



**The Impact of Multicultural Family Support
Center on Social Integration of Marriage
Immigrant Women in Korea**

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GA YEON OH

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Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Georgina Gomez

Dr. Erhard Berner

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Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

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List of Acronyms

FATFR	Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea
KIHF	Korean Institute for Healthy Family
KWDI	Korean Women's Development Institute
MFSA	Multicultural Families Support Act
MFSC	Multicultural Family Service Center
MOGEF	Ministry of Gender Equality and Family
MOI	Ministry of the Interior
UNDESA	United Nations, Department of Economics and Social Affairs

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine that the Multicultural Family Support Center(MFSC), which is a major implementing governmental organization of the Korea's immigration policy that provides supportive programs and projects for marriage immigrant women and their families in Korea. The analysis focuses on the impact of MFSC programs on the social integration process of marriage immigrant women. Using the dataset from National Survey of Multicultural Families (2012), the analysis has been proceeded with two perspectives. From the program service receiver perspective, the analysis aims to scrutinize current status of marriage immigrant women in Korea, such as general profile of foreign brides and problems that they have living in Korea. From the service provider perspective, the analysis focused on the relationship between use of MFSCs' programs and the degree of social integration within a conceptual framework of various measurement of immigrant integration. The results show that the role of MFSCs is limited for social integration of marriage immigrant women since their programs are mostly focused on the initial stage of their adaptation, i.e., Korean language programs, and family affairs, such as conflict between the husband and the wife. These findings led to the conclusion that multidimensional and two-way approaches are required for social integration of marriage immigrant women in the process of social integration rather than one-way process that only urging immigrants' assimilation.

Relevance to Development Studies

The integration of immigrants and their families has been one of major policy objectives in migrant-receiving countries. Perhaps the most challenging part would be how to incorporate them in the societies (OECD 2014: 14). The paper majorly focuses on foreign brides and some part includes their families. The analysis does not include those multicultural families that involved foreign men marrying Korean women and the other types. It is not that they are considered negligible. But each immigrant faces different challenges on the process of social integration since they have different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, social integration process of immigrants tends to be influenced by multidimensional factors from the individuals or the society they migrated in. Previous studies on immigration that have been developed mostly in the advanced countries, such as Western Europe, the US, Canada and Australia have usually targeted on immigrations by individual based or family unit based. However, in order to understand the relationship between social integration program and marriage immigrant women in Korea, it is crucial to understand distinctive characteristics of marriage immigrant women in Korea (Kim et al. 2013: 19). Also it can be shared neighbouring countries, such as Taiwan and Japan where share the similar issues of foreign brides. Hoping that it can contribute to relevant studies in the sense that it examines marriage immigrant women who have different socio-economic and demographic backgrounds and see how the process of social integration of the women could be influenced by government's interventions.

Keywords

Multicultural Family Support Center, Multicultural Family, Multicultural Policy, Multiculturalism, Marriage Migration, Foreign Brides, Social Integration, South Korea

Chapter 1

Introduction

Contemporary migration is not limited in a few regions, rather a worldwide phenomenon. As Castels and Miller (2009: 7) pointed out, “The old dichotomy between migrant-sending and migrant-receiving state is being eroded”. South Korea¹ (hereafter referred to as ‘Korea’) is one of the examples of countries shifted from “migrant-sending country” to “migrant-receiving country”. The population of foreign residents of Korea increased from less than 400,000 in 1997 to over 1.7 million at the end of 2014 (Haines and Lim 2014: 28, MOI 2015). Especially, increasing number of foreign brides is a significant immigration trend in Korea. According to Statistics Korea (2015), international marriage² accounted 1.2% of total marriages in Korea in 1990, then the rate increased by 13.5% at the highest rate in 2005. This increasing number of foreign brides brought attention to immigration issues in Korea where is traditionally known as a culturally and ethnically homogeneous (Kymlicka 1995, C.S. Kim 2011). This massive inflow of foreign brides has generated demographic, cultural, and social changes in Korean society. The increasing presence of people with different and mixed ethnicities and cultures challenges the long-held basis of Korean nationality, “pure bloodline” (Moon 2015: 1).

Furthermore, this ‘increasing diversity’ has led also the Korean government to look into relevant issues of marriage immigrants³ and began to intervene in order to control the influx of foreign brides and to support the social integration of internationally married families by establishing laws and policies. In April 2006, the Korean government announced “Grand Plan for Promoting the Social Integration of Migrant Women, Biracial people, and Immigrants⁴ (hereafter referred to as ‘the Grand Plan’)”. The main subject of the Grand Plan was “multicultural families⁵,” specifically social integration of marriage

¹ ‘Republic of Korea’ is the official name of South Korea (official name for North Korea is ‘Democratic People’s Republic of Korea’). Hereafter, ‘Korea’ refers to South Korea unless there is a need to mention South Korea and North Korea at the same time.

² International marriage in this paper refers to marriages between two people from different countries, also called ‘cross-borders or cross-ethnics’ and ‘trans-national’ marriage.

³ In legal terms, a marriage immigrant means ‘an immigrant by marriage who is a foreigner who had or has a marital relationship with a Korean national.’ In this paper, ‘marriage immigrants’ mostly refers to women migrated by marriage who are also called as ‘foreign brides’ or ‘foreign wives’.

⁴ English translation from Ahn (2011: 100).

⁵ The “Multicultural Families Support Act” defines “multicultural families” as families comprised of Korean nationals, immigrants by marriage and their children.

immigrant women and their families. Although the Grand Plan have been contrasting assessment among scholars on the Grand Plan as a ‘multicultural policy,’ since it is mainly focused on multicultural families, no much on other types of immigrants, such as labour migrants. To quote, a Korean scholar:

“The multicultural policy disregards migrant workers who had immigrated earlier than marriage migrants and account the largest number of immigration population in Korea (Ahn 2011: 100).”

However, at the same time, she recognises it as “a step forward in immigration policy of Korea,” considering the fact that the Grand Plan was “the first integrated governmental plan for multicultural society” and a number of policies and programs have been established based on this Grand Plan (Ahn 2011: 100). In the example at the top, it is Multicultural Family Support Center (MFSC), which is a governmental institute and its major aim was to make foreign brides adapt to their new family and community in their early stage of arrival and settle down in Korean society. Hence, MFSCs have been providing comprehensive services and programs from Korean language and culture classes to employment vocational educations.

It has been 10 years since the Korean government has been implementing policies and programs to support social integration of marriage immigrant women and their families. Meanwhile, the number of marriage immigrants grew about threefold, approximately 0.1 million to 0.3 million, over the last decades (Statistics Korea 2015). Among the marriage immigrant in Korea, foreign-born women who married to Korean nationals takes 83%. The government’s support has increased accordingly. The number of MFSCs mounted from 21 centers in 2006, the first year, to 211 centers as of 2014 (MOGEF and KIHF 2015: 19). Despite the increased in the governmental efforts on social integration of marriage immigrant women, many marriage immigrant women tend to fail to take their root in Korean society. According to the recent statistic data, 50.2% of total divorced couples of multicultural families, lasted their marriage less than five years before divorce. The average length of marriage of international couples is about 5.8 years. It is remarkably short comparing to that of Korean natives, 15.2 year (Statistics Korea 2014). Kim Hyun-Sil observed in her study on depression of marriage immigrant women in Korea. She argues that most of marriage immigrant women experiences difficulties in their marriage lives, relations with families-in-law and local communities, as well as socio-economic activities due to language and cultural barriers, discriminations, exclusion from information and resource (H.S. Kim 2011: 189).

In deed, social integration of marriage immigrant women is challenging for the women who have to rebuild their social relations entirely again in the new society and it is hard to achieve the women’s individual effort, especially regarding the strong sentiment of Koreans that Korea is a single nation state in terms of homogenous culture and ethnic. According to the recent survey of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF), 86.5% of Koreans still value “pure blood” that is descended from a single ancestor, native Korean, also many Koreans have negative views on ‘coexistence of cultures’ (Y.H. Jung 2012).

Now the questions are, how is the life of marriage immigrant women in Korea? In what ways, MFSCs facilitate social integration of marriage immigrant women into Korean society? And how far MFSCs have been complying with needs of the women?

From these questions, this study attempts to scrutinize the lives of marriage immigrant women in Korea, an analysis on the role multicultural family support centers as a representative example of Korean government's social integration programs for marriage immigrant women in Korea.

1.1 Background: Emergence of New “Woori [우리]”

According to the recent report from the Ministry of the Interior of Korea (MOI, 2015), the number of foreign residents in Korea is 1,740,919 as of today and it has been increased more than three times during the last decade since the Korean government began to investigate on foreign residents' population in 2006 (see Figure 1-1). The portion of foreign residence in Korea's total population may not be significant, compare to other immigration states. Foreign residents accounts for about 3% of total population of Korea. It is estimated to increase at 5% by 2020 and finally becomes similar to the UK by 2050 (Hwang 2014: 1). The speed of growth rate is even more remarkable. It has been growing averagely at 14.4% per a year and it is 25 times bigger than average annual growth rate (0.6%) of Korea's resident registration population⁶.

The enormous flow of diversity over the past two decades made the “Hermit Kingdom”⁷ faced a challenge in their strong belief in Korea as a culturally and ethnically homogeneous country. Shin (2006) have observed “At first glance, South Korea does not seem to be a fertile ground for assessing public views on immigration. South Korea is a country where deep-seated nationalistic sentiments have been forged by an alleged ethnic and cultural homogeneity (as cited in Ha and Jang 2015: 54).” An example can show the dominant view of homogeneity among Korean people even in their language. A term ‘*woori* [우리]’ shows us strong community sentiment of Korean people share in their usage of the language. For example, Korean people tend to say ‘*woori jip* (our home),’ ‘*woori umma* (our mom),’ and ‘*woorinara* (our nation)’ rather than ‘my home/my mom/my country. According to ‘Standard Korean Unabridged Dictionary’⁸, the term ‘*woorinara* (our nation)’ is a proper noun when Korean people referring their nation.

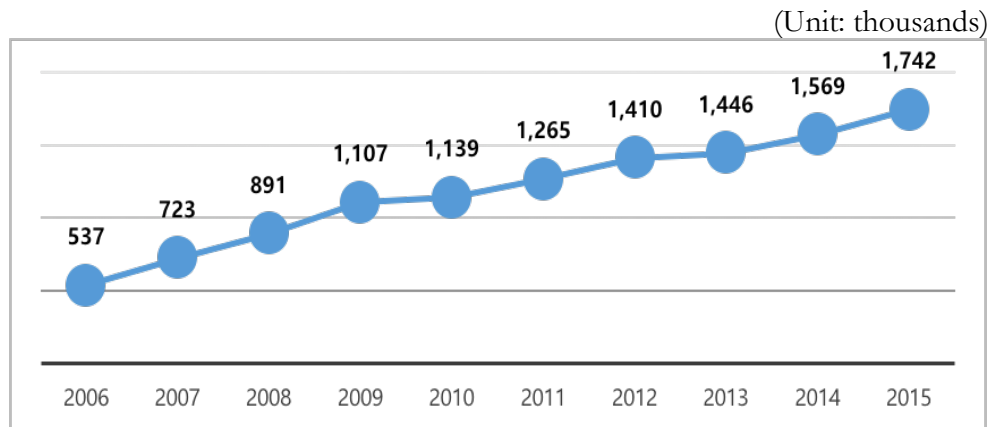
⁶ Statistic data from *The Korea Economic Daily*, 4 October 2015, accessed on 13 October 2015. Available at <<http://www.hankyung.com/news/app/newsview.php?aid=2015100481061>>

⁷ “Hermit kingdom” is a figurative term referring to the Joseon dynasty of Korea (1392-1910) used by William Elliot Griffis in his book “*Corea: The Hermit Nation*.”

