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Transnational Marriage, Gendered Migration, and the Wellbeing of Asian Women Migrants: A Mixed-Methods Comparative Study of Taiwan and South Korea

Author

Chang, Hsin-Chieh

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in Community Health Sciences

by

Hsin-Chieh Chang

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Community Health Sciences

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Anne R. Pebley, Chair

The interdisciplinary literature on gender, intermarriage, and transnational migration has often compared the social phenomenon of intra-Asia marriage migration with either the transnational marriages of mail-order brides or with the gendered migration of live-in care workers, with a strong tendency to examine its negative consequences for marriage migrants who choose to migrate from poorer to richer countries within Asia through transnational marriages. To date, however, we have limited understanding of the determinants of marriage migrants' *wellbeing* in the marriage and migration processes.

To further examine the positive social and health consequences of intra-Asia marriage migration, this dissertation uses the National Survey on Multicultural Families in South Korea (N=69,394), forty-eight in-depth interviews, and a year of multi-sited fieldwork working with

sixteen migrant organizations in both rural and urban settings, to answer one major research question: how do transnational marriage and gendered migration affect the wellbeing of Asian women migrants in Taiwan and South Korea? I found that gender dynamics, socioeconomic status, and social integration are three key and interconnected determinants of marriage migrants' health and wellbeing.

Specifically, marital power dynamics between marriage migrants and their husbands have a direct effect on marriage migrants' self-rated health, life satisfaction, and views on marriage migration; marriage migrants' exposure to gender-based bias affects their propensity to marry across borders through different channels, while the flexibility of gender structure in the marital families is critical in marriage migrants' double transition of becoming married women and becoming migrants. On the one hand, the socioeconomic status of marital families is more important to marriage migrants' self-rated health and life satisfaction than the education of their husbands. On the other hand, the social standing of natal families reveals little effect on marriage migrants' post-migration wellbeing, yet marriage migrants' own education has a reverse effect on how they value the experience of transnational marriage migration.

In terms of the various dimensions of social integration, social relationships with the native populations affect marriage migrants' health in a positive way, yet social relationships with co-ethnics turn out to influence their health negatively. Overall, marriage migrants' gendered social roles—as wives, daughters-in-law, and mothers—in the marital families allow them to better negotiate their individual agency, which is defined as their ability to act independently and make free choices. The sense of belonging gained through participating in these family roles serves as a strong foundation for marriage migrants to further integrate into the host societies as migrant groups through taking on social roles as community members and citizens.

By using multiple measures of gender dynamics, socioeconomic status, and social integration, I show both (1) the quantitative significance of these factors to the health and wellbeing of marriage migrants from different Asian ethnicities/countries of origin in South Korea, and (2) the qualitative importance of these factors in shaping the life trajectories of Vietnamese marriage migrants in Taiwan and South Korea who met their husbands through different marriage channels at different stages of their lives.

In conclusion, this dissertation illustrates the diverse experiences of intra-Asia marriage migrants and emphasizes the importance of marriage migrants' wellbeing to their marital families, host societies, and the developmental trajectories of their bi-ethnic children. Using the case of transnational marriage migrants, whose social positions are marginalized by multiple social hierarchies of gender, class, ethnicity, nativity, and capitalist globalization, I suggest that more empirical research is needed to improve the wellbeing of other marginalized populations.

The dissertation of Hsin-Chieh Chang is approved.

Steven P. Wallace

Marjorie Kagawa-Singer

Leobardo F. Estrada

Roger Waldinger

Anne R. Pebley, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles,

2014

TO

ALL THE WOMEN WARRIORS

WHO HAVE MADE THIS WORLD A BETTER PLACE

WITH COMPASSION, EMPATHY, AND LOVE

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Acknowledgements

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Vita

Education

2006 Master of Science, Institute of Health Policy and Management, National Taiwan University

*Certificate in Women's and Gender Studies, Population Research Center

2005 Exchange Program, Department of Sociology, Linz University (Austria)

2003 Bachelor of Science, Department of Public Health, National Taiwan University

Selected Grants and Paper Awards

2013 Early Stage Family Scholar Award, International Sociological Association Research Committee on Family (RC06)

2012 UCLA Institute for Research on Labor and Employment Graduate Student Grant ($1,200)

2011 University of California Pacific Rim Research Program Research Grant ($19,993)

2011 UCLA International Institute, International Fieldwork Grant ($11,500, declined)

2011 Student Paper Award (First Place), American Public Health Association Maternal and Child Health Section

Selected Fellowships

2012- 2014 Doctoral Fellowship, Taiwan Ministry of Education

2012- 2013 Dissertation Year Fellowship, UCLA Graduate Division

2012 Social Science Research Council Korean Studies Dissertation Workshop Fellow

2009- 2011 Bixby Fellowship in Population and Reproductive Health

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 In Search of a better life: Researching Asian marriage migrants

Since the 1990s, when women migrants began to comprise a larger proportion of independent migrants especially those from less-developed countries in Asia, influential research addressing the significance of gender in transnational migration has also been rising steadily (Asis 2003; Lutz 2010; Morrison, Schiff and Sjöblom 2007; Oishi 2005; Pessar and Mahler 2006; Piper and Roces 2003). In the migration literatures focusing on women migrants, scholars have focused on researching those who migrate for labor more than those migrate for marriage. One seemingly obvious reason is that the migration of the former group contributes to the economic development of both sending and receiving countries, while the migration of the latter group has been depicted as either victims or opportunists who continue to bear stigmatization in both countries of origin and destination.

