the dimensions of social exclusion are incoherent. Among them, Bhalla and Lapeyer (1997) categorize social exclusion into three broader dimensions - economic, social, and political ones. While economic dimension is related to income and production, social dimension means a constrained access to social services, social participation, and labor market. Political dimension is related to the exclusion from human and political rights. Robinson and Oppenheim (1998) suggest four dimensions of income, employment, education, and health, whereas Kim S.-y. (2010) listed five - socio-cultural exclusion, poverty, unemployment or low-paid employment, educational exclusion, and poor health. Meanwhile, Kim S.-y. (2013) categorizes social exclusion into the exclusions from society and culture, economy, vocation, education, language, social security, housing, family life, and healthcare.

2. Educational Exclusion

Traditionally, the term 'educational inequality', instead of educational exclusion, has been widely used in an education subject, in order to narrate the injustice in education. Educational inequality is the unjust situation between individuals or groups in terms of the opportunity, process, and outcomes of education by their unequal socioeconomic conditions. Educational inequality pays attention not to individual differences of learning ability but to the unequal social and economic circumstances educatees confront (Orfield and Lee, 2005). In usual, the people from low income groups and in deprived areas are in inferior educational situation, compared to those from the upper class and in good residential areas (Boger, 2005).

Educational exclusion is a recent substitute of educational inequality in order to observe educational inequality from more comprehensive perspective considering related aspects, such as the

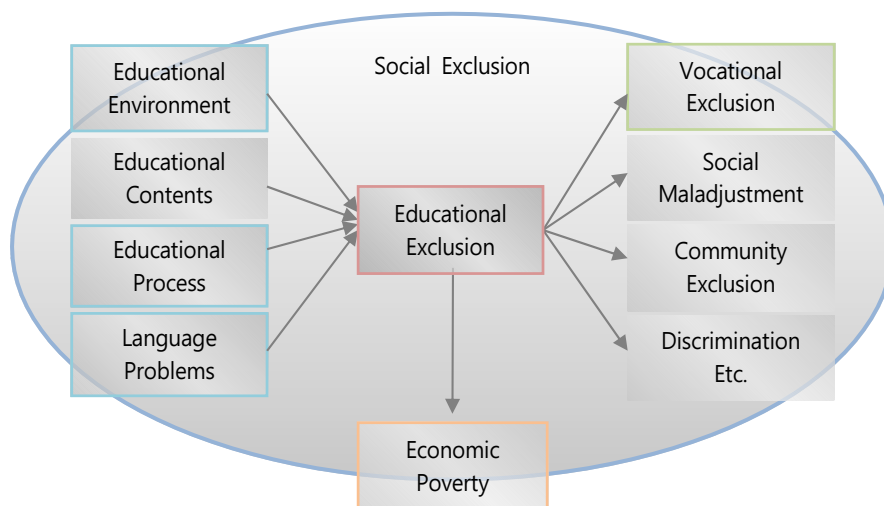
economy, vocation, and family life of educatees. With regard to the relation with social exclusion, educational exclusion is regarded as its part. Educational exclusion is used to describe the situation where particular individuals or a certain group are excluded or alienated from proper enjoyment of the opportunity, process, and outcomes of education by the reasons they cannot properly resist (Sparkes and Glennester, 2002). With regard to the relation with educational inequality, while educational inequality is a concept relating to the relativity between different socioeconomic groups, educational exclusion does not necessarily need to compare. However, the two concepts have common features in many regards. They bring about negative impacts on society in general as well as individuals concerned (Walton, 2000). There are some agents that bring on educational inequality and educational exclusion, and most of them arise from the causes beyond the victim's control. That is, in many cases, the causes of educational inequality and educational exclusion are structured and socially defined. Thus, it is imperative to formulate policies or institutions to tackle them effectively.

There are many individuals and groups who suffer from educational exclusion in any society. The poor and the disabled are traditionally vulnerable to be excluded from education, and the government takes diverse measures to stand against their educational exclusion. Meanwhile, emerging concern on the educational exclusion of migrant women is a relatively recent phenomenon in Korea, because the multicultural society put forth buds from the turn of 21st century. In particular, in the country that boasts of ethnic homogeneity, migrant women are a group particularly vulnerable to educational exclusion. Migrant women' clumsy command of Korean language becomes a great barrier to further education, as well as it influences negatively educating their children at home. Their poverty hinders their participation in educational programs, as they are unable to save time for education.

Meanwhile, the educational exclusion of migrant women produces diverse kinds of disadvantages in the Confucianism-dominating society that highly values knowledge and education (Yao, 2010). To make matters worse, the correlation between educational exclusion and economic poverty is very high in Korea (Oh, 2001). Thus, we need to understand educational exclusion within the more comprehensive framework of social exclusion in both aspects of cause and effect. Causal variables leading to the educational exclusion of migrant women are complicated and interrelated with each other. Disadvantageous educational environment of migrant women, such as economic poverty, reluctant family support, and lack of time and information, is a direct cause of excluding migrant women educationally. Irrelevance in educational contents and fragmentation and inappropriateness in educational process together contribute to aggravating the educational exclusion of migrant women. Migrant women's low-level proficiency in Korean language is another factor that excludes them educationally. From the aspect of outcomes, there is high possibility of vicious cycle that educational exclusion brings about other dimensions of social exclusion, triggering a chain reaction.

Educational exclusion negatively influences the job-seeking and job quality of migrant women, and degrades their economic status. Moreover, educational exclusion greatly affects the socio-cultural adaptation, family life, and community life of migrant women. Their educational exclusion also exerts a great influence on the educational achievement of their children, passing down poverty to next generation. In this way, migrant women's exclusion from appropriate education becomes serious obstacles to making multicultural society healthy, and this urges researchers to analyze the contemporary situation and causes of their educational exclusion and explore policy measures to tackle it. <Figure 1> describes the educational exclusion of migrant women in the broader context of social exclusion.