⁸ English translation by author <www.stdweb2.korean.go.kr>.

The dictionary defines '*woorinara* (our nation)' as "a word when 'our' Korean ethnics refers to the country that 'we' built." However, it seems that the definition of '*woorinara*' needs to be adjusted.

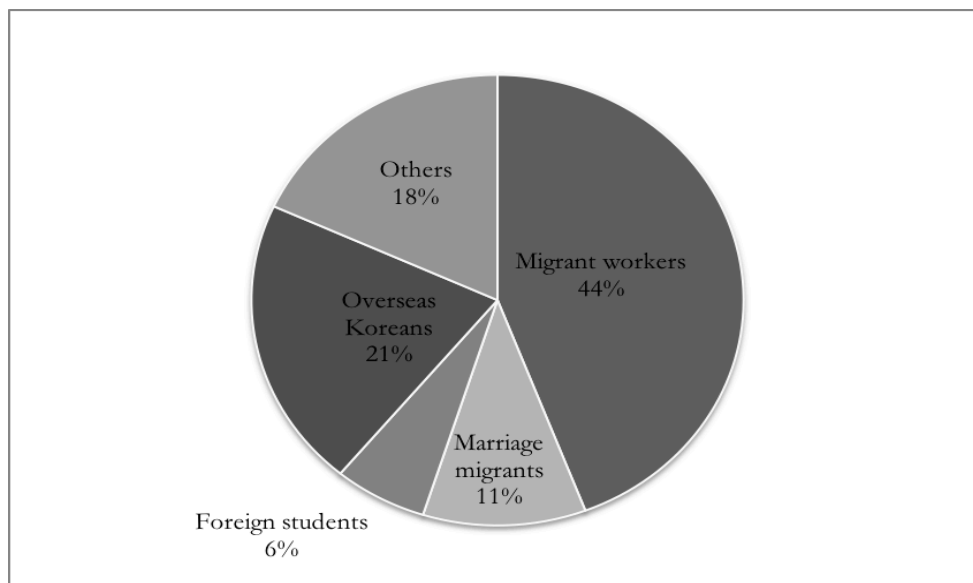
Figure 1-1 Number of Foreign Residents of Korea



Source: MOI, 2015

The beginning of 'the age of migration' in Korea was with inflow of labour migrants. Until the early 1980s, Korea was a 'labour-exporting' country as other Asian countries and Korea has become a 'labour-importing' country since the early 1990s. The need for labour immigrants has largely arose since "the better-educated and wealthier Koreans" began to walk away from certain lower level of occupations, so-called "3D (difficult, dirty and dangerous) jobs," which are mostly low-waged as well (A.E. Kim 2008: 71). In contemporary Korea's immigration population, migrant workers take the largest portion of foreign residents (See Figure 1-2).

Figure 1-2 Statistics on Foreign Residents



Source: MOI, 2015

Another big influence on changes in Korea's demographic map was the increasing number of foreign brides, the "marriage migrant⁹ women", which is the focus group of this study. Massive influx of foreign brides from the 1900s brought extra attention to immigration issues in Korean society. The number of international marriage was 6,545 in 1993 and it almost doubled the number (13,493) in 1995, then 42,356 international couples married in 2005, which accounts for 13.5 % of total marriage in Korea (Statistics Korea 2014). This drastic rise of international marriage population was caused by marriages of Korean grooms and foreign brides. Among marriage immigrants of Korea, foreign-born women who married to Korean nationals account for 83% (MOGEF 2015). Although international marriage has become widespread in contemporary global society, but it was not common in Korea until the 1990s rather mostly between Korean women with foreign men, such as Japanese men and American soldiers (Kim and Shin 2007: 2, Lee 2008: 107).

After official relations with China has begun in 1992, a massive number of ethnic-Korean Chinese (hereafter referred to as 'Joseonjok')¹⁰ women came into Korea to marry native Korean men between 1990 and 2005. The Korean government actually taken initiatives of 'importing' Joseonjok women in order to match these women with Korean bachelors in rural areas who could not find spouses in Korea (Lee 2008: 107). Hence, the first peak was caused by Joseonjok women. Since then, the biggest group of marriage immigrant women in Korea is from China (mostly Joseonjok). Local government in rural area in Korea have played a significant role in the beginning of this phenomenon by promoting a slogan "Let the rural bachelors get married!" The second big inflow of foreign brides has arisen in company with flourishing of commercialized match-making agencies. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, there were no regulations to control commercialised match-making agencies (Lee 2008). This has multiplied the number of such agencies as well as match-made international marriages. Many literatures have noted that the main background cause of this recent increasing number of foreign brides in Korea has occurred largely due to 'marriage squeeze', which refers to the difficult situations for Korean men to find local women to marry (Lee 2008, Binh 2013, C.S. Kim 2011, Kim and Shin 2007: 2). This is also called as "bride shortage" phenomenon, which also became a big issue sharing with other East Asian countries that are economically advanced, such as Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and recently also China. Theories on marriage migration in Korea will be more elaborated in Chapter 2.

⁹ In legal terms, 'a marriage migrant' refers to "an immigrant by marriage", which means "any foreigner in Korea who had or has a marital relationship with a Korean national." (Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea 2007)

¹⁰ 'Ethnic-Korean Chinese' or 'Joseonjok' refers to a group of people who left their homeland in between the late 19th and early 20th centuries and settled in China. Joseonjok do not have citizenship of South Korea. They have Korean ethnicity and Chinese nationality, thus they have maintained their Korean language in China and almost all can speak Korean well (Seol and Skrentny 2004).

1.2 Research Question and Methodology

The major question for this paper is that in what ways MFSCs facilitate social integration of marriage immigrant women to Korean society? To answer to the question, I will firstly look into multicultural policy of the Korean government and more closely examine MFSCs programs. Next step will be analysing socio-demographic characteristics of marriage immigrant women and the effect of MFSCs on social integration of the women. The primary aim of the analysis is to examine lives of foreign brides, and the role of MFSCs on their social integration in Korean society.

In order to do so, I will use secondary data analysis as a main research method. To analyse legal and political background information of MFSCs, I collected Korean government's official documents. Specifically, I looked into press releases and reports about from MOGEF, such as annual MFSCs' performance result reports. I also searched news and journal articles with the key words of 'multiculturalism', 'multicultural family', and 'multicultural family support center' in order to examine discourses about multicultural family and relevant policies in the Korean society. For the quantitative analysis, I used a raw data set from "A Study on the National Survey of Multicultural Families 2012", which is a fact-finding survey on multicultural families that provides broad scope of information of multicultural families in Korea and I extracted data of marriage immigrant women and conducted statistic analysis method to examine correlations between MFSCs' programs and social integration degree of the women. Finally, I collected interviews on marriage immigrant women as well as the other materials from TV programs and journals in order to add more vivid colour to the statistical analysis result with voices of foreign brides.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework: conceptualizing migration, multiculturalism and social integration of immigrants

In this research, the following theoretical concepts have been taken into account as a starting point for the research problems as well as concerns central to this study. In order to grasp marriage migration phenomenon and circumstance of foreign brides in Korea, as well as to get a clear meaning of multiculturalism and multicultural family in Korean context, I will examine main concepts; **(1) migration theories**, especially by emphasizing on gendered approach in order to understand what are the causes/motivations/factors that influence on foreign brides' decision of marriage migration, especially from developing Asian countries to developed countries, such as Korea, then I will define **(2) the concepts of multiculturalism and multicultural policy** in order to examine the Korean government's policy on marriage migrant women and their families in Korea. Lastly I will provide concepts of **(3) social integration of immigrants** and an analytical tool to appraise the influence of the MFSCs in social integration of marriage immigrant women in Korea.

2.1 Migration

2.1.1 Theories of international migration

Migration is not a new phenomenon in human history, however 'mass migration' of the world's population expanded drastically from the late twentieth century (Castles and Miller 2009: 2-3). International migration is one of the key features of globalization as mobility has been increasing due to the advanced technologies of transportation. UNDESA (2013: 1) defines an international migrant as who is "equated either with the foreign-born or with foreign citizens." International migration does not only simply mean 'movement of people' from one point to another, but it also means 'movement of cultures' and it is an inevitable consequence that it brings social changes in both societies, sending and receiving countries, extensively in economically, socially, and culturally (S.K. Jung and Y.S. Jung 2010: 229-231, Castels and Miller 2009: 2-3, Yang 2007: 199-200).

Motivation of economic migrants have been actively discussed in many literatures. I will briefly introduce some of the main theories. Firstly, 'neoclassical economics' views the major cause of international migration is differentials in wage and employment circumstances between migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries (Suksomboon 2009: 9). It explains that an individual's decision of migration is based on a rational choice from a cost-benefit evaluation (Castles and Miller 2009: 21-22). Secondly, 'the new economics of migration theory' has analysed at the household level (Castles and Miller 2009: 24). This theory understands a decision of migration as a choice of a family or a house-

hold rather than that of an individual. The family make a decision on migration of their family members for the sake of maximizing resources and minimizing risk of the household income. Thus, the family sends their family members not just to earn higher wages but also can diversify household income source as a means of control uncertainty of the 'economic well-being of the family' (Massey et al. 1993, as cited in A.E. Kim 2008: 72-74). Third, 'the historical-structural approach' considers migration as a means of utilizing cheap labour forces in the wealthier and more economically and financially developed countries (Castles and Miller 2009: 26, A.E. Kim 2008: 72-74). This theory focuses on the relationship of migration and socio-economic factors at the macro levels, the international division of labour and global political power (Massey et al. 1998: 35, as cited in Suksomboon 2009: 9). Last theory of international migration is called 'dual labour market theory', which contends that international migration occurs due to the structural demand for both high-skilled labours and low-skilled labours (Piore 1979, as cited in Castles and Miller 2009: 23). The growing needs for foreign labour migrants is due to the fact that people who are highly education, wealthier and eligible to get higher-paying jobs in the economically advanced countries avoid certain jobs that are relatively lower-paying and less prestigious (A.E. Kim 2008: 73-74).

As we have examined above, international migration theories have been mostly explained by economic point of view. However, international migration is not a simple process that can be explained by a single view point, rather a multidimensional process in which socio-economic, social and culture factors play significant roles all together. In addition to these theories of migration, gendered approach is crucial to understand female marriage immigration phenomena which have been largely shared among East Asian countries.

2.1.2 The feminization of migration and marriage migration phenomenon in Korea

According to the recent report on international migration conducted by UNDESA (2013: 7), female migrants counts for 48% of all international migration in 2013. Not only women take almost half of the population of international migration, but women also play a significant role in migration in terms of regions and types of migration. Castle and Miller (2009: 12) called this migration trend as 'feminization of migration'. The term has been discussed in various perspectives, such as population of female migrants, gendered division of labour in global market, and the motivations and process of migration (C.S. Kim 2011: 1).

Piper and Roces (2004: 1), ones of the few who have studied in feminization of migration in the nexus of labour migration and marriage migration, emphasizes a point in the beginning of their book as following:

“The connection between work-related migration and marriage has been neglected by conventional migration studies.”