This dissertation attempts to respond to the controversies and debates around Asian women who migrate across the national borders for marriage, using the case of recent waves of intra-Asia marriage migration into two new immigrant destinations: Taiwan and South Korea. Targeting this understudied migrant population, I was motivated and informed by two bodies of literature addressing the experiences of marriage migrants from Asia. The first body of literature is the "mail-order bride" discourse that emerged since the 1990s. This body of literature emphasizes marriage migrants' post-migration vulnerability and misery including social isolation and domestic abuse, largely resulted from the severely imbalanced power relations within the interracial or interethnic couples (Ho 1990; Lloyd 1999; Meng 1994). The second body of

literature adopts the feminist perspective that emerged since the early 2000s. These feminist scholars place a strong emphasis on women migrants' (lack of) agency, everyday struggles within the structural constraints, as well as their resistance to the exploitation of the intersection of power hierarchies (Constable 2005; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Freeman 2011; Lan 2006; Parreñas 2001; Piper and Roces 2003). Within the second body of literature, some scholars have further illustrated the delicate boundaries between marriage migrants and labor migrants, especially those who provide domestic labor services (Freeman 2011; Lan 2008; Piper and Roces 2003).

Since the early 1980s, the "mail-order bride" (MOB) phenomenon has dominated both popular and academic discourses on international marriage (Constable 2003a; Constable 2005). The stereotypical description is that MOBs are "women from developing countries who are introduced to men from developed countries through matchmaking agencies"(Kim 2010). Glodava and Onizuka (1994) illustrated the image of MOBs as poor Asian women under economic pressure, who become helpless victims of a male-controlled industry that exists to fulfill white men's pleasures (Glodava and Onizuka 1994). The MOB discourse was influenced by two earlier examples of Asian women who migrate to the West for marriage: the "picture brides" and the "war brides." In the early 20th Century, the Japanese and Korean "picture brides" migrated to the United States to marry Japanese and Korean labor migrants, who came to the U.S. as laborers but did not make enough money to return home (Glenn 1988; Kong 2012). The "war brides" refer to Asian women who married Anglo-American military men and moved to the States during two World Wars and other wars that the United States had with several Asian countries. As a result, a majority of war brides come from Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and the Philippines (Saenz, Hwang and Aguirre 1994).

Relevant research has documented the "traditional" characteristics of war brides, referring to (1) their relative younger age and lower educational level compared to their husbands, and (2) their lower labor market participation compared to other Asian women migrants in the U.S. (Saenz, Hwang and Aguirre 1994). What distinguishes the MOB phenomenon from these two earlier examples is that it took place when gender equalitarian ideologies from the Women's Movement was spreading from the West to the East, and that MOBs' sending countries were undergoing their distinctive social and economic development such as the Philippines. Despite this, as criticized by feminist scholars from the second body of literature, the mainstream MOB discourse presumes a universal existence of women's subordination and ignores women's agency and their own definition of liberation (Constable 2003b). Furthermore, it reinforces the negative stereotype of Asian women not only being obedient and submissive as the "picture brides" and "war brides," but also as commodified and sexualized objects and being normalized by commercial brokers as a form of "free trade." Last but not least, one major limitation of the MOB discourse is that most research was based on case studies. The methodological approach limits itself to illustrate the dyadic relations between Asian marriage migrants and their white husbands in a representative manner.

From the second body of literature, feminist scholars suggest that marriage migrants and live-in domestics share more similarities than differences (Lan 2008). Therefore, it would be an incomplete picture to only investigate one group without considering one another. Within Asia, less-developed countries in Southeast Asia and China are the largest exporters of women migrants to more developed countries—first to the West and later to East Asia— in pursuit of social and economic mobility. In addition to becoming marriage migrants, the majority of live-in

domestics and labor migrants in East Asia come from Southeast Asia and China. The following three reasons best explain the delicate boundaries between these two migrant groups.

First, in traditional societies or rural areas in transitional economies, young women's life chances are largely confined by their social and reproductive roles. With limited educational and economic opportunities in their native communities, unskilled women migrants might consider choosing a transnational marriage for upward social mobility, or take up overseas work opportunities as domestic workers—either in intimate roles as nannies, caregivers for the sick and elderly; or in non-intimate roles as maids or cleaners— to secure a livelihood for themselves and provide for their families (Lan 2008). Second, Asian women migrate at a fairly young age in the early 20s, thus their migration status might switch between marriage migrants and labor migrants after they enter the host societies. For example, someone who migrates as a live-in domestic or a labor migrant may marry a man from the host society and becomes a marriage migrant; on the other hand, someone who migrates as a marriage migrant may divorce her husband and remain in the host society with work contracts (thus becoming a labor migrant). Third, the movements of marriage migrants and live-in domestics from Southeast Asia to East Asia are part of the social consequences of the "global care deficit." Coined the "international division of reproductive labor" (Parreñas 2001), while live-in domestics are paid to do care work for families in the receiving countries, marriage migrants' reproductive labor and care work are unpaid in this same "global care deficit" discourse. According to Lan (2008), for this reason, marriage migrants have been granted "more moral currency and social recognition" (Lan 2008).