<Figure 1> Educational exclusion in the broader context of social exclusion



3. Formulating the Analytical Framework

It is useful to understand the educational matters with which migrant women confront in Korea from the comprehensive perspective of social exclusion, as the perspective can give us a keen insight into the diverse causes of educational problems. Meanwhile, the target of migrant women's educational exclusion as a part of social exclusion is mainly related to out-of-school education, such as life-long education, social education, and vocational training. The degree of educational exclusion in these kinds of adult education can be measured by the opportunity to take part in education and the accessibility, relevance, and cost of educational programs, whereas that of formal school education may be measured by such indicators as participation rate in higher education and academic achievement.

The educational exclusion of migrant women greatly influences their vocation, economic status, adaptation capacity, and social networks. Above all things, in a situation where education level is closely correlated with poverty level, there is high probability that the educational exclusion of migrant women causes their economic exclusion. Further, in a country where maternal role is critical in child education, migrant women's educational exclusion is interrelated with that of their children. Accordingly, measures to tackle the educational exclusion of migrant women should be sought in earnest in order to alleviate their poverty and accomplish social integration in multicultural society.

With regard to academic concerns on migrant women's educational exclusion, disciplines of pedagogy and pedology usually use the term educational inequality, instead of educational exclusion, and trace its causes from socio-economic factors such as economic status, vocation, residential area, and academic backgrounds, and education-related factors like educational curriculum. Meanwhile, this article examines the educational exclusion of migrant women from the aspects of educational environment, educational contents, and educational process and administration, by referring to precedent studies on educational inequality.

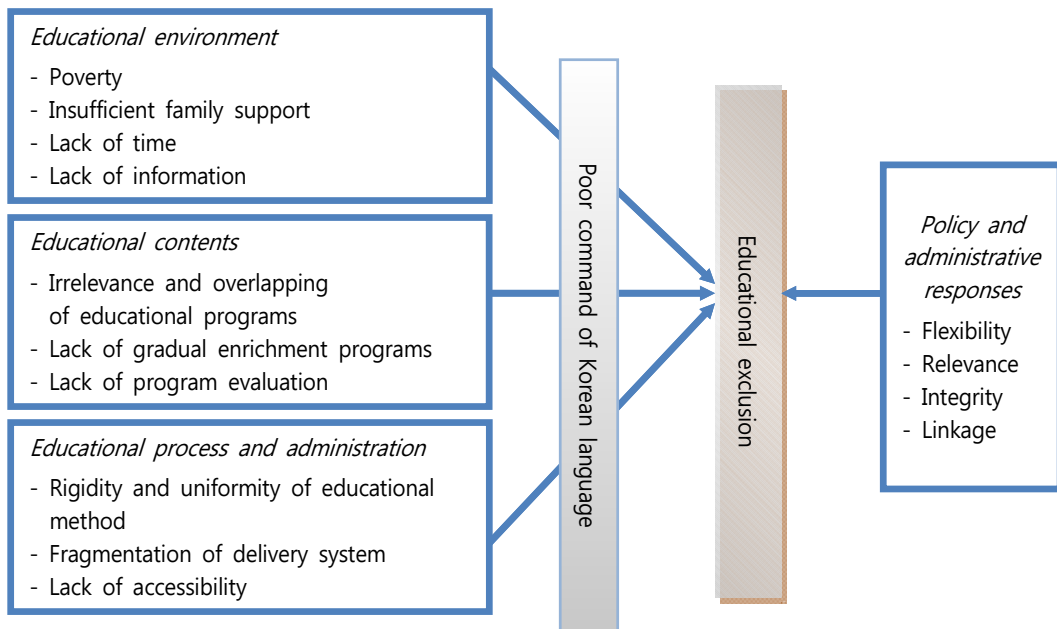
Regarding educational environment, above all things, poverty reduces the educational opportunity of migrant women, by making them difficult in burdening educational cost and taking time for education. Others are the passivity of family members in supporting the education of migrant women and the disadvantage of migrant women in obtaining relevant information. In addition, many migrant women are unable to make time to participate in educational programs, due to their working and childcare. In terms of educational contents, the irrelevance and overlapping of educational programs, along with the lack of enrichment programs, deepen the educational exclusion of migrant women. Educational programs have to properly reflect the capability, language level, and educational demand of attendees. Were it otherwise, educational programs cannot achieve their intended goals. In addition, the possible overlapping and over-issue of educational programs make educatees confusing and bring about wasting money. Lack of proper evaluation on educatees' satisfaction also makes educational programs ineffective. Meanwhile, with respect to educational process and administration, the inflexibility of educational method and the irrelevance of educational administration become main sources of the educational exclusion of migrant women. The uniformity in educational method and timetable lowers the accessibility to programs, while the poorly coordinated administration hinders the goal attainment of education.

Migrant women's poor command of Korean language becomes a fundamental barrier to their educational inclusion. Most migrant women, except Korean Chinese, are clumsy in Korean language, and thus have difficulties in getting useful information on and catching up educational programs. Their unfamiliarity to Korean language is also closely related to their poverty, by reducing the opportunity to get decent jobs. As mentioned above, poverty is one of main sources of migrant women's educational exclusion.

In conclusion, the educational exclusion of migrant women is complex in its causes and serious

in its effects, and thus adequate policy responses should be taken urgently from the comprehensive perspective, to a direction of improving the flexibility, relevance, integrity, and linkage of programs and administrative system. <Figure 2> outlines the analytical framework of this article.

<Figure 2> Analytical framework of this article



III. An Analysis of Migrant Women's Educational Exclusion

1. An Increasing Number of Migrant Women

The history of international marriage is not short in Korea. Since the stationing of American troops in the late 1940s, some Korean women had married American servicemen. Meanwhile, since the 1990s, some Korean women have married foreign workers who are mainly from Asian developing countries. However until then, a main type was the marriages between Korean women and foreign bachelors (Kim and Shin, 2008). However, since the late 1990s, the main pattern of international marriage has changed to that between Korean bachelors and foreign women. Korean bachelors who cannot find Korean fiancés turn their eyes to foreign maidens. They are usually less educated and poor, and most of them reside in the agricultural sector or urban periphery areas. According to Table 1, while the ratio of international marriage to total marriage was just 5.0% in 2002, it reached 8.7%

in 2012, albeit its stagnation in these latter days. As of 2012, among total international marriages, the matches between Korean bachelors and foreign women occupy 72.9%.