In deed, the feminization of migration is often discussed in the context of increasing proportions of female labour migrants, but female marriage migration also plays a role in this trend, especially in Asia (Bélanger and Tran 2009: 9,

Binh 2013: 2). In the past decade, marriage migration has become “a popular channel” for Asian women from poorer, mostly Southeast Asian countries to move to wealthier, mostly East Asian countries (Chan 2014: 8, Jones and Shen 2008).

Female marriage migration is a recent phenomenon in Korea as well. According to Lee (2008), the number of international marriage was not significant until the early 1990s, and most of the cases are marriages between Korean women and foreign men. However, international marriage became a male dominant phenomenon and popular among bachelor farmers and fishermen who had difficulties to find marriage partners domestically. Many literatures have studied the increasing phenomenon in marriage migration toward East Asia, including Korea (Le et al. 2014, Binh 2013, H.K. Kim 2012, Lee 2008, Lai et al. 2013, Bélanger et al. 2011; Chan 2014). At first glance, Le et al. (2014: 87-88) has examined the recent patterns of cross-borders marriage throughout Asia in her research in the case of Vietnam. She gives two perspectives on this issue. Firstly, they emphasize on issues of ‘cultural identity, desire for mobility, and women’s agency in ‘global hypergamy’ of women side.’ Meaning that women from developing countries try to move up to a higher socio-economic position in the global society by marrying foreign men from wealthier countries. The other is a socio-demographic perspective, pointing out the factors of the ‘marriage squeeze’ are ‘the changes in traditional gender relations in the household and labour market, as well as an imbalance in sex ratios that prefers boys.’ Binh (2013) has studied about this massive marriage migration phenomenon in Asian countries. He argues that “due to the wide disparity in economic between urban and rural areas after industrialisation, a massive number of women have moved out from rural to urban areas and it has increased the difficulties in finding local women to marry for East Asian men especially for farmer bachelors who live in rural areas where relatively backward regions.” Since they have few chances to marry local women, many men in rural areas started looking for wives in foreign countries. Binh, specifically, conducted an analysis on a specific case of marriage migration, between Vietnam and Korea. He explains the increasing number of foreign brides with three factors ‘economic development, gender imbalance, and government-led policies (ibid: 57).’ H.K. Kim (2012: 5) also conducted a case study of marriage migration between Korea and Vietnam, he points out the reason of Korean men’s demand for Vietnamese brides is due to the ‘gendered structure’ of Korea. This gendered structure of Korean society has differed the marriage-eligible population of men and women, amplified with differentials in regions and classes. Moreover, there was the boom in international marriage arranged by match-making agencies (Chan 2014: 8). Lai et al. (2013: 3-4) view the match-making agencies as key factors in this emerging phenomenon. Lee (2008: 112) points out that the reason of the growing number of commercialized international marriage agencies due to the absence of regulations. The process of finding a “spouse” takes less effort and time comparing to other types of marriage. Wang (2007) has described the commercialized match-making processes as follows:

“...these marriages are orchestrated by matchmaking agencies that organize tours for prospective grooms, gather potential brides, match spouses, organize group weddings and complete the paperwork for the subsequent bride’s immigration to her new husband’s country of residence (as cited in Bélanger et al. 2011: 89).”

Due to the hasty and undiscerning process, numerous problems arose and the Korean government finally enacted a regulation for managing match-making agencies in 2008.

In short, the skyrocketed number of foreign brides since 1990s is a complex phenomenon that occurred by the government whose main concern was to resolve Korea's low-marriage and low-fertility rate problems, the bachelors who were left out in their own domestic marriage market but still hoping for wives, and women came to Korea with full of Korean dream.

2.2 Multiculturalism and Multicultural Family

2.2.1 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as a policy concept originated in Canada. Castles and Miller (2009) points out that multiculturalism implies "the willingness of the majority group to accept or even welcome cultural differences and adapt institutions accordingly (ibid: 247-248)." Another scholar, Kymlicka (2009), defines multiculturalism as "one type of 'politics of recognition' in that it recognises and accepts the differences of minorities that used to be ignored by 'normal' citizens (as cited in Ahn 2011: 98-99)." Therefore, the fundamental idea of multiculturalism is 'how to deal the matters of identity, difference, and recognition' (Ahn 2011: 98). However, it is important to note that multiculturalism takes different forms in different societies (Hugo 2005: 17). For example, Canada and Australia are commonly considered as examples of countries practicing overall multicultural policies and the UK and the Netherlands are the countries that have adopted selectively (Castles and Millers 2009).

Migration has led to flourishing cultural and ethnic diversity in many countries (Castles and Miller 2009: 245). Multicultural policy has been implemented widely in 'traditional migrant-receiving countries,' such as the US, Canada and Australia as a means of governmental intervention in order to solve social problems caused by increase in cultural and ethnic diversity in their countries (Lim 2011). Castles & Miller (2009) have categorized three multicultural policy models by how a receiving society or country recognize immigrants. At first glance, differential exclusionary model limits migrants to be incorporated into certain areas temporally without providing migrants accessibility to enjoying the welfare, acquiring citizenship and political participation in the receiving country. For example, 'guest worker' programs of Germany. The aim of this policy is to minimize minority groups and regulate influx of immigrants. Secondly, assimilationist model refers to 'one-sided process of adaptation'. This model makes immigrants to assimilate to the culture of receiving country by abolishing their own identity, such as language and culture. France's immigration policy is considered similar to this model. Lastly, multicultural model allows immigrants to participate in the society without giving up their diverse background, such as language, culture, and religion, within 'an expectation of conformity to key values'.

However, Castles and Miller (2009: 275) emphasizes that all these different models have vulnerable points for integration of immigrants. For example, multiculturalism can bring constant disunion within the society, and assimilation can keep minorities marginalized and cause conflicts. Moreover, this categorization of multicultural policy models is one of the ideal types that were created by scholars to explain social integration policies in many countries and it is hard to find a country that solely implement one type of the policy models, usually many countries exercise different approaches to different types of immigration. Korea's immigration policies are also varied depending on their visa or status of staying. For example, differential exclusionary model for undocumented and lower-skilled labour migrants, and combination model of assimilationist and multicultural models for marriage immigrants.

2.2.2 Multicultural Family in Korea

'*Damunbwa* [다문화]' is a Korean term that literal translation in English would be 'many cultures,' but it is commonly referred as 'multi-culture', sometimes as 'multi-race'. It has become a buzzword over the last decade in nationwide, such as academia, media, education, commerce, and political discourses. The term "*Damunbwa*" originated in and evolved from the concept of the multicultural family, most of Koreans tend to think that multiculturalism is applicable only to foreigners who married Koreans and their children (C.S. Kim 2011).

Another term '*damunhwagajok* [다문화가족]' literally means 'multicultural family', which refers to a family comprised of cross-boarder marriage. MFSA defines "a multicultural family (*damunhwagajok*)" as a family fits to either of two criteria following; "a family comprised of a national of the Republic of Korea by birth and an immigrant by marriage"; or "a family comprised of a person who has acquired Korean nationality by birth or by acknowledgement or through naturalization and a person who has acquired Korean nationality by acknowledgement or through naturalization¹¹." Definition of 'a multicultural family' from the MFSA seems more close to 'a multi-racial or multi-ethnic family' rather than multicultural in broader senses.

Actually, the origin of the term "multicultural family" has been created by an NGO named "Hi Family", who pointed out a term that is against to human rights in Enforcement Decree of the Military Service Act. In 2003, the NGO presented a petition to Human Rights Commission of Korea, arguing that the term 'mixed-blood children' violates human rights and suggested an alternative term 'the second generation of multicultural family,' therefore the government started to use the term 'multicultural family (*damunhwagajok*)' to signify international marriage families. Since discourses and issues about marriage immigrant women and their families has been drastically increased in Korean society, the

¹¹Multicultural Families Support Act, article 2, accessed on October 2015, English translation from Statutes of the Republic of Korea. Available at <http://elaw.klri.re.kr/kor_service/lawView.do?hseq=29049&lang=ENG?>

Korean government had to provide political supports to them and in 2008 by establishing MFSA, the term “multicultural family” has been set in the legislation and also in the Korean society.

2.3 Social Integration of Immigrants

This section is a foundation framework of this paper in order to analyse the dynamics of social integration of marriage migrant women in Korea and the impact of MFSCs on this.

2.3.1 Definition of social integration

The ultimate goal of multicultural policy is to integrate immigrants into the society and maximize positive effect by accommodating their cultural diversity (Lim 2011: 34). However, what is ‘social integration?’ Sagger et al. (2012: 2) point out that “integration is elusive concept that is defined in different ways.” Ager and Strang (2008: 166) observe similarly that the concept of integration is used in widely various meanings. Binh (2013: 107), in his research about ‘marriage migration between Vietnam and Korea,’ defines integration “a successful transition of one’s own culture to the host culture.” It means that immigrants incorporate into the new society, yet still preserve their own identity. Furthermore, UNDESA¹² states that the goal of social integration is “to create a more stable, safe and just society for all.”

The Multicultural Families Support Act clearly declares its goal, “The purpose is to help multicultural family members enjoy a stable family life, and therefore contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and ‘their integration into society’.” Additionally, it affirms the obligation of the State and local governments providing institutions and conditions in order to accomplish the purpose. In short, the goal of the policy for multicultural family is ‘social integration’ and successful settlement of members of multicultural families in Korea, especially marriage immigrants and their children.

2.3.2 Measurement of social Integration

The broad operational definition of migrant integration generally refers to the process by which migrants lead an independent and sustainable life through social, cultural, political and economic participations as members of the host society (Shin 2011). A crucial question is how immigrants and their descendants can become part of receiving societies and nations. A second question is how the state and civil society can and should facilitate this process. Answers have varied in different countries (Castles and Miller 2009: 245).

¹²Definition from UNDESA web page, accessed October 2015, available at <<http://undesadspd.org/socialintegration/definition.aspx>>

Social integration can be defined differently in various contexts. Thus it is almost impossible to have a universal measurement or indicator. Now the question is that ‘how do we measure or examine social integration of immigrants?’ In order to analyse the dynamics between social integration of marriage migrant women in Korea and the impacts of MFSCs on them, I will firstly clarify the concept of social integration. There are many scholars and institutes have conceptualized indicators and markers of social integration of immigrants. For example, Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a tool that has been developed for measuring immigrant integration policies in 38 countries including EU member states, the USA, Canada, Australia, and also Korea. MIPEX has 167 indicators under 8 policy categories¹³ that can capture “multi-dimensional picture of immigrants’ opportunities to participate in society.”