The feminist framework and approach of this body of literature have greatly enhanced the scholarly knowledge on the gendered aspects of everyday lives among Asian marriage migrants. However, the argument that marriage migrants and live-in domestics both contribute to the

"global care deficit" in a rather similar fashion seem to have ignored the effects of the marital ties on marriage migrants' post-migration experiences. In addition, feminist scholars also have not demonstrated how marriage migrants' "moral currency and social recognition" can differentiate their life course trajectories from live-in domestics in the long term.

The social contexts of receiving societies can greatly affect the living experience of international migrants, especially the migration flows are highly gendered. The study contexts of this dissertation—Taiwan and South Korea—present an interesting case because these two new immigrant societies are undergoing rapid social change. On the one hand, they were both bride-sending countries when the MOB system sourced brides to the industrialized Japan in the 1980s from the conventional pool of women in Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines (Kojima 2001). On the other hand, they have become bride-receiving countries from Southeast Asia and China because of their advanced economy and demographic transitions, as were the cases of many industrialized societies in the West; however, the long-preserved Confucian traditions—the male–dominant social structures and the practice of filial piety—in Taiwan and South Korea have organized marriage and family life in a unique way, challenging demographers' and migration scholars' assumptions on marriage migrants' marital and migration outcomes.

Regardless of different marriage and migration channels, one common goal for these young Asian women to migrate across the national borders is to seek a better life. However, the social and health consequences of their intermarriages and transnational migration remain poorly addressed in the literature. Furthermore, scholars have not explored whether and how pre-migration decision making processes influence Asian marriage migrants' life course trajectories. A comprehensive understanding of the social and health consequences of Asian marriage migration requires an interdisciplinary perspective of gender, marriage and family, migration,

and health, as well as methodological innovation such as balancing the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches. In this dissertation, I propose using mixed-methods to achieve the following research goals.

1.2 Dissertation Goals and Contributions

Using the cases of Taiwan and South Korea, two major East Asian countries that host the majority of the region's marriage migrants, this dissertation examines three critical facets of intra-Asia marriage migration. The three dimensions examined are: 1) the effects of pre-migration and post-migration socioeconomic status and social integration on marriage migrants' health; (2) the link between marital power dynamics and the wellbeing of marriage migrants; and (3) how gendered migration process intersects social stratification based on ethnicity, class, and globalization, and its impact on marriage migrants' patterns and processes of social integration.

This dissertation contributes to the interdisciplinary literature on gender, family, migration and health in three ways. First, it elucidates the mechanisms that influence the wellbeing of women migrants in the context of voluntary yet vulnerable forms of marriage migration. Second, it describes women migrants' diverse life course trajectories from their own points of view. Third, it examines women migrants' social integration patterns and processes across time and space. Specifically, I examine how gender dynamics, socioeconomic status, and social integration serve as fundamental determinants of wellbeing among transnational marriage migrants. Further, I focus on the interaction between immigrant agency and different levels of social structure, and examine how they impact marriage migrants' wellbeing in the process of population movements.

1.3 The Study Contexts: Taiwan and South Korea

Intra-Asia marriage migrants' ethnic intermarriages involving migration, as demonstrated in the form of "inserted" migration into their marital families in Taiwan and South Korea, have brought them some distinct marriage and migration experiences. On the marriage side, these ethnic intermarriages would be considered as "same-race" marriages of Asians in North America or Western Europe, yet marriage migrants are expected to adjust to cultural differences with their Taiwanese or Korean husbands and marital families, regardless of their different ethnicities or countries or origin. On the migration side, Taiwan and South Korea have recently transitioned from being immigrant-sending countries to immigrant-receiving countries, hosting foreign residents as white-collar expatriates mostly from industrialized countries, international students from a wide range of countries, and blue-collar migrant workers mostly from less-developed Asian countries. Compared to other major immigrant societies in the West, both governments are in a rather early stage in terms of immigration policy-making to accommodate the needs of different types of migrants. Furthermore, compared to other industrialized economies, both societies carry specific Confucian traditions in marriage and family life that hinder native women's career development and choices of mate selection, which resulted in women's postponement of marriage, non-marriage, and hold the record of the lowest-low fertility rates in the world. In the following sections, I will provide an overview of marriage and family in Contemporary Taiwan and South Korea and discuss why these social facts are important for marriage migrants.

In Confucian societies like Taiwan and South Korea, getting married at a proper age has been a universal assumption and societal expectation for centuries. For men, there is nothing more important than being able to continue the family line (meaning at least to have a son). For

women, singlehood after the marriageable age or childlessness carry strong stigma in patrilineal societies. However, as Taiwan and South Korea experienced several consequences of the socio-demographic transition--the trends of decreasing marriage rate, delayed age at first marriage, low fertility, and increasing divorce rate across all age levels, scholars have associated the root cause of these social phenomena with cultural and structural factors that are unique to these societies.