〈Table 1〉 Changes in international marriage (couples, %)

	Total marriage (A)	Int'l marriage (B) B/A (%)	Korean bachelors +foreign women	Korean women+ Foreign bachelors
2002	304,877	15,202 (5.0)	10,698	4,504
2004	308,598	34,640 (11.2)	25,105	9,535
2006	330,634	38,759 (11.7)	29,665	9,094
2008	327,715	36,204 (11.0)	28,163	8,041
2010	326,104	34,235 (10.5)	26,274	7,961
2012	327,073	28,325 (8.7)	20,637	7,688

Source: National Statistics Portal <http://kosis.kr>, e-Nara Portal <http://www.index.go.kr>

Ratio of international marriage between Korean men and foreign women is particularly high in the agriculture sector, because of Korean women's avoidance of marrying farmers or fishermen (Kong D. et al., 2010). As of 2010, 34% of the total marriages of Korean bachelors are arranged internationally in the agricultural sector. Its slightly decreasing trend, as is shown by the statistics of 41.4% in 2007, 38.3% in 2008, 35.2% in 2009, and 33.9% in 2010 (National Statistics Portal <http://kosis.kr>), is mainly due to the tightened supervision over unlicensed international matchmakers.

By the nationality of migrant women, those from China were dominant in the early 2000s, owing to the massive inflow of Korean Chinese. Korean Chinese migrant women could command Korean language and generally settled in the urban sector where they could find jobs easily. However, since the mid-2000s, migrant women from Southeast Asian countries, particularly Vietnam, have sharply increased. Unlike Korean Chinese, most of Vietnamese brides settle in farming areas. Of course, there are some reasons that Korean bachelors prefer to Vietnamese brides (Nam, 2011): sharing Confucian values, obedience to parents and husbands, and farming experiences in Vietnam and easy adaptation to Korean agriculture society, etc.

Meanwhile, migrant women tend to marry older bachelors who missed marriageable ages or experienced divorces, and thus the age gap between migrant women and their Korean husbands is much bigger than that of Korean couples. While the age gap of Korean couples is 2.2 years in 2012, that of migrant women is 9.1 years (National Statistical Office, *Annual Report on Vital Statistics*, 2013). But this big age gap tends to hampers the mutual understanding between couples and an extremity leads to divorce. The divorce rate of international couples, compared with yearly total international marriage, is increasing rapidly, from 8.1% in 2003 to 35.1% in 2009 (Seol et al., 2009). Again, divorce affects migrant women's education negatively, by making them unstable emotionally and psychologically.

2. The Educational Exclusion of Migrant Women

1) The harsh reality of migrant women's educational exclusion

Most migrant women are ignorant of Korean society and language, and thus, they have great demands of educational support. To meet their educational demands, the government establishes the Multicultural Family Support Centers (MFSC) nation-widely and develops diverse sets of educational programs, ranging from language class to social adaptation, vocational, and family relations programs.

However, despite of diverse educational programs, the educational inclusion of migrant women has a long way to go. The ratio of migrant women who have gone through the government-sponsored educational programs is less than half nation-widely. Migrant women in urban areas are much more serious. In totality, the ratio of migrant women with experiences of Korean language education is 50.6% of respondents, whereas those of education for social adaptation and family counseling education are 37.5% and 28.1% respectively (Kim S.-k. et al., 2010a). Many migrant women do not participate in educational programs, albeit free of charge. According to Kim and Huh (2008) who interviewed 82 migrant women, to the questions 'From whom do you learn Korean language?' migrant women answered as follows: family members or neighbors 37.0%, religious groups or volunteers 28.0%, self-study 21.0%.

A recent nationwide survey conducted by the MoGEF (2013), targeting total migrant women in Korea, shows similar statistics. As shown in Table 2, 47.3% of migrant women never once participated in government-sponsored educational programs. Even the highest percentage of participation in those programs stays just 32.0% in Korean language and social adaptation programs. The participation rates in family relations, bilingual, and vocational programs are just single figures. While migrant women show high demand for some educational programs, their actual participation in those programs is very low. For example, migrant women show very low rate of participation in vocational programs (7.4%), whereas they have strong demand for vocational education (3.64 in Likert five-point scale).

〈Table 2〉 Participation rate to and demand level for educational programs (multiple choices)

Educational programs	Actual participation rate (%)	Demand level (Likert five-point scale)
Home visit education	24.8	3.26
Korean language and social adaptation	32.0	3.16
Childbirth and parental education	12.5	2.80
Family relations education	3.6	2.58
Bilingual education	4.6	2.91
Vocational education	7.4	3.64
None (never participation)	47.3	-

Source: MoGEF (2013)

According to Kim and Go (2008)'s survey targeting 191 migrant women, among the educational programs in which migrant women participated, Korean language class recorded the highest in frequency (36.6%), followed by Korean cuisine program (21.5 %) and Korean culture and history class (18.3%). Participation experience rates of other programs were very low: computer and information (8.4%), family relationship consultation (7.9%), domestic violence consultation (4.7%), and vocational education job training (2.6%).

In this way, many surveys prove the significant educational exclusion of migrant women. While migrant women have strong demands of education, they are unable to participate in educational programs by diverse reasons. It is of course that the rare opportunity of migrant women to get appropriate education produces other kinds of social exclusion in such areas as social adaptation, economy, job stability, and community network. Moreover, most migrant women have inherently weak academic backgrounds, furthering their educational exclusion. According to Hyun and Kim (2011)'s survey targeting 520 migrant women, 70.6% of migrant women are high school graduate or below (below elementary school graduate 7.9%, middle school graduate 24.6%, and high school graduate 38.1%), whereas junior college graduate are 15.8% and above 4-year college graduate are 13.8%. The average totality period of regular education in their home countries is just 10.9 years. The 2013 nationwide survey of MoGEF, targeting total migrant women in Korea (N=226,804), shows the slightly improved academic backgrounds of migrant women: below elementary school graduate 10.3%, middle school graduate 23.5%, high school graduate 45.6%, and above college-level graduate 20.5%.