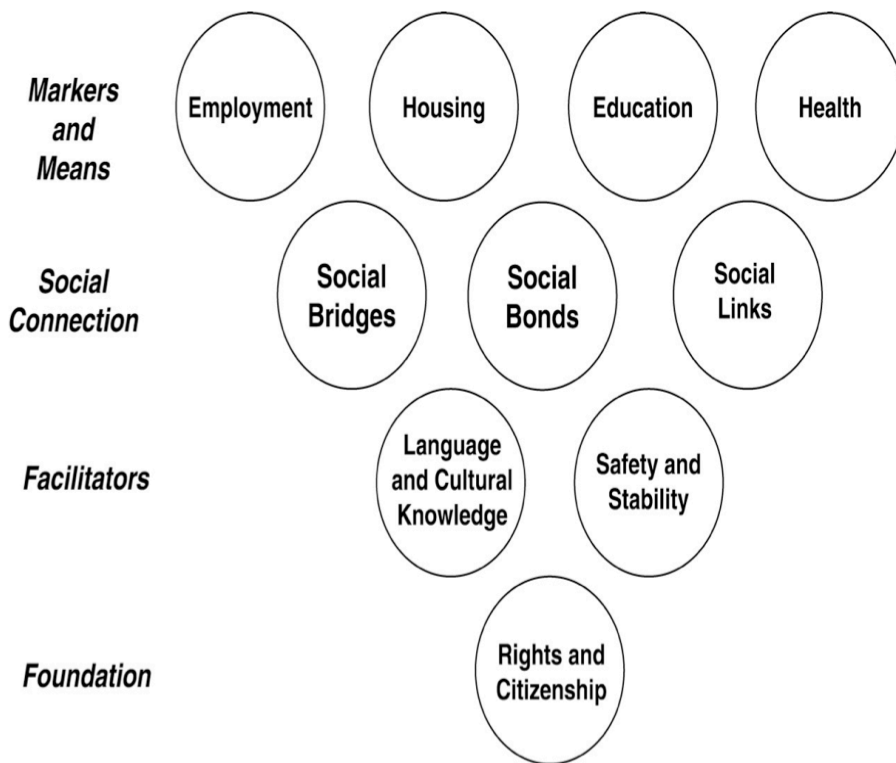
MIPEX is useful to examine extensive policies on immigrant integration in various regions. However, it can tend to overlook the other side of story, the immigrants. It is important to acknowledge that immigrants have various background and characteristics, for example, different motives and patterns of migration and phase and period to resettlement. Thus, integration measurement should include indicators and domains that can reflect the diversity of migrant groups.

2.3.3 A conceptual framework of Ager and Strang (2008)

In general, employment, housing, education and health are examined as key markers to measure the outcomes of immigrant group and it would normally be considered as “immigrant integration” (Sagger et al. 2012: 23). However, Ager and Strang (2008) emphasize that these indicators are not only markers for outcomes but also a means of successful integration. Moreover, they continue arguing that achieving successful immigrant integration should be associated with other domains such as “rights and citizenship” as foundation, “language and cultural knowledge and safety and stability” as facilitators, and “social bridges, social bonds, and social links” as well (see Figure 2-1).

¹³ The eight policy areas are; labour market ability, family reunion, education, health, political participation, permanent residence, access to nationality, anti-discrimination. More details available at <<http://www.mipex.eu/what-is-mipex>>, accessed 8 November 2015

Figure 2-1 Conceptual Framework of Immigrant Integration



Source: Ager and Strang (2008: 170)

Foundation: rights and citizenship

“Citizenship designates the equality of rights of all citizens within a political community, as well as a corresponding set of institutions guaranteeing these rights (Quote from Baubock 1991, as cited in Castles and Miller 2009: 44).”

Ager and Strang argues that integration of immigrants can be accomplished on the basis of rights and citizenship that are guaranteed by the state. However, if the integration is used as a means for immigration management, the evaluation or measurement of the integration of immigrants may be required as qualification of the rights and citizenship. According to the Dutch Civic Integration Act, for example, the persons who want to migrate to the Netherlands for marriage or family reunion are required to pass an integration test in order to get in and stay in the country (Shin 2011: 7). It can block the actual opportunities to integrate immigrants as members of the destination country by regulating policies too narrowly. Therefore, acquisition of citizenship, nationality, or naturalization should be understood as a core foundation for successful integration.

Facilitators: language and cultural knowledge and safety & stability

Generally, language ability of the destination country and knowledge of its culture are considered as fundamental factors of immigrant integration. However, it is important to see knowledge of language and culture as a means that ease the process of integration, rather a measurement. According to OECD (2014: 66), “mastering the host-country language is the most important skill for labour market integration.” Therefore, it is important to provide opportunity of learning the language, but also translation services especially in public services.

Social connection: social bridges, social bonds, and social links

Ager and Strang emphasizes the importance of social connections at local level. They consider integration as a bidirectional process, therefore mutual accommodation between immigrants and local community is important. Social connection can be divided into social bonds, social bridges, and social links. Firstly, social bonds appear in relationships that can share cultural and religious custom and build intimate relationships, such as families or relatives of immigrants. It helps immigrants to maintain their own identity and to have psychological stability. Second, social bridge is relationships that are formed between immigrants and local community members. It can be built from positive and favourable perception of immigrants and it may impact on active participation of the local activities and employment opportunities of migrants. Lastly, social links are formed by the relationships between individuals of immigrants and the state’s policy, such as supporting service of the government.

Markers and means: employment, education, health, and housing

In general, employment, education, health, housing is presented as indicators to measure the degree of integration. Employment is a key indicator of economic integration, which means in the labour market ensures equal opportunities and rights of immigrants. Education can be evaluated by measuring the environment in which provides immigrants and their children opportunities of education equally. Education or training is closely related to the future economic participation; hence it is also closely related to economic integration. Health is a key indicator of social integration in particular. This means the state provide equitable benefits of health and medical services for immigrants, therefore they can enjoy their physically and mentally sound lives. Housing is an indicator that is related to the peaceful settlement of immigrants in the form of a healthy living environment and the community.

The analytical framework of Ager and Strang, however, limits the object of integration policy to refugees. Refugees leave their countries because persecution, human rights abuse and generalized violence make life there unsustainable (Castles and Miller 2009: 34). The dynamics of marriage immigrants are, of course, different in the case of refugees. Binh (2013: 3) points out the uniqueness and differences of marriage immigrants from other type of immigrants. He argues that marriage migration is rather more complex than others in terms

of motivation, length of stay, and impact of marriage migrants to their marital families and the host societies. Also, their integration is not avoidable or ignorable since they are involved in the new family directly (Binh 2013: 3).

Therefore, I will modify and expand this framework in order to apply to the case of marriage immigrant women and their family (multicultural families) and the effect of MFSCs on social integration of the women in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 Multicultural Family Support Center

3.1 Legal and Policy Background of MFSC

The Korean government brought the marriage immigration issue on the official table at the 74th government administration assembly meeting and announced the Grand Plan in 2006. Table 3-1 shows the legislations and policies have been established based on the Grand plan. In 2007, Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners¹⁴ Residing in the Republic of Korea (FATFR) and Multicultural Families Support Act (MFSA) in the very next year. The MFSA provides a legal foundation for making policies on multicultural families. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family(MOGEF) should establish a master plan for establishing policies on multicultural families (hereafter referred to as ‘Master Plan’) every five years. Additionally, MOGEF should conduct a fact-finding survey at national level on multicultural families every three years. Since the MFSA enacted, “The First Master Plans for Policies on Multicultural Families (2010-2012)” and “The Second Master Plans for Policies on Multicultural Families (2013-2017)” have been announced and implemented in various ways. The both FATFR and MFSA provide legal bases for the policies for social integration of marriage immigrant women in Korea, however, MFSA is extraordinary since the Act is specially aiming for social integration of multicultural families, which mainly about marriage immigrant women and their families.

Table 3-1 Changes in Multicultural Policies

Year	Contents
2006	Establishment of Grand Plan
2007	Legislation on “Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea”
2007	Legislation on “Marriage Brokers Business Management Act”
2008	Legislation on “Multicultural Families Support Act”
2008	Establishment of “ The 1st Basic Plan for Policies on Foreigners (2008-2012)”
2010	Establishment of “The 1st Master Plans for Supporting Multicultural Families (2010-2012)”
2012	Establishment of The 2nd Master Plans for Supporting Multicultural Families (2013-2017)”
2012	Establishment of “ The 2st Basic Plan for Policies on Foreigners (2013-2017)”

Source: Joe 2013, modified and translated by the author

¹⁴ FATFR defines ‘foreigners in Korea’ as those ‘who do not possess the nationality of the Republic of Korea’ and ‘who legally stay in Korea for the purpose of residing in Korea.’

MFSA and it provides legal bases for policies and programs for multicultural families. It covers a broad area of multicultural family affairs, for example, the Act states responsibilities of state and local governments for supporting multicultural families and provides guidelines for Master Plans and annual implementation plans for supporting multicultural families and also establishment and operation of MFSCs.

The Grand Plan seems to be successfully exposed the concept of ‘multiculturalism’ and incorporating foreign brides into Korean society in terms of expanding policy implementation on supporting their adaptation. However, it is still in questions that if the policy is aiming at multiculturalism or assimilation of immigrants because the policy seems to be more about ‘assimilation’ than their integration by keeping their own cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Furthermore, there are criticisms on the governmental efforts, arguing that the government focuses only on matters of multicultural families, especially foreign brides, but others by keeping its passive stance in other types of migrants, such as low-skilled workers. The other criticism is on issues of wasting budget and personal resources, since many programs are overlapped with different governmental departments. On the other hand, the Grand Plan can be a cornerstone for further policies for social integration of foreigners.

In the same line with contrasting views above on the Korean government’s multicultural policy, I will look closely into objectives, programs and operational status of MFSCs in order to examine the role of MFSCs on social integration of marriage immigrant women in Korea in following sections in this chapter.

3.2 Objectives of MFSCs

MFSCs have been established on the basis the MFSA. These MFSCs’ aims are to help ‘multicultural families to enjoy a stable family life and therefore contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and their integration into society.’ MFSCs provide programs like family education, counseling and cultural services for marriage immigrant women to adapt to Korean society in their initial stages of settling and to help multicultural families lead stable family lives.”¹⁵ According to MOGEF, objectives of MFSCs are 1) to support stable settlement of multicultural families in Korean society and improve sound and constructive independency of the families; 2) to strengthen functions of multicultural families by providing comprehensive and structured programs such as family education, multicultural understanding training, counseling, etc.; 3) to improve multicultural families’ economic independency by supporting career training and connecting job markets; 4) to enhance perspectives on multicultural society and multicultural families; and 5) to function as a hub between multicultural families and their local communities.