First, the expansion of education in Taiwan and South Korea granted women opportunities to pursue higher education and career advancement. Getting married is no longer the priority in life for the younger generation, among whom the perceived desirability of marriage may be lower compared to the older generations. Second, the hypergamous "marrying up" tradition in the domestic marriage markets has created two unmarriageable groups: the highly-educated women and the poorly-educated men. As a consequence, these men often recruit foreign brides from less-developed Asian countries; however, this option is not available for highly-educated women. Therefore, highly-educated women may delay or choose not to marry because of the unavailability of spouses who meet conventional criteria of suitability (Jones and Gubhaju 2009). Third, framing their ultra-low fertility rates as a "national security" issue, Taiwanese and Korean governments have implemented social policies, such as financial incentives to support child-care and housing subsidies for young married couples, to boost the fertility rate. However, as Jones (2011) suggests, "compared with the countries in Europe, the East Asian countries will have a harder time dismantling cultural barriers to raising fertility." In other words, the root cause for "flight from marriage" in East Asia appears to be the low level of gender equity due to the culture of patriarchy and *familism* (McDonald 2000). Jones (2011) argues that only if East Asian social policies can overcome the "deeply ingrained patriarchal sentiments and attitudes in the

family, in the economy, and in government" (Jones 2011) that East Asian women will be able to reconcile family roles and workforce roles.

The previous paragraph describes the demographic similarities between Taiwan and South Korea and their shared culture of Confucian patriarchy and *Familism*. Because of these cultural characteristics, certain aspects of contemporary marriage and family life in Taiwan and South Korea demonstrate their uniqueness compared to other industrialized countries at similar level of economic development. For example, recent research indicates that the practice of filial piety remains as a significant dimension in marriage and family life in East Asia (Ikels 2004). The importance of filial piety is greater in some societies than others, and it varies within national populations as well (Chu, Xie and Yu 2011; Yeh et al. 2013). In Taiwan, it is more common for married couples to live with husbands' parents than in Southeastern China (Chu, Xie and Yu 2011). Despite Taiwanese women in general are more highly educated and may hold more liberal gender role ideology than those in China, this study implies that more daughters-in-law in Taiwan interact with and are responsible for taking care of parents-in-law on a daily basis. In South Korea, regardless of that women in general have expanded educational and career opportunities, in the process of economic development, marriage and family remain as a rigid system that confines women in its patriarchal culture and unequal household division of labor, granting little possibilities for career-minded women to find work-family balance (Kong 2012).

Given the high degree of cultural and economic similarities in three East Asian economies—Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan—that may shape women's life course into similar trajectories, Brinton (2001) summarized three particularities about Taiwan's case with empirical evidence: (1) In Taiwan, most women continuously participate in the labor market throughout their 20s, 30s, and 40s, while in South Korea and Japan, women are less likely to enter or re-enter the labor

force after marriage. (2) There is a stronger and positive link between married women's education and labor force participation in Taiwan than in Korea and Japan. (3) Women earn considerably closer to men in Taiwan across occupational groups; the female-to-male wage gap is larger in Korea and Japan and that Korean and Japanese women's wage stagnate or decline during the childrearing years.

In short, social hierarchies in East Asian Confucian societies produced by Confucian ideologies—which favor men, respect the elderly, and emphasize the continuation of patrilineal family line—have placed women, especially young women, in a subordinate and conflicted social position. These facts have important implications in understanding or even projecting marriage migrants' post-migration life trajectories. Depending on how marriage migrants adapt to their "new lives" post-migration, and how their marital families and receiving societies as a whole accept them as legitimate members, they may—to a certain degree—face similar, if not more rigid, gendered expectations at home and when entering the labor markets, as Taiwanese and Korean women who married into families of similar social class or geographic regions.

1.4 Terminologies

In the immigrant destinations, terminologies used by mass media to address women who migrate for marriage usually carry different assumptions about who they are and often times, emphasizing their foreign status or (subordinate) social roles in the marital families such as foreign brides, migrant brides, immigrant wives, and marriage-based immigrants. These terms are often used interchangeably in academic journals as well. In Korea, they have an official name as "multicultural women" whereas in Taiwan, government officials use "new immigrants" or "new residents" to address them, after they claim that they are no longer "brides" ten years after

their wedding. In this dissertation, I use “transnational marriage migrants” to refer to those who enter host countries after meeting their husbands through romantic encounters, social networks, or commercial brokers, but not those who enter the host countries as labor migrants or expatriates and meet their husbands later. Previously, terms addressing the same group of women in the literature tended to stress their social roles as wives more than migrants. Transnational marriage migrant is a relatively new term in the literature, indicating both of their social roles as wives and migrants.

For the dissertation title, I use “women migrants” to comprehensively cover all the foreign-born women in Taiwan and South Korea. They may enter the host societies through different ways and with different incentives, not all of them migrate with the intention of marrying a native men, yet their choices of staying or going back home are greatly constrained by the migration policies and in a broader sense, are influenced by the socio-demographic transitions and labor market opportunities in Taiwan and Korea.