2) Factors that arise the educational exclusion of migrant women

Educational environment

The poverty of migrant women is one of main sources that cause their educational exclusion. Of course, the poverty of migrant women is mainly attributable to the low income of their Korean husbands. Migrant women's husbands largely engage in low-paid jobs, such as farming, craftsmen, and non-regular jobs. According to *Chungcheongnam-do* (2009)'s survey, targeting 3,718 migrant women in its jurisdiction, occupations of migrant women's husbands are farming and fishery 34.3%, simple manual jobs 18.4%, craftsmen 15.5%, and service and sales jobs 12.7%, while only 9.1% and 4.5% are clerical workers and professionals respectively. Migrant women themselves also have difficulties in getting decent jobs, due to their inarticulate command of Korean language and childcare burden. Most of employed migrant women work in low-paid jobs such as simple manual jobs and restaurant services. As a natural result, many migrant women live in poverty. According to the MoGEF (2013) data, 41.9% of migrant women are under 2 million won and 31.4% are between 2 million and 3 million in their household monthly income. Only 5.8% of respondents are over

5 million won (see Table 3). Under this situation, although many public educational programs are offered freely, migrant women' poverty makes them difficult to participate in those programs. Working migrant women have no time to participate in programs.

〈Table 3〉 Monthly household incomes of migrant women (% , persons)

Income category	Urban area		Rural area		Total	
	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012
50 million Won or less	4.6	3.9	6.3	3.1	5.1	3.7
50-100 million Won	15.3	7.0	18.9	8.5	16.4	7.3
100-200 million Won	39.5	29.9	36.5	34.5	38.6	30.9
200-300 million Won	20.0	31.0	14.8	32.9	18.5	31.4
300-400 million Won	6.2	16.3	3.5	13.6	5.4	15.7
400-500 million Won	1.9	5.4	0.9	4.3	1.6	5.1
500 million Won or more	2.0	6.5	1.3	3.0	1.8	5.8
Unknown	10.4	-	17.7	-	12.5	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0 (115,235)	100.0

Source: Kim S.-k. et al. (2010a) and MoGEF (2013)

In particular, as shown in Table 4, there is a strong positive correlation between migrant women's academic background and their income. The higher education level, the higher their household income tends to be. Therefore, although migrant women with weaker academic backgrounds have higher demands for education, their economic poverty becomes an obstacle to their participation in educational programs.

〈Table 4〉 Monthly household incomes of migrant women by educational level (% , persons)

Income category	Elementary school graduate and below	Middle school graduate	High school graduate	College graduate and above
50 million Won or less	9.7	5.4	4.4	4.2
50-100 million Won	21.3	18.9	16.1	11.7
100-200 million Won	35.7	39.9	41.1	32.7
200-300 million Won	11.8	16.8	20.0	20.6
300-400 million Won	2.2	3.5	5.3	9.7
400-500 million Won	0.7	0.9	1.2	3.8
500 mil. Won or more	0.7	0.7	1.3	4.8
Unknown	18.0	13.9	10.5	12.6
Total	100.0 (9,534)	100.0 (31,929)	100.0 (49,046)	100.0 (23,744)

Source: Kim S.-k. et al. (2010a)

Moreover, Korean husbands or parents-in-law are reluctant to allowing migrant women to go out to take part in educational programs (Kim and Shin, 2008). Some migrant women, who are ignorant of Korean circumstances, are tempted to get involved in adult entertainment businesses to make money, and not a few deviances of migrant women are reported. Some Korean husbands are unappreciative of migrant women's excessive acquaintance with Korean society in their early years in Korea. Husbands worry migrant women will be out of their control when they are accustomed to Korean society.

Before a migrant from foreign country, I am also a woman. I want to be acknowledged as a wife and woman from husband and his Korean family members. However, Korean men are usually authoritative and tend to heavily interfere in the matters of their foreign wives. Of course, many of them behave in that way because of worrying about the possible wrongdoings of their foreign wives who are not accustomed to Korean society. But their interferences carry to excess frequently. I think Korean husbands also need to have education to be considerate of their wives...(Tan Ni-pat, a Thai migrant woman).

Further, many migrant women have difficulties in making time to take part in educational programs because of their working and child caring. According to *Chungcheongnam-Do* (2009), 34.9% of respondents refer to the lack of time as the reason why they are unable to participate in educational programs. The others were pregnancy and childbirth 16.0%, inconvenient transportation 12.0%, unnecessariness of programs 3.9%, opposition from family members 2.0%. The following remarks persuasively describe the reality that immigrant brides confront:

A child-minder class is a one-year course and needs a lot of school hours. Textbooks are very difficult. This course is hard to finish without devotion to studying. Although many migrant women start this course, they cannot finish, because they should work to make money. Such subjects as early childhood education and child psychology are so difficult for migrant women, who are not proficient in Korean language...staff in the *Ansan Women's Development Center*.

Another barrier is the lack of proper information on educational programs. Migrant women, in the early years of immigration, are ignorant of Korean educational institutions and policies and do not understand brochures written in Korean language. Further, the government's publicity activities on educational programs are passive and uniform. In the survey conducted by *Gyeongsangbuk-Do* (2007), 16.8% of 1,754 respondents mention 'lack of relevant information' as a ground for their

non-participation in educational programs. The following interview is related to migrant women's lack of information on public programs:

Migrant women lack information. I don't know where I can obtain information on educational programs. I just become aware of something when other migrant women take courses. I'd like to get an interpretation job. But I don't know where I can take the course...Lee Sun-ju et al.(2008).

I want to be a simultaneous interpreter. I heard that commanding Korean language and Cambodian language respectively is insufficient to be interpreter. I need to learn more special skill. But I don't know where I can learn that skill. Now, I just learn Korean language...I really want to learn special skill for simultaneous interpretation...Kim S.-k. et al. (2010)...