¹⁵ Quoted from “*Danuri* [다누리]”, the multicultural family support web portal. Accessed 9 August 2015. More details are available at <<http://www.liveinkorea.kr>>

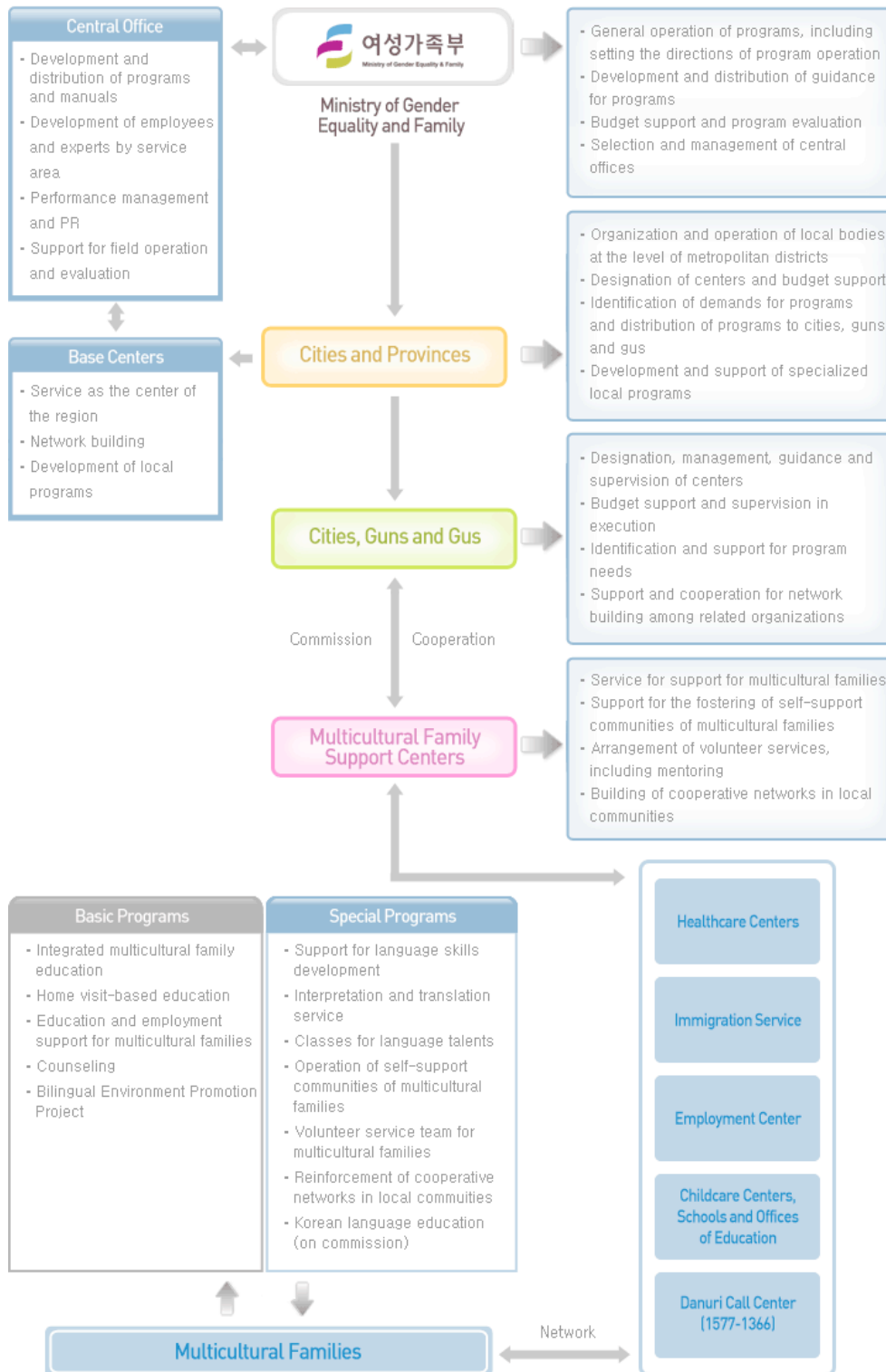
3.3 Operation system of MFSCs

Figure 3-1 shows that various agencies are involved in operation of MFSCs at different levels. Firstly, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family is the main authority that is in charge of setting up goals of projects and handles general issues that are related to MFSC and provides budgets at central government expense¹⁶. Korean Institute for Healthy Family(KIHF) is the “Central Office” of MFSCs meaning that KIHf functions as a headquarter. It manages the development and distribution of programs and manuals, human resources development and support for field operation and evaluates performances of MFSCs. Then, there are “Base Centers” which are in sixteen metropolitan cities and provinces of Korea. Their roles are 1) to develop programs for multicultural family that is suited to each local characteristic and 2) to network in between the Central Office and the MFSCs in local communities with other local communities and build networks among regions. Cities and provinces establish and operate a MFSC in their regions or can entrust the establishment and operation of a support center to a corporation or an organization. Also cities and provinces share 30% of the budget of a MFSC at local government expense¹⁷ and support for development of programs that are specialized with their local characteristics. Cities, Guns (counties) and Gus (districts) take roles as management and supervising of MFSCs. Finally, there are 211 MFSCs as of 2014 at local and regional level that are commissioned by local governments (cities, provinces, guns and gus) to provide services and programs for multicultural families in their regions.

¹⁶ According to the recent report from the MGEF (2015), total budget of MGEF for 2015 is 37,754,000,000 KRW (approximately 32,142,000 USD) at central government expenses, which will provide 70% of budget of each MFSC. There are two types of budget for a MFSCs: 1) Type A – 152,770,000 KRW (130,061 USD), 2) Type B – 121,770,000 KRW (103,669 USD). Budget type is determined by each MFSC’s evaluation result of previous year by evaluating and comparing the number of user and the population of multifamily in the region (2015 MOGEF: 16).

¹⁷ Exceptionally, the local government of Seoul city provides 50% of the MFSCs’ budget (2015 MOGEF).

Figure 3-1 Operation System of MFSCs



Source: “Danuri [다누리]”, the multicultural family support web portal.

3.4 MFSCs' Programs & Operational Status

MFSCs provides various programs for marriage immigrants and their families to promote multicultural society. Table 3-2 presents MFSCs programs that are broadly involved in many different categorized in; family; gender equality; human rights; social integration; counseling; and promotion and resource linkage.

Table 3-2 MFSC Programs

Category	Program Examples
Family	Creation of bilingual environment programs, programs for the improvement of family relations and communication, etc.
Gender Equality	Couple education, preparatory educational programs before marriage, understanding spouse programs, etc.
Human Rights	Programs for understanding multiculturalism, education programs about immigrants and human rights, etc.
Social Integration	Programs for understanding working cultures, job training connecting with expert organizations, multicultural family volunteering education, multicultural family self-help groups, etc.
Counseling	Family (individual and group) counseling, case management, family crisis support, etc.
Promotion and resource linkage	Promoting multiculturalism in local community, building social networks in local community, etc.

Source: MOGEF (2015: 97-99), processed and translated by author.

Also, MFSCs has been remarkably increased especially in numbers. 21 MFSCs launched in 2006 and the number of them increased up to 211 as of 2014 which means it has been increased in tenfold in less than a decade. Moreover, the budget for supporting multicultural families has increased tremendously. The first Korean government's budget for multicultural policies was 200 million won (about 160,000 euros) in 2005, then after establishment of MFSA in 2008, it expanded from 33 billion won (approximately 26 million euros) to 90 billion won (approximately 72 million euros) (Joe 2013: 136).

However, 2012 performance evaluation report of MFSCs shows that most of the participants used MFSCs within limited programs, such as language program, cultural assimilation. Because MFSCs primarily provide programs are concentrated in cultural assimilation of the women most of the time and on the other hand, lack of programs for people surrounding the women. Even not much for their spouses and families in law (MOGEF 2013).

Chapter 4 Data Analysis (1): Profile of the marriage migrant women

4.1 The Database: A Study on the National Survey of Multicultural Families 2012

The main data source of this paper is a raw data set from “A Study on the National Survey of Multicultural Families 2012” (hereafter referred to as ‘the survey’), which was conducted jointly by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family(MOGEF) and Korean Women’s Development Institute(KWDI). The survey is “a fact-finding survey on multicultural families” the purpose is “to ascertain the current status and actual conditions of multicultural families and to utilize the results thereof in establishing a policy for supporting multicultural families (MOGEF and KWDI 2015: 3).” The survey was carried out from 10 July to 31 July 2012 with sample survey method. Technical researchers visited random samples of 15,341 multicultural families, and conducted the survey through in-person interviews. The survey questionnaires are designed for different respondent groups; 1) multicultural families¹⁸, 2) marriage migrants, 3) partners of the marriage migrants, and 4) children of the multicultural families who are between 9 and 24 years. Each of the questionnaire sets has a rich variety of questions in order to get specific information from different members of the families. This study will use the questionnaire for marriage migrants, which consists of surveys in general demographical information, marital and family relationship, child-rearing, social life and use of support services, economic activity and status, etc.

This study will use mainly data of marriage migrants who were foreign-born and has or had marital relationship with Korean national (N=221,736)¹⁹. The actual number of representative sample is 15,001 (2,470 males and 12,531 females), and the estimated population of marriage migrant women in Korea is 283,224 in accordance with demographic distribution. This study will show the estimated number of the respondents.

¹⁸ The samples are drawn from ‘2010 Population and Housing Census Report’ and ‘Administration Data’ of MOI (MOGEF, received an answer by personal Q&A at the government’s website, ‘e-people’ (The people’s online petition and discussion portal) in 28 October 2015.

¹⁹ The data of “marriage migrants” includes “single-person households”, which families of single persons who have been naturalized. The survey included the group since they are highly likely to become members of multicultural family (MOGEF 2013: 120)

4.2 Profile of the Marriage Immigrant Women

In this section I will broadly examine the profile of marriage immigrant women in Korea from general socio-demographic characteristics to private areas, such as marital status and the route of marriage. Firstly, I conducted descriptive statistics on the women's marital status, age, regional distribution, country of origin, education level, first year of entry, and route of marriage. Then, I will additionally do cross tabulation analysis on selected data, such as education level, first year of entry and the route of marriage in order to see whether there are differences among nationalities. It is important to examine the profile of marriage immigrant women since it widely impacts on the process of social integration of them. Berry (1997) observed that key factors that influence on social integration of immigrants are the ones that the immigrants have already attained before migration, such as age, sex, education levels, ethnic background, and so on.

Table 4-1 Marital Status & Age

Marital Status	100%(N=221,736)	Age	100%(N=221,736)
Married	92.9	< 20	0.6
		20 - 29	29.9
Divorce/ Separation	4.9	30 - 39	31.8
		40 - 49	23.6
Separation by death	2.2	50 - 59	9.5
		60+	4.6

Table 4-1 presents that among the marriage migrant women, majority of the women are married (92.9%) and 7.1% of women is currently separated with their spouses. I included the data of women who are not married anymore since, first of all, this paper is not only looking at their marital lives, but also socio-economic side of the women's lives. Moreover, in the case of women who are divorced or separated with their partners, they are highly likely to face more challenge in Korean society in terms of economic activities or rearing children²⁰. Therefore, it is important to include women who migrated to Korea by marriage and remained in Korea after divorce or separation. The distribution of age is concentrated in between 20s and 40s (85.3%). It shows that marriage migration is a new phenomenon that happened over the last two decades.

²⁰ Among the women who divorced or separated, 41.4% answered they are rearing their children (49.5% of them have no child).

Table 4-2 Country of Origin

Total	100% (N=221,736)
China (Joseonjok)	31.0
China	24.1
Vietnam	22.5
Philippines	6.5
Japan	4.7
Cambodia	2.3
Thailand	1.5
Mongol	1.4
North America (US, Canada)	1.1
Others	4.8

Table 4-2 shows the countries of origin of marriage immigrant women in Korea, and we can see that the women are concentrated in certain Asian countries, mostly countries that are less developed than Korea. More than half of marriage migrant women is from China including Joseonjok (55.1%) and then Vietnam (22.5%), Philippines (6.5%), and so on.

Table 4-3 Education Level

Total	100% (N=221,736)
Less than primary education	10.5
Secondary education	69.2
Higher education(2/4yr college) or more	20.3

According to Table 4-3, 69.2% of marriage immigrant women have finished secondary school education. 10.5% of the women had less than primary school education. Results of analysis on education level by nationality shows that education levels are varied by countries, especially between women from poorer countries and wealthier countries. Women from Southeast Asian countries, such as Vietnam and Cambodia tend to have lower education than women from North America and Western Europe and Oceania. Only each 4% and 1.6% of Vietnamese and Cambodian women had higher level of education and. On the contrary, 86.4% of women from North America and 93.7% of women from Western Europe and Oceania had higher education. It shows us that education level of marriage immigrant women in Korea is varied by their countries of origin. This implies that there could be a disparity in economic and social status among different national groups of marriage immigrant women in Korea.