Lastly, literature in marriage and family have used varies terms to address marriages involving a foreign spouse: “cross-cultural marriage” and “multicultural marriage” emphasize cultural differences between the married couple; while “transnational marriage,” ”international marriage, and “cross-border marriage” distinguish these marriages from marriages composed of spouses from the same country, focusing on the fact that one spouse migrates across the national and political borders, and that their couple dynamics may involve other relevant issues such as citizenship of the migration spouse as well as their social rights. In this dissertation, I focus more on the “inter-ethnic” aspects of these marriages and assume these transnational couples may share a higher degree of cultural affinity, as opposed to the “inter-racial” marriages in other major immigrant societies.

1.5 Chapter Overview

After this introductory chapter, the methodology chapter, chapter 2, details the research design, data sources and basic descriptive tables of the social survey used in the dissertation. I also describe fieldwork arrangement throughout Taiwan and South Korea as well as personal reflections in the field about my own positionality when interacting with community-based organizations, interviewees and my interpreters. Chapter 2 ends with methodological limitations and innovations of this dissertation.

Chapter 3 applies the social determinants of health approach to a transnational setting and examines how socioeconomic status and social integration impact self-rated health among women migrants. Using a national Korean survey of marriage migrants (N=53,218), I demonstrate that the effects of pre-and post-migration SES on immigrant health differ by national-origin group and are influenced by the SES-health relationships in the sending societies. I also found that marriage migrants' relatively many social relationships with the native population contribute to their good health. This study suggests that the health consequences of immigration depend on the developmental contexts of sending societies and that immigration and health policies, which offer integration programs in early post-migration stages, may offer a pathway to better immigrant health.

Chapter 4 emphasizes the dyadic relationships between transnational couples and examines the links between marital power dynamics and the wellbeing of marriage migrants. I found that women migrants who "marry up," measured by the gaps in education and perceived SES among transnational couples, reported better health and life satisfaction and hold more positive views on marriage migration, after taking family-level factors (such as co-residence with in-laws) and

social integration factors (including social relationships with native Koreans and co-ethnic networks, etc.) into account. This study serves as an example of how migration studies and family studies —two related yet not mutually informed fields—can work together to improve researchers' understanding of the social and health consequences of family-related migration.

The third study is based on field work data collected on Vietnamese marriage migrants (VMMs) in Taiwan and Korea who represent the largest immigrant group without ethnic ties to the host societies. Their migration illustrates a gendered migration process that results in the intersection of gender, ethnicity, social class, and capitalist globalization. These two cases provide an opportunity to contrast migration outcomes in a natural setting because VMMs who migrate to Taiwan and Korea share similar socio-cultural backgrounds. In collaboration with local NGOs, I conducted 55 interviews VMMs ranging in age from 18 to 62 in both rural and urban settings. I also distributed small-scale surveys (N=407) on health and wellbeing to facilitate the comparison between Taiwan and Korea.

In chapter 5, I propose the concept of "double transition of marriage migration" and a "two-stage social integration framework" in bettering the understanding of patterns and processes of social integration among VMMs in South Korea. Using 48 qualitative interviews, I show that multiple dynamic social realities determine VMMs' patterns of social integration in their marital families and the host societies. Contrary to conventional beliefs, some VMMs from resource-deprived backgrounds and married through commercial agencies have achieved successful integration through full engagement with their social roles: as wives, daughters-in-law, mothers, community members, and new citizens. Furthermore, VMMs in Taiwan found it easier to integrate than VMMs in South Korea, because of differences in each society's manner of organizing migration and its gender system. This study contributes to the gender and migration

literature by demonstrating how marriage migrants can benefit from transnational migration and achieve autonomy through successful social integration.

In chapter 6, I summarize the findings and provide an integrated conclusion of this dissertation. I also discuss some overall implications to social policies and welfare programs. Chapter 6 ends with some suggestions for future research.

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CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation combines quantitative and qualitative methods and uses a comparative approach to examine how transnational marriage and gendered migration impact the wellbeing of Asian women migrants in Taiwan and South Korea. In this chapter, I describe the research design of the dissertation, its data sources, my arrangement of multi-sited fieldwork, rationales and processes of qualitative data collection. I end this chapter with my personal reflections from the field.

2.1 Research Design

Traditionally in social and health sciences research, large-scale social surveys have the advantage of providing general distributions of social and health behavior and attitudes, contributing to knowledge production with empirical evidence derived from rigorous statistical techniques. Scholars using qualitative and ethnographic methods believe that field observation and in-depth interviews with the population of interest can provide a thorough understanding including nuanced details about lay people's lived experiences. More recently, researchers promoting the use of mixed-methods in social sciences believe that with both quantitative and qualitative inquiries, social scientists can both examine and explore the different dimensions of social paradoxes and controversies, complementing the limitations of using either of them (Creswell, 2009).