According to MoGEF (2013), despite of diverse educational and supporting facilities for migrant women, many migrant women do not have information about them and thus do not use them. Except civic center and MFSC, most facilities are graded low in their recognition rate. In terms of utilization rate, only civic center marks above 50%, while other facilities are very sparsely used (see Table 5).

〈Table 5〉 Migrant women's recognition of educational and supporting facilities

Facilities	Recognition rate	Utilization rate
Multicultural family support centers	76.3	40.7
Healthy family support centers	27.6	9.7
Emergency support centers for migrant women	28.4	4.3
Civic centers (community service centers)	89.4	68.8
Women's development centers	21.8	4.4
Job centers	43.0	14.8
Social welfare centers	48.8	16.3
Counseling centers for foreigners (private)	28.5	4.9

Source: MoGEF (2013)

Educational contents

A bundle of educational programs are provided to migrant women by both government departments and private institutions, ranging from Korean language education to programs for traditional Korean culture and etiquette. At the central level, while MoGEF is a competent department of migrant women's matters, many government departments, including Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Health and Welfare, Ministry of Security and Public Administration, Ministry of Employment and Labor, and Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, engage in supporting migrant women. At

the local level, local governments and the local agencies of central government are competitive in offering educational programs for migrant women. Numerous private institutions and NGOs also get involved in educating migrant women. Accordingly, at this point of time, the problems of educational programs for migrant women are not in quantity and diversity but in the matter of quality and intensity.

A majority of educational programs for migrant women are criticized for their irrelevance of program contents. Relevant public and private institutions open classes without a prior coordination and need assessment. Among them, many educational programs lack practicability and are implemented just for showing off. As shown in Table 7, while the demand for vocational education is highest, only a few migrant women participate in vocational training programs. Another wrong point to make educational programs irrelevant is to provide them uniformly without considering the academic background, language ability, age group, residential area, occupation, and the length of stay of migrant women (Kim and Shin, 2008). The contents of educational programs tend to be uniform irrespective of migrant women's educational need. While many migrant women prefer to pragmatic courses, such as getting certificates, not a few classes are allocated to pastime classes like hobby and etiquette. Also, some educational programs are very event-oriented and meretricious (Uh, 2010).

Program overlapping is another problem that aggravates the educational exclusion of migrant women. While diverse public agencies and private institutions provide educational programs, they are poorly coordinated (Yang and Min, 2010), due to sectionalism. Many small and medium-sized educational programs are jumbled up on the spot, arousing the serious overlapping among similar programs (Nam, 2011). It is of course that this kind of overlapping leads to budget waste and moral hazard as well as confusion in choosing programs. In addition, jumbling of petty programs greatly limits the specialty of programs.

Educational programs for migrant women are void of gradual enrichment courses. Most educational programs are mere introductory courses and the contents of textbooks are in uniformity. While diverse kinds of educational programs are provided by different agencies and institutions, they are similar in the level and contents of programs (Kim and Shin, 2012). As a result, they fail to motivate migrant women to participate in classes consistently. Even though there are no data on the dropout rate of educational programs, it might be certain that many migrant women tend to give up attendance halfway.

The lack of program evaluation also contributes to deepening the educational exclusion of migrant women. Program evaluation is a key feedback process to improve the responsiveness of education. Following the result of program evaluation, the government can decide whether to continue or abolish educational programs. Educational programs with high demand should be reinforced. However, albeit the importance of program evaluation, the government's evaluative function on educational programs is very weak. There is no independent evaluation institution. There are no regular and periodical

surveys on the satisfaction level of educational programs. Follow-up management for the graduates of educational programs is not systematized yet (Kim S.-y., 2013)

Educational process and administration

The inflexibility and uniformity of educational methods are pointed out as the factor that sustains the educational exclusion of migrant women. Although some site-visit education programs were introduced recently, almost all of educational programs are provided in a manner of giving lectures in designated facilities during the daytimes of weekdays, making the participation of working migrant women impossible. While working migrant women in urban areas cannot make time in weekdays, migrant women in the agricultural sector cannot make time during busy farming season. Moreover, educational programs are usually provided by the method of normal lecture learning, and fail to arouse migrant women's continuous interest in programs (Lee S., 2008; Heu and Im, 2012). Among diverse factors, it is certain that the uniformity in educational method becomes one of reasons why migrant women drop out of classes halfway through.

The fragmentation of administrative system should also be pointed out. Currently, almost all government departments are involved in offering educational programs to migrant women. They manage their own policies and programs without effective coordination. At the local level, regional and city governments are competing in launching new educational programs without any need assessment. One of major motivations is to win votes from migrant women and their Korean families. Many private institutions, including universities and religious organizations, also engage in educating migrant women, motivated by government-subsidy or pure philanthropy. While the more the better, the problem is that these multiplied educational programs are not coordinated and linked properly. Even though the Immigration Policy Committee is established under the supervision of the Prime Minister Office as a central coordinator, its function is inactivated and ceremonial. It just holds meetings once or twice in a year (Kim S.-y., 2013). At local level, some regional and city governments establish Multicultural Policy Council or Multicultural Family Council, respectively, to promote the cooperation between public and private organizations (11 March 2013, Korea Plus, 2013). However, it is also hard to expect they carry on the function of program coordination, as they lack the working-level staff to analyze and evaluate educational programs. By these reasons, diverse educational programs for migrant women are provided fragmentally, arousing the inefficiency and overlapping of education and making the supervision and evaluation of programs difficult.

Inaccessibility to educational programs is another factor that accelerates the educational exclusion of migrant women. Above all, most of educational facilities are located at city center areas, and thus migrant women in remote areas have difficulties in accessing them. Further, a majority of migrant women are unfamiliar with the Korean traffic system and are not owner-drivers. Recently, while regional MFSCs develop 'site-visit education' programs, they are not activated yet. According

to *Gyeongsangbuk-Do* (2007) survey, targeting 1,754 migrant women within its jurisdiction, 13.1% of respondents mention ‘long distance from educational facilities’ as main reason why they cannot participate in educational programs.