Table 4-4 Year of First Entry in Korea

Total	100% (N=221,736)
< 2002	26.8
2002-2005	24.6
2006-2009	34.4
2010+	14.2

67.2% of marriage migrant women has been living in Korea less than 10 years. Again, this result shows us that marriage migration of women has happened drastically over the last decade. Moreover, some nationalities have distinguishable patterns in entry year (see details at Appendix A. Table 4-4-1). One group is China (Joseonjok), Taiwan/Hong Kong, and Japan, which is a large number of women from these countries arrived in Korea before 2000. The other group is Vietnam, Cambodia and South Asia. More than 80% women of these countries came to Korea after 2006. The reasons why some nationalities show distinct result on their entry year are because since the 1960s, the Unification Church²¹ has organized such marriages for Korean men and most brides were Japanese women (Lee 2008: 110, Kim 2011: 93-94). Then influx of foreign brides increased in the late 1990s as women who mostly from South-east Asian countries came to Korea arranged by match-making agencies

Table 4-5 Routes of Marriage

Total	100% (N=221,736)
Introduction by match-making agencies	24.1
Family or relatives	20.3
Friends or colleagues	29.0
A religious organization	6.1
Direct contact (without a mediator)	19.3
Others	1.2

Connecting to previous result, routes of marriage (Table 4-5) shows a clearer picture of international marriage trends of Korea. 49.3% of marriage immigrant women met their husbands through acquaintances (family or friends). However, figures that do deserve highlighting are marriage arrangement by a match-making agency and a religious organization. 24.1% and 6.1% of the women got married through each match-making agencies and religious groups. The route of marriage is also distinguishably differed by countries of origin. We can spot some nationalities showing that a noticeable number of women from the countries got married by specific routes (see details at Appendix A. Table 4-5-1). 66.4% of Japanese women met their husband through

²¹ The Unification Church was founded in 1940 by a Korean man, Moon Sun Myung. The first wedding arranged by the Church was held in 1961 in Seoul (Kim 2011: 93).

a religious organization and 73.5% of Cambodian women, 63.2% of Vietnamese women, and 51.4% of women from South Asian countries got married through match-making agencies.

Table 4-6 Regional Distribution

Total	100% (N=221,736)
Urban area	75.0
Rural area	25.0

Furthermore, Table 4-6 shows that marriage immigrant women tend to reside more in urban areas than rural areas. 55.1% of the women reside in capital area, which includes Seoul (21.1%), the capital city of Korea and outskirts, Incheon (6.2%), and Gyeonggi province (27.8%). Considering the fact that 49.3% residence registration population of Korea lives in capital area in same year (Statistics Korea 2015), it is not a peculiar result. However, international marriage rate of Korean men who work in farming/fishing industry is outstanding. Since 2000, international marriage rate of farmers/fishermen in rural area has increased from 12.6% to 46.2% at the highest in 2006 (Statistics Korea 2015, see details at Appendix A Graph 4-6-1). In other words, four or five out of ten farmers/fishermen in rural area married by international marriages.

There was an article about the Korean government's announcement that they will initiative match-making couples. The basis of this is that the government are expecting population crisis in very near future, due to low the fertility rate of Korea. Korea recorded only 8.6 babies per 1,000 citizens in 2014, the country's lowest figure since they began to record in 1970. Low-fertility (1.21 children per woman) and aging society issues have been main concern of Korea's government over last two decades. (Agcopra 2015).

This is interesting but does not seem to be a news. The Korea government has shown its desperate effort for resolving 'marriage squeeze' problems. Since Korea has been experiencing a critical shortage of women who are willing to marry and it is harder for men who are 'not popular in Korea's marriage market,' for instance, low skilled and waged, less educated, or physically handicapped. It became even harder for bachelors in farming or fishing villages due to the massive exodus occurred in rural areas moving out to the urban areas since 1980s after the industrialization and economic development (Kim 2011).

Therefore, altogether with the results of analysis on entry year, marriage route, and regional distribution of marriage immigrant women in Korea support the theories about massive inflow of foreign brides into Korea (see more details at Chapter 2).

4.3 Living in Korea as A Foreign Bride

In this section, the study will examine difficulties that marriage immigrant women face in Korea. A Marriage immigrant woman in Korea would face various challenges from her multiple expected roles in Korea as a wife, daughter-in-law, mother of Korean nationals and, of course, as an individual agent in Korean society.

Firstly, it seems that many foreign women fail to adapt to their new family. Especially women who married through match-making agencies to Korean men who live in rural areas where relatively conservative culture remains, they are highly likely to be expected to act and behave like Korean wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law by speaking Korean and accepting culture. This is because in the traditional Korean family system, the new bride adopts her husband's family's traditions by leaving behind those of her natal family. For example, there is an old Korean saying, "when a daughter gets married, she becomes 'a *chulganwoein* [출가외인]," meaning that a married daughter no longer belongs to her own family. The divorce rate of the international marriages between Korean men and foreign women among Korea's total divorce rate was 0.5% in 2003 and increased in a steeper rate (17 times increased), compared to the rate of 2011, 8.4%. 45.3% of divorced marriage immigrant women maintained their marriage between 5 years and less than 10 years, and average duration of international marriage before divorce is 6.7 years. Women from Cambodia (2.5 years), Vietnam (4.9 years) and South Asian countries (2.7) have maintained only less than 5 years of marriage time, indicating that many immigrant brides fail to take root in the early stage of marriages.

The reasons of divorce and separation are 'difference in personality (46%),' 'economic issue (23.3%),' and 'alcohol and gambling issue (6.4%),' and so on. Domestic abuse and violence account for 5.8 percent relatively small comparing to major reasons of divorce and separation, but it has been a serious issue regarding the comparatively high number of deaths of foreign women by their husbands. According to a recent news article (Iglauer 2015), a total of 123 women were killed by their husbands in 2013. Marriage immigrant women are in riskier position than native Korean women in terms of domestic violence, especially if the marriages were arranged by match-making agencies. An interview with a senior official of MOGEF indicates major cause of domestic violence are largely due to language and cultural barriers. To quote the interview:

"Women from Southeast Asian countries come here for a better living without really knowing who they are getting married to. They didn't get married out of love. Rather, they met them but through marriage brokers. If they don't speak the Korean language and do not understand Korean culture, then they are at a disadvantage. There cannot be an equal relationship (quoted from Iglauer 2015)."

This shows that one of the key factors for successful settlement of marriage immigrant women is deeply correlated to intimate family relationships and emotional tie between husbands and wives. Therefore, integration within family levels should be a fundamental basis for social integration of marriage immigrant women in Korea.

However, this is not the end of story of the foreign brides in Korea. Marriage immigrant women face many problems and challenges within Korean society as well. The report of the survey (MOGEF 2012) shows that 41.3% of marriage immigrant women have experienced in discrimination. It has increased at 4.9% from the result of previous survey in 2009 (36.4%). This result may arise from the Korea's pride of ethnic and cultural homogeneity that has taken long deep in the society. As Le et al. (2014: 89) have observed that in the countries that are sharing 'strong nationalist sentiment' among majority people, foreign wives are commonly perceived as 'cultural outsiders.' Korea also has been pointed by international organizations about its unfavorable environment for foreigners. According to a press release from the UN, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination singled out Korea's tendency of discrimination against foreigners and urged to take effective governmental actions to eliminate it (FIDH 2007). Five years later, again, the UN human rights office has pointed out racism and xenophobia in Korean society (Park 2015). This explains us that Korea's foreign brides who are not familiar with the culture and language differences have been facing difficulties both within marital families and the society.

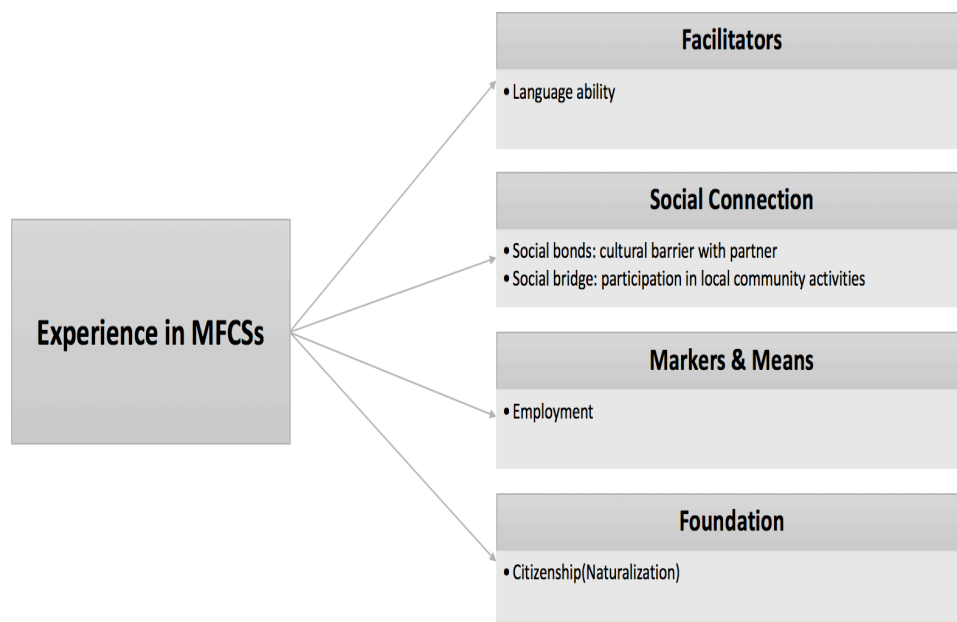
Chapter 5 Data Analysis (2): The effects of the MFSCs on social integration of marriage migrant women in Korea.

In this chapter, I will conduct cross tabulation analysis (henceforth “cross-tab analysis) with a statistic program, IBM SPSS 23. Cross-tab analysis is a statistical technic that helps to examine relationship between two variables. With the cross-tab analysis, we expect to figure out the influence of MFSCs on social integration of marriage migrant women in Korea, in other words, examine whether people who have attended MFSCs’ programs were “more” or “less” likely to be integrated in Korean society than who have not attended at all.

5.1 Choice of Variables: indicators to measure social integration

Before conducting the cross-tab analysis, I collected variables and allocate them within Ager and Strang’s conceptual framework to shape dimensions of social integration of marriage migrant women in Korea. Then compare each variable with the variables of experience in MFSCs. Original framework of Ager and Strang specifies ten core domains (see Chapter 2). However, I modified and differed indicators (see Figure 5-1) since marriage immigrant women in Korea will require different indicators than refugees in order to shape the data source to fit in this analysis.

Figure 5-1 Framework on Integration of Marriage Migrant Women



5.2 Data Analysis

In order to examine the role of MFSCs, I reorganized the variable of experienced in MFSCs' program into two groups, one is a group of people who have used at least one program of MFSCs (hereafter referred to as 'Have Used Group') and the other is a group of people who are not aware of MFSCs and aware but never used (hereafter referred to as 'Never Used Group'). Table 5-1 shows that there are more persons who have never used any of MFSCs' programs (58.6%) than who have used (41.4 %). According to "2013 MFSC Performance Report" shows that the total number of participants in MFSCs' programs in 2013 are 56,964 persons (MOGEF 2014: 29). In other words, more than half of marriage migrant women have never used MFSCs' programs. The number of people in Never Used group is significant, even after excluding the number of women who have lived in Korea more than 10 years (59,425), thus are highly likely in relatively stable stages in terms of integration.