In the field of international migration, most new immigrant destinations suffer from the lack of comprehensive and nationally-representative data to further understand the causes and

consequences of migration. This problem is especially serious for researcher concerning the experience of women migrants and other marginalized migrant populations. As illustrated in Chapter 1, the scholarship on Asian marriage migrants limits itself in several methodological concerns. In this dissertation, I use a combination of data sources to understand how the marital and migration contexts and processes shape marriage migrants' wellbeing: (1) the 2009 National Survey on Multicultural Families in South Korea, (2) forty-eight qualitative interviews, and (3) one-year of multi-sited fieldwork observation in Vietnam, Taiwan, and South Korea.

The major goal of this dissertation is to examine how the interplay between gender dynamics, socioeconomic status, and social integration influence Asian women migrants' wellbeing. I use three different research frameworks in three empirical studies: social determinants of migrant health, marriage and the family, and gender and immigrant integration in comparative perspective. In addition to using different ways to measure these key concepts with quantitative data, I also explore the meaning of the same key concepts qualitatively through in-depth interviews.

Socioeconomic Status Regarding the measurement of socioeconomic status and its association with marriage migrants' wellbeing, I use the same sets of variables to operationalize different concepts. In chapter 3, I use marriage migrants' education level and perceived social standing of their natal families as proxy measures for their pre-migration socioeconomic status; for marriage migrants' post-migration socioeconomic status, I use two measurements: the education level of their Korean husbands, and how marriage migrants perceive the social standing of their marital families in Korean society. In chapter 4, I use the same sets of variables to measure (1) dyadic differences in education between marriage migrants and their Korean husbands, and (2) dyadic gaps in social standing between marriage migrants' natal and marital

families. Both serve as proxy measure for marital power dynamics between the transnational couple.

Social integration In chapter 3, I use factor analysis to construct two variables measuring marriage migrants' social relationships with native populations and their co-ethnic networks. I use them as key independent variables to make the distinction between the effects of (a) social relationships with Koreans and (b) social relationships with co-ethnics on marriage migrants' self-rated health. In chapter 4, I use them as control variables to understand that after taking this important factor into consideration, how marital contexts affect the wellbeing of marriage migrants. In chapter 5, I use qualitative interviews to explore how marriage migrants' individual agency interact with different levels of social structure—the marital relationships, natal and family relationships, as well as the gender structure in the sending and receiving societies—and the subsequent consequences of these interactions on their social integration in to the marital family and the host society.

Wellbeing Outcomes Considering that several dimensions of marriage migrants' post-migration life circumstances can affect their health and wellbeing through different social mechanisms, I use the following outcome measures in three empirical chapters and address the empirical link between marital and migration processes with these outcomes. In chapter 3, I use a single and widely validated health outcome, self-rated health. In chapter 4, I include life satisfaction and views on marriage migration to capture additional aspects of marriage migrants' wellbeing. After showing that social integration is significantly associated with self-rated health, life satisfaction, and marriage migrants' view on marriage migration, in chapter 5, I use social integration as a proxy measure for their life and health trajectories, aiming to determine what

factors are fundamentally important to marriage migrants' integration into the marital family and the host society.

Target Populations I choose different target populations and different analytic approaches in three empirical chapters. In chapter 3, I choose the three largest ethnicities of Korea's marriage migrants—Korean-Chinese, Vietnamese, and Han Chinese—and use stratified logistic regressions to examine the link between migration processes and marriage migrants' self-rated health. In chapter 4, I include three more ethnicities/countries of origin: (1) Japanese marriage migrants who are from a richer and neighboring country and have met their Korean husbands mostly through the Unification Church; (2) marriage migrants from the Philippines, one of the widely studied ethnicities among other marriage migrants, because they have various channels to migrate into Korea: as hostess, as labor migrants, and as marriage migrants; and (3) Cambodian marriage migrants, an increasing migratory flow from Southeast Asia, who mostly meet Korean men through commercial brokers. In chapter 5, I look at only Vietnamese marriage migrants and contrast their experiences in Taiwan and South Korea.

2.2 Quantitative Data Source

I obtained the secondary data "2009 National Survey on Multicultural Families in South Korea" from the Korean Institute of Health and Social Affairs (KIHASA) through the UCLA Social Sciences Archive. In total, the data has a large sample of 73,669 marriage migrants who resided in Korea in 2009. Table 2.1 presents the socio-demographic profiles of marriage migrants from eleven Asian countries/ethnicities who reside in South Korea at the time of the survey.

2.3 Qualitative Data Collection

Qualitative data were collected during my multi-sited fieldwork in Taiwan and South Korea. The yearlong field research project was supported by the University California Pacific Rim Research Grant. The goal of the field research project was to understand the intra-Asia marriage migration phenomenon through (1) collaborating with local organizations working with migrants; (2) conducting in-depth interviews with Vietnamese marriage migrants; and (3) collecting small scale surveys to facilitate the comparison between Taiwan and South Korea.

2.3.1 Institutional Review Board

Prior to field research in Taiwan and South Korea starting in the summer of 2011, the fieldwork project titled "Social Impact of Immigration Policy on the Health and Well-being of Commercially Arranged Vietnamese Marriage Migrants in Taiwan and South Korea" was approved by the Institutional Review Board at UCLA (IRB#11-002649).