Poor command of Korean language

Along with above-mentioned problems, migrant women’s poor commanding of Korean language is an accelerant of their educational exclusion. According to MoGEF (2013), targeting 226,084 migrant women, a key factor that makes migrant women difficult in adapting to Korean society is language problem (21.1%), followed by economic matters (19.8%), loneliness (14.2%), prejudice and discrimination (7.0%), child-caring (7.0%), cultural differences (6.5%), and family conflict (3.0%). In the nationwide survey, many migrant women evaluate their Korean language ability as average or below in all aspects of speaking, reading, and writing, even though their abilities are being improved (see Table 6).

〈Table 6〉 Migrant women’s self-evaluation of Korean language ability (%)

		Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor	Total
Speaking	2009	16.9	19.3	39.7	18.1	6.0	100.0
	2012	37.0	18.3	29.0	12.3	3.4	100.0
Reading	2009	17.3	20.1	38.7	17.2	6.6	100.0
	2012	35.7	18.3	26.8	14.1	5.2	100.0
Writing	2009	16.0	16.6	36.3	21.7	9.4	100.0
	2012	31.4	14.9	26.2	19.1	8.4	100.0

Source: abstracted from Kim S.-k. et al. (2010a) and MoGEF (2013)

In comparison, the Korean language ability of the migrant women in rural areas is inferior to those in urban areas. As shown in Table 7, 70% of rural settlers evaluate their Korean language ability as average or below, whereas the self-evaluation of urban settlers is 61.3%. By educational level, migrant women with weaker academic backgrounds show much lower level of Korean language ability. While 59.1% of migrant women with academic backgrounds of college-level graduate or above evaluate their Korean language ability as average or below, the rate of under elementary graduate is 75.1%. However, as the length of stay becomes longer, migrant women’s Korean language ability improves greatly.

〈Table 7〉 Comparison of migrant women's Korean language ability (% , persons)

		Very well	Well	Average	Poor	Very poor	Total
Residential area	Urban	18.5	20.2	38.6	17.2	5.5	100.0 (82,746)
	Rural	12.8	17.2	42.6	20.3	7.1	100.0 (34,798)
Educational level	Under elementary	10.6	14.4	35.0	28.4	11.7	100.0 (9,829)
	Middle school	12.9	16.6	40.4	21.9	8.2	100.0 (32,495)
	High school	19.9	20.7	39.3	15.5	4.6	100.0 (49,789)
	Above college	18.7	22.2	41.6	14.1	3.4	100.0 (24,365)
Length of stay	A year or less	3.0	5.3	29.4	39.1	23.1	100.0 (10,713)
	1-2 years	4.3	9.5	43.2	32.2	10.8	100.0 (15,308)
	2-5 years	11.7	18.5	46.8	18.7	4.3	100.0 (38,935)
	5-10 years	24.8	27.6	38.3	8.0	1.2	100.0 (26,525)
	10 years or more	38.9	28.6	27.5	4.3	0.6	100 (16,088)
Total		16.9	19.3	39.7	18.1	6.0	100.0 (117,544)

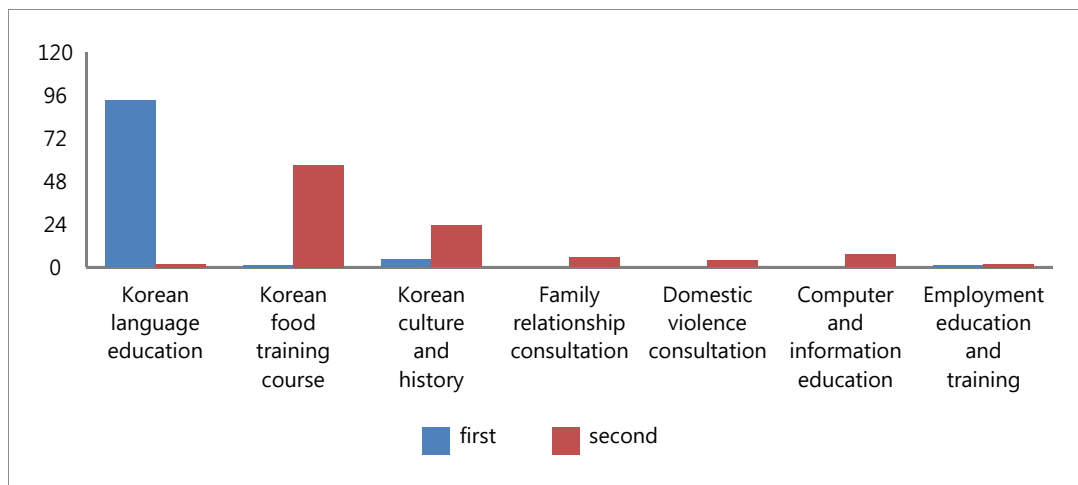
Source: abstracted from Kim S.-k. et al. (2010a)

In the meantime, as shown in the following interview articles quoted from Junbu News (July 24, 2014), migrant women's poor commanding of Korean language becomes one of key reasons that they are discriminated in Korean society.

I feel invisible discrimination arisen from my clumsy commanding of Korean language. I am also the same Korean who has Korean citizenship. But I am frequently neglected by unknown persons only by the reason that I am not fluent in speaking Korean language···(Park Seo-young, a renamed Vietnamese migrant woman)

I cannot properly express what I want to say, and this makes me very disadvantageous in social life. When I meet Korean neighbours or treat public affairs, I don't know what I should do. Even though some Koreans try to help me, I always suffer disadvantages caused by my incompetent ability of Korean language···(Sawamura Kumiko, a Japanese migrant woman)

Thus, many surveys prove that the most urgent educational need for migrant women is in Korean language education. According to Kim and Go (2008), the most urgent educational program is Korean language-related services, such as Korean language education (4.61 by Likert five-point scale) and telephone interpretation service (4.20). Korean cuisine learning (4.31) and computer/information education (4.06) are also quite highly marked. In the same vein, migrant women evaluate Korean language education as the most useful, among the programs they have participated, by recording 93.1% of the first-choice response. They also evaluate Korean cuisine learning positively because of its practicability (57.1% in the second choice) (see Figure 3).