Table 5-1 Experienced in MFSCs' Programs

Have Used	Never Used		Total
	Aware	Not Aware	
41.4(91,708)	58.6(130,028)		100.0(221,736)
	23.4(51,856)	35.2(78,172)	

Language ability as a key facilitator of integration

"Being able to speak the main language of the host community is consistently identified as central to the integration process."- Ager and Strang (2008: 182)

Speaking the language of destination country would be like in an express train on the journey of integration. It leads immigrants to link with the local community and also access to broader range of information and resources in order to have better opportunities, such as employment. It is more crucial for foreign brides to speak the language of host country since they need to communicate with their marital family members, especially in the case of rearing children. In fact, 21.7% of marriage immigrant women in Korea answered that they have had trouble with their spouses because of language barrier. Furthermore, the most of reason for not participating in community activities (27.8%) and not having job (49.7%) are due to lack of Korean language ability (MOGEF and KDWI 2013). Therefore, learning Korean language will be the primary objective for both MFSCs and marriage immigrants.

However, the result of Table 5-2 shows that more percentage of women in the Never Used Group tends to assess their language skills as good than the Have Used Group.

Table 5-2 MFSCs' Programs * Subjective Level of Korean Language

%(N)

	Good	Average	Poor	Total
Speaking(N=221,733)				
Have Used	39(35,756)	40(36,522)	21(19,429)	100(91,707)
Never Used	66(85,402)	22(28,576)	12(16,048)	100(130,026)
Hearing (N=221,736)				
Have Used	44(40,333)	38.5(35,310)	17.5(16,065)	100(91,708)
Never Used	67.7(87,995)	21.7(28,203)	10.6(13,830)	100(130,028)
Reading (N=221,735)				
Have Used	40.8(37,435)	34.4(31,561)	24.8(22,711)	100(91,707)
Never Used	62.1(80,741)	21.9(28,513)	16.0(20,774)	100(130,028)
Writing (N=221,737)				
Have Used	30.8(28,254)	33.9(31,115)	35.3(32,340)	100.0(91,709)
Never Used	55.9(72,743)	21.2(27,548)	22.9(29,737)	100(130,028)

Social connection within family and local community

Ager and Strang (2008: 177) observed that “social connection plays a fundamental role that progress the process of integration at a local level.” One thing that we should note is that marriage migrants, especially marriage migrant women in Korea is different from other types of immigrants in the sense that while their legal status and rights improve by marriage, they still remain vulnerable in the process of settling down based on their gender, ethnicity and class. “Immigrant wives upon marriage face a new set of challenges in marriage, family, and community (Yamanaka and Akiba 2014: 65),” which means that they not only have to integrate into the society of receiving countries but also into their new families. Thus, building ties with their new families and local communities should be equally considered as important factor for successful integration.

Given this circumstances of marriage immigrant women, MFSCs have been providing family integration programs, such as programs for ‘the improvement of family relations’. In order to examine differences in family relationship between the two groups, I took a variable that can show us cultural barriers between marriage migrant women and their partners then apply cross-tab analysis. The result shows that the Have Used group tend to has experienced cultural barrier with their partners more than the Never used group.

Table 5-3 MFSCs' Programs * Cultural Differences with Partner

%(N)

	Yes	No	Total
Have Used	69.5(62,057)	30.5(27,291)	100.0(89,348)
Never Used	45.1(52,601)	54.9(64,042)	100.0(116,643)

Now for the social bridge with local community, I used a variable that shows marriage migrant women's participation in local community (see Table 5-4). With this variable, I would like to see whether the experienced group in MFSCs' program more or less tend to participate in local community than the not experienced group. More than 80% of respondents answered that they have not attended any local community activities. The group who have experienced of taking programs in MFSCs have participated more (17.4%) than the group Never used (12%). Yet, we can see that more than 80% of either of the two groups have no participation in local community activities.

Table 5-4 MFSCs' Programs * Participation in Local Community Activities

%(N)

	Yes	No	Total
Have Used	17.4(15,948)	82.6(75,760)	100.0(91,708)
Never Used	12.0(15,552)	88.0(114,477)	100.0(130,029)

Employment status as a marker and a means of integration

Stable in economic status is key factor for immigrants of integration. As, Ager and Strang (2008: 169) emphasized that "employment is widely considered as one of the key areas that shows degree of integration of migrants." Also employment "play a role as a means of integration by supporting migrants' integration in host countries." Therefore, it is important for marriage immigrant women to be economically active.

MFSCs provide career support programs to marriage migrant women for their stable settlement. Comparing to the average monthly income of household of Korea (4.3 million won, approximately 3,500 euros), multicultural family earns less than the national average. 63.3% of multicultural family households get less than 3 million won (approximately 2,400 euros) per month monthly income. It is important for marriage migrant women to have opportunities in economic activities. However, the relationship between MFSC and economic activity of the women does not seem to be correlated much. The group Never Used MFSCs tends to have involved in economic activity than the group Have Used.

Table 5-5 MFSCs' Programs * Economic Activity (last 7 days)

%(N)

	Have worked	Have not worked	Total
Have Used	45.5(41,753)	54.5(49,955)	100.0(91,708)
Never Used	57.0(74,122)	43.0(55,905)	100.0(130,027)

Citizenship and visa status of marriage migrant women

As Ager and Strang pointed out, citizenship is the foundation of successful social integration. It varies in deferent countries and their legal system.

In the case of marriage immigrant of Korea, 46.4% of the total number of marriage immigrant women has acquired Korean citizenship or naturalized. Among those who are naturalized, 32.7% has visited MFSCs and 67.3% has never. Participating MFSCs' programs is not mandatory or MFSCs are not institution or acquirement of Korean citizenship, MFSCs may not influence on this area much. However, MFSCs can be supporting for marriage immigrant women when they for F-6 (marriage migration) visa because Korean government requires minimum level of Korean language in order to prevent too much hasty arranged marriages. In addition, regarding the conditions for acquiring Korean citizenship²², they need to stay in Korea at least one year to two years in Korea with remaining in marital status. This can often cause hinders for the women to end their unhappy marriages.

Findings

There is no significant pattern that shows that the group who has experienced of MFSCs' program is more integrated into Korean society than the group who has not. I assumed that period of time that women living in Korea might determine in the use of MFSCs, thus conducted an extra cross-tab analysis with year of entry and experience in MFSCs

²² In order to apply for Korean citizenship, marriage immigrants should fall one of any followings; 1) marriage immigrants who have stayed in Korea for two or more years maintaining marital relations; 2) Marriage immigrants who have been married to Korean citizens for three or more years and have lived in Korea for one or more years; 3) Marriage immigrants who have failed to maintain normal marital relations for a reason attributable to the Korean spouse, including death, disappearance, and other reasons, and have stayed in Korea as indicated in 1) or 2); and 4) Marriage immigrants who have children from a marriage with a Korean spouse and are raising or will raise the children, and fits the condition of staying in Korea as indicated in 1) or 2). (source: Nationality Act).

Table 5-6 Year of Entry * MFSCs' Programs

%(N)

	Have Used	Never Used	Total by Entry Year
< 2002	27.5(16,360)	72.5(43,135)	100.0(59,495)
2002 - 2005	32.5(17,770)	67.5(36,841)	100.0(54,611)
2006 - 2009	51.7(39,425)	48.3(36,852)	100.0(76,277)
2010+	57.9(18,153)	42.1(13,201)	100.0(31,354)

Table 5-8 shows that marriage immigrant women who came to Korea after 2006 and 2012 tend to have experienced in MFSCs' programs than women came before 2006. Perhaps we can assume that those who arrived in Korea after 2006, same year of first implementation of MFSCs' programs, would need more support for settlement and adaptation in Korea, thus are more likely to aware of the programs than women who have been living in Korea relatively longer period. However, the result of analysis on data of women arrived in Korea after 2006 does not have significant differences from the result we already observed above. The results that do not show big differences in between Have Used and Never Used group or some cases Never Used group on better position than the other group in terms of social integration, for instance, economic activities and subjective level of Korean skills. These findings also open to several following questions for the further researches. For example, it is possible to assume that the ones go to MFSCs are the ones have more difficulties and problems than the other group, or the ones need support from the government are not available to go to MFSCs there are some factors that constrain them to participate in the programs.

Limitations and considerations

Even though the data set of the survey is dealt with tremendous number of observations, however it does not cover much of various dimension of marriage immigrant women's lives. Moreover, this data set is secondary data from the government and the data is composed with random samples. It can show representative results of marriage immigrant in a big picture, however, it would be hard to give correlations with one and another, especially difficult to track results by period. Therefore, the data analysis was limited scopes in terms of available variables that I can apply to the framework. The conceptual framework of Ager and Strang is also originally designed to be used as a conceptual tool for refugees. Thus, the study had to simplify the variables that could fit in the framework tool. As we discussed before, it is important to note that marriage immigration takes a different process of social integration than other types of immigration. Because, it occurs at least two steps in terms of integration, one is within the new family and the other one is within the receiving society. Therefore, indicators for social integration measurement of marriage immigrants, especially women, needs to be studied more in the further research. For example, panel data will be useful to evaluate the effect of MFSCs by tracking certain groups of program participants.

Chapter 6 Reflection on the Findings

This research focused on the differences between marriage immigrant women who have used MFSCs and who have not on the degree of social integration. However, there was no significant correlation on social integration of marriage immigrant women who have used MFSCs and who have not.

The Multicultural Families Support Act, which is the legal base of establishment of MFSCs, states its purpose as following:

“The purpose of this Act is to help multicultural family members enjoy a stable family life, and therefore contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and their integration into society.”

It clearly indicates the goal. The Act pursues ‘improving the quality of life and social integration of multicultural families.’ However, there is no clear definition of ‘the quality of life’ or ‘integration’ under the Act. As Haines (2014: 20) pointed out that “Diversity” for Korea is very much about “a project-in-the-making” rather than “a set of established ideas and practices for social organization.” Another scholar, Bélanger (2007), who have actively studied in foreign bride issue in Asia, observes that “In receiving countries, women marriage migrants tend to be locked in their mode of entry as ‘wives’ in the eyes of their families, policymakers, and the public in reality, they play multiple roles in both the domestic and public spheres (cited as Bélanger and Tran 2009: 5).”

Considering the causes that have led the Korean government to intervene the international marriage issue, MFSCs’ programs have also been designed in accordance the government’s focus group, the multicultural families that are made up with Korean men and foreign-born women who are mostly from developing Asian countries. Thus, MFSCs programs tend to more focus on cultural assimilation of the side of marriage immigrant women, especially in their early stage living in Korea. The inflow of foreign brides has been almost two decades, perhaps the main issues in the beginning of living in Korea are language cultural barriers, mostly from individual circumstances. After basic adjustment to new environment, the factors that influence on integration of them are beyond individual levels, but the society at large. Such as economic issues and social discrimination will be more noticeable than the early stages.

“Of course, foreigners cannot communicate in Korean as much as Korean native people do. But they are not like ‘No Korean at all’, some speak very well like Korean people. However, it is hard for foreigners to get a job in Korea because Korean people assume that you look like a foreigner so you must to be not good at speaking Korean.”