2.3.2 Arrangement of Multi-Sited Fieldwork

(A) Preparation

I designed the survey questionnaires and interview guide under the guidance of the Chair of my doctoral committee. In addition to socio-demographic questions and immigrant characteristics, the small-scale survey includes three validated scales to address the poorly studied life aspects of marriage migrants: the World Health Organization's short form quality of life instrument,(Bonomi, Patrick, Bushnell, & Martin, 2000) the Perceived Stress Scale,(Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983) and the Everyday Discrimination Scale (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). In the interview guide, I include both open-ended semi-structured questions on five broad categories: pre-migration contexts and motivations for migration, marriage and family

life, social support and social integration, health and wellbeing, and life course reflection. I made arrangements to have the questionnaire and interview guide translated into other three working languages: Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese (see Appendix 2.1).

In order to recruit interpreters and interviewees, I set up a project website in July 2011 (Website: http://hsinchieh.bol.ucla.edu/). I made arrangements to have the interpreter recruitment page (translated into Korean) posted on part-time job website for students at Seoul National University. I took a short-term Korean language course in Los Angeles as part of my preparation. During late July, I visited one women's organization in Southern Taiwan, made a brief presentation about my project and conducted some pilot tests using the interview guide and survey questionnaire.

In the summer of 2010, I conducted some fieldwork in Vietnam to understand the sending contexts. I spent 8 weeks in Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC) and traveled to neighboring provinces in the Mekong Delta Region, where the majority of Vietnamese marriage migrants grew up. I conducted informal interviews with the officers at the Taiwan Economic and Cultural Office, who are in charge of administering pre-migration interviews to VMMs and their Taiwanese husbands. I participated at the bilingual pre-migration workshops in the Taiwan Economic and Cultural Office in HCMC, and visited the International Organization for Migration in HCMC to understand how they collaborate with the South Korean Consulate for marriage migration issues.

(B) Fieldwork in South Korea and Taiwan

I spent three months in South Korea from August to October 2011, five months in Taiwan from November 2011 until March 2012. In this section, I will describe and contrast my experiences in these two countries on the following aspects: affiliation with research institutions,

collaboration with community organizations, survey implementation and conducting interviews, and challenges encountered in the field.

(1) Affiliation with Research Institutions

During fieldwork research South Korea, I was affiliated with the School of Public Health at Seoul National University (SNU). Being able to affiliate with a prestigious university helped validate my role as a researcher in the field. During one of my initial visit to a government-run multi-cultural center, the officers requested a letter of support from SNU. My host at SNU, Professor Cho YoungTae, generously wrote several support letters (in Korean) for me. I attached the support letter when I contacted other local organizations (often with the assistance of my Korean or Vietnamese interpreters) afterwards, which I believe have facilitated the processes in building trust.

In addition to gaining trust from community organizations, my formal affiliation at the Institute of Sociology at Academia Sinica in Taiwan as a Visiting Associate tremendously expanded my knowledge on the East and Southeast Asian societal contexts. Not only had I benefited from its library resources, I also attended seminars and regional conferences on social change in East Asia. My host at Academia Sinica, Professor Yang Wen-Shan generously provided a private research space where I was able to make calls to community organizations and interviewees, and to organize my questionnaires.

(2) Collaboration with Community-Based Organizations

To gain a thorough understanding of the phenomenon of intra-Asia marriage migration and specifically to interview VMMs who migrated to different locations in Taiwan and Korea, I

collaborated with 16 agencies which work with marriage migrants and migrant workers in both rural and urban settings (see appendix 2.2 for a list of my collaborating organizations). I sought collaboration with three different types of community organizations: (1) Religious (Catholic or Christian) organizations; (2) non-government or non-profit grassroots organizations; and (3) government-run community centers.

I received many rejections from religious organizations both in Taiwan and South Korea. In Taiwan, some of them continuously receive government funding and have established branches throughout the country. In South Korea, religious organizations took in marriage migrants in their shelters before the Korean government realized there is such a need. Because of the well-established organizational structure (in Taiwan) and religious principles (in Korea), some expressed negative experiences with researchers and ethical concerns, they are reluctant to collaborate with researchers. In general, officers in government-run community centers are less enthusiastic about opening their door for me. After several attempts, only one in Korea agreed that I distribute questionnaires to Vietnamese marriage migrants after their language courses.

Overall, I received most favorable response from organizations that belonged to the second category, including feminist organizations, non-profit media for migrants, and several grassroots migrant community centers. They took my request seriously and made efforts in understanding the motivations of my project, my personal background (having worked with marginalized populations in non-governmental organizations in Taiwan definitely helped), as well as my familiarities and perspectives on marriage migration, before they connected me with marriage migrants or other informants and invited me to cultural events for participant observation. Many of them also requested to see my survey questionnaire and interview guide in both the domestic languages and Vietnamese.