Source: Kim and Go (2008)

Figure 3 Migrant women's responses to the usefulness of public educational programs

IV. Policy Responses to Tackle the Educational Exclusion of Migrant Women

Educational exclusion produces a variety of negative effects to migrant women. What is particularly important is that educational exclusion can lead migrant women to the vicious cycle of poverty. They have little chance to break poverty trap in the Korean society where shows the high correlation between educational backgrounds and economic wealth (Oh, 2001). The following are the chain reaction describing why migrant women suffer educational exclusion and how their educational exclusion perpetuates their poverty.

- Migrant women's lack of language ability, low capacity to understand Korean society and educational system, and their marrying poor Korean men
- Inferior educational circumstances in deprived areas

- Relative indifference of poor family in the matter of education
- Difficulties in making time, lack of information, and deficiency of social network
- Difficulties in getting jobs, aggravating poverty, and residences in peripheral areas

Thus, under the situation where the causes and effects of the educational exclusion of migrant women are very diverse and complicated, policy measures to realize the educational inclusion of them should also be comprehensive and integrative. Of bundles of possible measures, this article suggests the following three as policy and administrative responses to tackling the educational exclusion of migrant women, because they seem to be more realizable within relatively short period of time.

1. Improving the Relevance of Program Contents

While the government implements a variety of educational programs to tackle the educational exclusion of migrant women, many of them lack relevance in terms of their contents. According to the aforementioned remarks in this article, while the serious overlapping and pork-barreling of educational programs bring about the waste of money, some programs are noticeably irrelevant in their contents. On the other hand, gradual enrichment educational programs, reflecting the learning level of migrant women, are poorly equipped, whereas the system to evaluate the achievement and satisfaction levels of educational programs is not established properly. Accordingly, it is urgent to improve program contents to a direction of increasing flexibility and relevance, in order to alleviate the social exclusion of migrant women.

First, the long-term substantiality of educational programs should be ensured. With increasing numbers of migrant women, the government offers diverse educational programs to them. In particular, under the local autonomy system, city governments and local educational authorities are enthusiastic in carrying out educational programs for migrant women to win votes (Seol et al., 2009). However, many educational programs, which are motivated politically, are impromptu and event-oriented. Thus, it is urgent to ensure the long-term internal substantiality of educational programs, and for this, we need first to conduct performance evaluation on over-issued programs and to integrate them.

Second, it is needed to specialize educational programs and make them gradually enrich. At present, educational programs for migrant women are mostly general in its contents and targets. Government departments provide similar contents and levels of programs, causing the overlapping between programs (Ko, 2008). Instead, each government department should provide specialized programs in terms of contents, target, and level, in order to prevent the waste caused by program overlapping. Program contents should also be enriched gradually in the level of difficulty, so as to absorb the advancing educational needs of migrant women.

Third, it is recommended to activate life-cycle educational programs. Despite migrant women have

different educational needs by their life-cycle, contemporary educational programs become irrelevant by neglecting this reality. Thus, it is imperative to design the differentiated educational program to meet the changing needs in accordance with life-cycle. The normal life-cycle of migrant women can be divided into the following five stages (MoHW, 2008), and we need to develop model educational programs suitable to each stage:

- Marriage preparation stage in their home countries: basic educational programs on the Korean language, family system, and society and culture;
- Family formation stage: educational programs to help the early adaptation to Korean society, community life, and family relations;
- Child rearing stage: educational programs on pregnancy, childbirth, and childcare;
- Child education stage: integrative education with children, communication skill with children, on-the-spot experience program; and
- Family empowerment stage: educational programs for job-seeking, vocational training, professional skill, and social participation

Lastly, the performance evaluation system on educational programs should be tightened. One of serious problems of educational programs is in their lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation system. While the authorities concerned are proficient in starting new programs, they are deficient of responsibility to manage these programs efficiently and effectively (Kim and Shin, 2012). However, from now on, we need to strengthen the ex post facto monitoring and performance evaluation of offered programs. For the end, we should develop criteria, institutions, incentive systems for evaluation.

2. Establishing the Robust Delivery System

The government fully recognizes the seriousness of the educational exclusion of migrant women and its negative impacts on sustaining their poverty, and thus takes diverse actions to alleviate their educational exclusion. The government also establishes relevant administrative systems in central, local, and street levels (MoGEF, 2013).

However, the government's delivery systems are often irrelevant and ineffective due to the poor coordination and linkage between relevant agencies, the deficiency of monitoring and evaluation systems, the fragmentation of responsibility, and the sectionalism between relevant agencies (Kim S.-k., 2010b; Nam, 2011). At the front level, many educational programs reveal the problem of inaccessibility in terms of location, time, information, and procedure. This article cited diverse materials and survey data to illuminate how much the delivery system of educational programs are fragmented and poorly coordinated among relevant government departments and how much the accessibility of migrant women to educational programs is less considered and neglected.

Consequently, in order to increase the integrity and linkage of the delivery system of educational programs for migrant women, it is imperative to renovate the delivery system in the following ways:

First, the effective governance system should be established. Currently, while the government offers a variety of educational programs, the governing system to carry out them is poorly established. The fragmented division of works to many government departments disperses responsibility. The differences between government departments and between central and local levels are poorly coordinated, whereas the public-private partnership is inconsistent (Lee S., 2008). At the front line, relevant agencies do not recognize their mission properly, while information does not disseminate smoothly. Thus, important is to establish the governance system to make better decisions and deliver better services to stand against the educational exclusion of migrant women. What is needed for the good governance system is to clarify the roles between participant agencies, share goals and objectives, establish leadership and communication channels, share information, and empower the participants.

Second, the linkage between educational programs should be strengthened. The fragmentation of educational programs becomes a hindrance to achieving program goals, by increasing costs but decreasing synergy effects (Kim and Shin, 2008). Thus, we should strengthen the linkage system between the programs offered. The most immediate thing to do is to trim the overlapping parts of educational programs and then to connect them closely. Particularly needed is to connect general educational courses with vocational education.