– Dina, Kazakhstan (quoted from interview on ‘Love in Asia’, 2013)

“I changed my Vietnamese name to Korean name when I applied for Korean citizenship because I often felt people looking at me weirdly when I used my original name for paper works in public organizations. I am naturalized and have a social worker certificate, but people still see me not as ‘an expert’ but ‘a foreigner’.”

– Oh, Ahn-hee (quoted from interview ‘Rainbow Y’, 2012)

Despite the attentive governmental efforts, immigrant women often face to Koreans' exclusive attitudes toward them. The 2012 survey shows that the number of marriage immigrant women who have experiences of social discrimination has increased comparing to the result of previous survey in 2009 (MOGEF 2013: 228). Especially, the women have experienced discrimination in their work places the most (ibid: 230). This result can be interpreted as the women have been in Korea relatively longer time, now they are encountering a new hurdle in the society. Regarding to this, Kim et al. (2011), who have studied on social relationship of marriage immigrant women in Korea, point out that the major factor that hinders social bond and connection between marriage immigrant women and Korean natives is the distinct attitude toward to the women. I have been emphasizing on that integration is not a unilateral process but a bilateral (two-way) process and it takes a long time for both new comers and the receiving society to incorporate to each other (Shin 2011). Social integration of immigrants cannot be acquired by immigrants' individualistic ability or effort, rather by a favorable social environment with people around them (Kim et al. 2013: 24). Hence, requiring one side to assimilate to the other is not a way of pursuing integration.

Moreover, integration policy should reflect on distinct characteristics and background of migrant groups. Berry (1997) points out that 'marginalization of immigrants' is not a result of the immigrants as individuals, but that of discrimination and exclusion from the society as a whole. He continuing emphasizes on 'social acceptability' diverse cultural backgrounds of the immigrants. We can verify this argument in the situation of marriage immigrants in Korea. According to the report of the survey (MOGEF 2013: 222), the rate of marriage immigrant who have never participated in social activities increased from 72.2% in 2009 to 86.1% in 2012. It shows that the social connection of marriage immigrants has more weakened. This result merits attention. Considering that the length of the women's staying in Korea has become longer, therefore must be improved in adaptation and inclusion of the host society but circumstance of marriage immigrant women integration seemed to be the same or some parts have gotten worse than previous research. We can see that social connection or relationship cannot simply enhance by immigrants' assimilation.

The 'social acceptability' is crucial for social integration of marriage immigrant women, as well as the second generations of the multicultural families.

"I hope Korean people treat my child as an ordinary person as other Koreans. I wish people don't think my child is different only because his mother is from Philippines."

– Ana Marie Mone (quote from interview on 'Love in Asia', KBS, 2014)

The children of multicultural families in Korea will enter into the society in very near future. It will be more challengeable for both multicultural families and Korean society if marriage immigrant women and their families fail to integrate to Korea and marginalized from the society. Again, however, social integration is not a unilateral process from immigrant side, but is bilateral process from both sides. As Jeannotte (2008: 6) described the concept of social integration, "... the process of fostering societies that are stable, safe and just and that are based on the promotion and protection of all human rights, as well as on non- discrimination, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality of op-

portunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons.” It is time for MFSCs to rethink of their implementation of programs and provide more programs in order to make the Korean society to integrate to incoming ‘diversity’.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

MFSC is established in 2006 and has been increasing in terms of the number of centers and its scale of support over the last decade. MFSCs provide programs, such as Korean language and cultural education services, counselling programs, and career development for marriage immigrant women and their families to settle and adapt to Korean society. Despite the Korean government's exceptional attention, the using rate of MFSCs is rarely more than 50% out of total population of marriage immigrant women in Korea. Besides, the result from the analysis on relationship between social integration and attending MFSCs' programs does not show any evident correlation. The study pointed that it is because MFSCs' programs focus on one-sided integration, marriage immigrant women, not both-sided integration, their new family and society. However, we discussed that the path to successful multicultural society cannot be accomplished only by immigrants' assimilation, but together with effort of receiving society.

This initial analysis represents a very tentative first step to understanding the impacts, if any, of MFSCs programs on social integration of marriage immigrant women in Korea. To develop a clearer picture of these impacts, future research should develop a broader range of integration indicators on marriage immigration. This would provide both a closer fit to integration domains of them, and much finer information on marriage immigrants. Finally, the distinction between Have Used and Never Used group was a very limited way to conceptualize MFSCs' impacts. Future work should look to develop a richer set of disaggregated MFSCs' impacts, considering different types of programs divided by integration process.

Regarding the findings and also the limitations of the analysis, this study provides three suggestions for improvement in MFSCs' project implementations on marriage immigrant women. First of all, MFSCs can vary and expand their programs regarding different stages and life cycles of marriage immigrant women in Korea. Therefore, MFSCs should consider a more comprehensive programs that are tailored for specific groups. Secondly, it is important to evaluate outcomes of participants of MFSCs' programs. The annual result of MFSC has only shown figures and numbers analyses by the centers. However, the numbers tend to lack the effect of the programs in real lives of the participants. If the MFSCs could provide panel data of their participants and analyze the data merging with other data sets, it could generate advanced analysis that can contribute to develop more effective programs for social integration of marriage immigrant women in Korea. Lastly, MFSCs can provide social integration programs for both new comers and local communities by adjusting the programs. It is crucial for marriage immigrant women to take a strong root in their initial stages, however, integrating from only one side will not be able to guarantee to bloom as a sound member of the society.

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Appendix A.

Table 4-4-1 Country of origin * Year of entry

N=221,743	2000	2002-2005	2006-2009	2010	Total N by nationality
China	25.8	27.4	35.4	11.3	100.0(53,473)
China(Korean)	40.2	34.7	22	3.1	100.0(68,838)
Taiwan/Hong Kong	70	10.1	10.5	9.5	100.0(1,871)
Japan	66.5	12.7	14.7	6.1	100.0(10,409)
Mongol	22.1	28.7	41.5	7.7	100.0(3,096)
Vietnam	2.9	12.9	53.7	30.5	100.0(49,958)
Philippines	27.3	20.1	33	19.7	100.0(14,309)
Thailand	21.9	32.2	33.1	12.9	100.0(3,281)
Cambodia	0.8	4.5	56.8	37.9	100.0(5,199)
Uzbekistan	10.2	35.5	36	18.2	100.0(2,186)
Russia	32.5	35.1	28.4	4.1	100.0(1,733)
North America	43.5	18.2	29.3	9	100.0(2,522)
Other Southeast Asia	37.7	20.9	19.8	21.5	100.0(1,108)
South Asia	4	5.5	43.5	47.1	100.0(1,001)
Western Europe/Oceania	38.1	21.6	29.7	10.6	100.0(462)
Other	21.9	32.7	34.7	10.6	100.0(2,297)

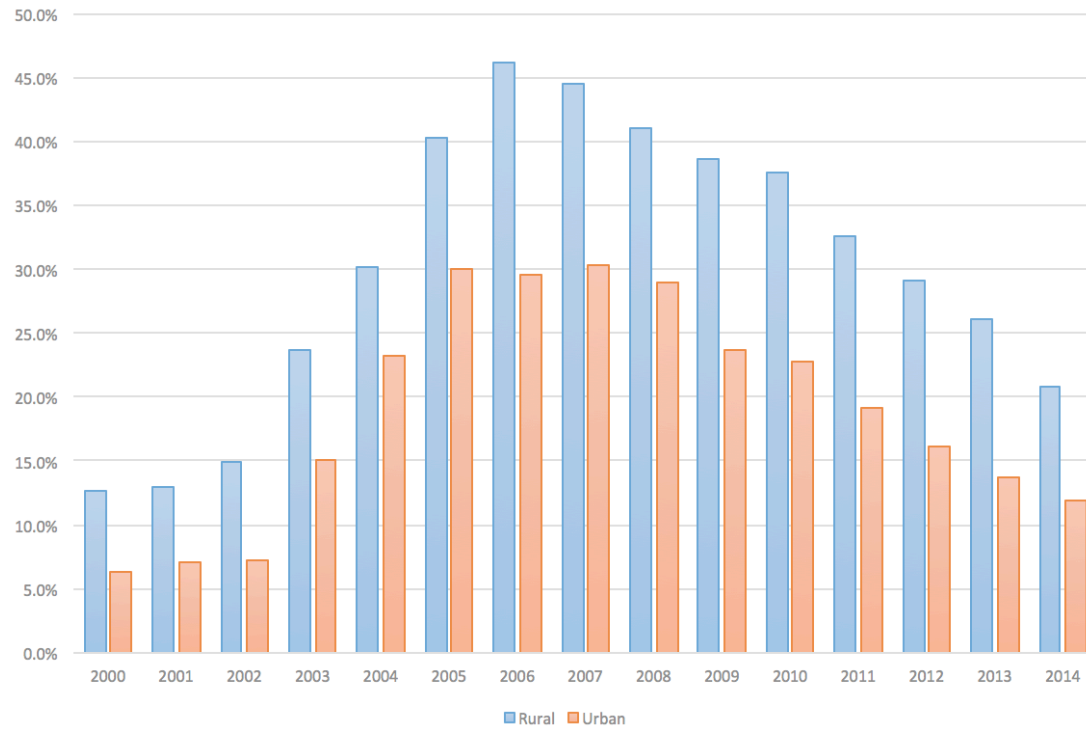
Table 4-5-1 The route of marriage * Country of origin

(N=221,743)	Match-making agencies	Family or relatives	Friends or colleagues	A religious organization	Direct contact	Others
China	12.7	21.9	36.9	0.8	26.6	1.1
China(Korean)	6.3	29.7	36.5	1.2	25	1.3
Taiwan, Hong Kong	2.3	8.7	28.6	2.6	54.6	3.3
Japan	1.2	3.1	8.8	66.4	19.0	1.5
Mongol	19.5	13.5	30.4	3.7	30.5	2.4
Vietnam	63.2	13.6	18.7	0.7	3.2	0.6
Phillippines	27.0	16.0	21.0	24.8	10.2	1.0
Thailand	8.4	15.0	29.6	20.4	22.4	4.3
Cambodia	73.5	13.9	9.3	0.9	2.0	0.3
Uzbekistan	39.5	11.0	30.7	2.2	15.6	0.9
Russia	3.0	10.3	34.3	2.4	46.9	3.1
North America (US, Canada)	1.5	20.8	33.4	5.3	36.4	2.5
Other Southeast Asian countries	12.4	14.3	15.9	7.4	46.5	3.5
South Asia	51.4	18.3	16.7	2.4	7.3	4.0
Western Europe/Oceanea	1.3	19.1	33.6	5.9	37.5	2.6
Other	15.3	11.3	27.7	8.7	33.2	3.8

Table 4-6-1 Population of Marriage Immigrant women by Administrative District

Total	100.0 (221,736)
Seoul Special City	21.1
Busan Metropolitan City	4.3
Daegu Metropolitan City	2.8
Incheon Metropolitan City	6.2
Gwangju Metropolitan City	1.9
Daejeon Metropolitan City	2.1
Ulsan Metropolitan City	1.9
Gyeonggi Province	27.8
Gangwon Province	3.2
Chungcheongbuk Province	2.9
Chungcheongnam Province	4.9
Jeollabuk Province	4.4
Jeollanam Province	4.1
Gyeongsangbuk Province	5.2
Gyeongsangnam Province	6.2
Jeju Province	1.0

Graph 4-6-1 International Marriage Rate of Farmers/Fishermen (2000-2014)



Source: KOSIS (2015), Graph is processed by author