Third, the integrative information system should be established. Presently, educational information on migrant women is not properly stocked, hindering the provision of tailored educational programs. For better and tailed programs to meet the individualized educational needs of migrant women, the first thing to do is to produce the nationwide panel data on the general features and educational needs of migrant women, while what ought to follow is to establish the information system on the language level, classes taken, educational needs, motivation for learning, and educational circumstances of migrant women.

Lastly, the accessibility of delivery system should be raised. At present, many educational programs for migrant women are criticized for their inaccessibility in terms of geography, information, and class time. Working migrant women or those in remote areas face difficulties in attending classes (Yang and Min, 2010). Thus, we should improve the accessibility of educational programs and facilities in a more creative and flexible way. As a solution, we need to introduce or strengthen diverse alternative methods of education, such as weekend classes, evening classes, cyber education, and site-visit education. For migrant women in remote agricultural areas, we need to open agricultural off-season educational programs and provide commuter buses. Bi-lingual information brochures should also be provided (Seol et al., 2009).

3. Optimizing the Educational Process

No matter how are good educational programs provided, they cannot accomplish intended goals without appropriate educational methods. The uniformity and rigidity of educational methods, which do not consider the educational level and demands of migrant women, make educational programs ineffective and irrelevant (Kim S.-y., 2013). According to the analysis in the main body of this article, many educational programs for migrant women are uniform and rigid in the method and process of education, while the technicality of lecturers is not high. Further, educational programs are badly informed to migrant women due to the passivity of government departments in opening relevant materials and information. Consequently, when relevant authorities design educational programs for migrant women, proper methods to effectively deliver them to attendees should be explored together.

First, educational methods need to be modified. Currently, each educational program uses its own textbook and sticks to uniform pattern of class lecturing, regardless of the educational demands and situations of participants (Uh, 2010). However, from now on, relevant authorities should introduce diverse educational methods, such as case study and field curricula, and develop common textbooks. Further, more diverse educational instruments, including distance learning, cyber and broadcasting education and life-time education, should be introduced to facilitate the participation of migrant women. Integrated education programs encompassing migrant women and their Korean family members also need to be developed.

Second, education lecturers must be professional. At the moment, adequate professional lecturers are absolutely deficient. There are no proper educational courses and institutions to train professionals on multicultural education (Yang and Min, 2010; Lee S., 2007). Accordingly, the following are necessary to produce professional lecturers and improve the quality of educational programs: activating the certification system for multicultural lecturers, introducing the class appraisal of lecturers, and extending the commissioned education to professional institutions.

Third, diversity and flexibility should be respected in the educational process. Although many educational programs are in the works, they tend to show uniformity and conformity, failing to reflect the diversity of attendees (Uh, 2010; Seol et al., 2009). However, to make education more effective and relevant, we need to consider the language level, educational background, needs, and situation of migrant women when opening programs.

Lastly, public relations should be strengthened. Most of migrant women do not have proper guidance about educational programs, because of the government's passive publicity activities and migrant women's deficiency of information in their early years of immigration (Heu and Im, 2012; Hyun and Yeon, 2011). Thus, to activate public relations, the government should develop diverse methods of information delivery, such as sending mobile text messages and using cable TV and SNS.

V. Conclusion

Up till, this article analyzed the educational problems of migrant women from the perspective of social exclusion, and suggested policy measures to tackle them. Many migrant women have married Korean men who mainly live in the agricultural sector or urban peripheral area, and their number has swelled in the 2000s. Their birth places are mostly China and Southeast Asian countries. A majority of migrant women's Korean husbands work in low-paid jobs and most migrant women themselves are unemployed or employed in simple manual jobs. Accordingly, migrant women generally live in poverty. The monthly household income of migrant women is much lower than that of Korean couples. Moreover, migrant women are under stress in adapting to Korean society and their social network is very weak. Many migrant women, furthermore, are exposed to fragile conjugal relations, as proven by their high divorce rate.

Above all things, the educational exclusion of migrant women is very serious. While a majority of educational programs for migrant women are related to Korean language and social adaptation, they have lots of problems in terms of the relevance of program contents, the delivery system, and the methods of education. Furthermore, despite of the government's efforts, the educational exclusion of migrant women is being aggravated by diverse reasons; migrant women's poverty, passivity of family members, lack of time, lack of relevant information, inflexibility and overlapping of educational programs, poor administrative system, and inaccessibility to education.

Accordingly, under the situation where the causes of educational exclusion of migrant women are complicated, policy measures to stand against their educational exclusion should be sought from the comprehensive perspective. In terms of educational contents, the diversity, flexibility and integration of programs should be enhanced. The duplication and overlapping between educational programs should be alleviated and the program evaluation system needs to be reinforced. The effective administrative system should be established on the basis of governance, which public and private sectors cooperate for the goal of realizing the educational inclusion of migrant women. Furthermore, while the integrative information system needs to be established to properly manage the educational needs of migrant women, program lecturers should be more capable and professional.

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국문요약

결혼이주여성의 교육배제(educational exclusion)에 대한 정책적 대응

김 순 양

본 논문의 목적은 결혼이주여성의 교육배제의 현황을 분석하고 그 원인들을 탐색하며, 이를 토대로 결혼이주여성의 교육배제에 대처하기 위한 정책적 대응방안을 모색하려는 것이다. 이러한 연구 목적을 위하여 본 논문은 우선 사회적 배제라는 보다 포괄적 개념의 일환으로서 교육배제의 개념을 이론적으로 논의하였으며, 다음에는 한국사회에서 결혼이주여성이 교육과 관련하여 어느 정도 불리한 상황에 처해 있는지를 고찰하였다. 이어서 결혼이주여성의 교육배제를 초래하는 요인들을 다양한 관점에서 실증하였다. 마지막으로는 결혼이주여성이 당면하고 있는 교육배제에 대처하고, 이들을 교육적 측면에서 포용(inclusion)할 수 있는 정책적 대응방안을 제시하였다.

주제어: 결혼이주여성, 교육배제, 사회적 배제