One exceptional organization that I worked with is a government-proved marriage agency in South Korea. They established a "Vietnamese Women's Cultural Center" to provide matchmaking services to Korean men before they take a "marriage tour" to Vietnam. They also provide interpretation services and hold workshops for Korean-Vietnamese couples after the Vietnamese wives migrate to South Korea. To my surprise, their "cultural literacies" on the cultural differences between Korea and Vietnam are higher than many officers in government-run community centers. They agreed that the issues I care (marriage migrants' wellbeing) are important, yet they also claimed that do their (broker) business in the ways that they can protect the rights of Korean men in these marriages as well.

In South Korea, on average, I paid three visits to each collaborating organization. Some showed a great deal of understanding that I needed to bring my interpreter each time, which increases logistic difficulties. They usually asked (local) graduate students to volunteer for certain amount of time, but they exempted me from such requirements. My interpreter and I were invited to have dinner with two organizations: once with a staff (the wife of the director) and once with the director and marriage migrants who are full time staff. When I planned for my last visit to one women's organization (per their request because they would like to know about Taiwan's situation), they provided one of their staff, one Chinese marriage migrant, to work with me as an interpreter on that day.

In Taiwan, I paid three visits to each collaborating organization on average as well. Without language barrier, I also maintained close contact with either officers or marriage migrants themselves who shared their personal contact information with me, and who expressed interest and willingness to assist my project. In total, I held five workshops and community events at different collaborating organizations to interact with the staff in the organizations and marriage

migrants and their families. I volunteered at cultural events held for marriage migrants at different locations. In addition to community centers, I also conducted participant observation in one migrant women's shelter in Korea, and one children's shelter and one detention center in Taiwan. All of the collaborating organizations were pleased that I provide gift cards or cash as a token of appreciation for my interviewees and survey respondents.

(3) Survey Implementation and Qualitative Data Collection

To recognize the diverse experience of VMMs, I intentionally sample three groups of interviewees: 1) VMMs who work for NGOs/NPOs or community organizations that support new comers; 2) VMMs who have suffered from domestic violence, divorced, widowed, and lived in the shelters or detention centers; and 3) other VMMs who do not belong to the first two categories. In total, I interviewed 25 VMMs from the first category (17 from Taiwan and 8 from Korea), 12 VMMs from the third category (8 from Taiwan and 4 from Korea), and 18 VMMs from the second category (13 from Taiwan and 5 from Korea). I also held four focus groups (2 in Taiwan and 2 in Korea) with a total of 20 VMMs and with a mix from these three categories.

Based on my experiences, conducting an in-depth interview after implementing a survey questionnaire has more advantages than disadvantages. First of all, the questionnaire is a great icebreaker between interviewee and me. I usually started my interview with this question: "what do you think about the questionnaire? Which section(s) do you find it most relevant to your daily life?" Many of them had a lot to say about perceived stress and everyday discrimination, and certain questions in the quality of life scale, and that's where the interview got started. Even for those who had less to say, they could refer to the expressions from the questionnaire during our interview when necessary. In addition, I brought along three maps of Vietnam that I purchased in

Vietnam: one of Ho Chih Min City, one of Mekong Delta (where the majority of the interviewees are from), and one of Vietnam. After they identified either they are from northern or southern Vietnam from the questionnaire, I would ask them to indicate where their natal families is located on one of the maps and if they want, they are welcomed to sign their names near their native villages/districts.

Second, the interaction between the interviewees and me (through interpreter in Korea) started when they filled out the questionnaire. Through their questions and the way how they asked the questions when they filled out the survey, I was able to gain a sense of their reading level and their ability to express themselves. With some key information such as the educational levels of themselves and their husbands, how they met their husbands, and whether they live with in-laws that they checked in the survey, it was easier for me to ask questions tailored to their life experiences and to carefully probe any questions that may be sensitive.

The third advantage is that I had the chance to identify some discrepancies between what was written on the questionnaire and their own narratives. There is a common issue of social desirability in survey implementation especially to marginalized populations. For example, some of them did not want to admit that they met their husbands through commercial brokers; instead, they would check that they met each other through introduction of a friend. But during the interview, they would mention the broker several times. That was when I found out they had concerns disclosing certain aspects of themselves before we started the interview.

One major disadvantage of approaching interviewees with a questionnaire is that it was very time-consuming when the interviewee needed a lot of explanation to complete the survey. A social worker asked one VMM to visit her office and to talk with me. She needed my explanation for every question in the questionnaire. After I used examples to help her finish the survey, we

were both exhausted and had to cut our interview short (because the social worker was waiting for us, too). If the settings were in a grocery store or in the community center where other VMMs were present, they would usually ask each other for clarification. I used the questionnaire in Vietnamese and believed that using their native languages would be ideal. However, a couple of VMMs in Korea who agreed to have an interview yet did not want to fill out the questionnaire. They did not have confidence that they could do it. One of them did not receive any formal education in Vietnam. Another VMM, who I met in the women's shelter, seemed to have some difficulties expressing herself; my interpreter generously helped her to finish the questionnaire question by question. I found out in the end that she was actually a case of human trafficking who was terribly abused by the husband and in-laws and was waiting to return to Vietnam. In Taiwan, one of them asked if I have a version in Chinese, because her reading ability in Chinese is better than that in Vietnamese (she had primary school education in Vietnam but is attending night school equivalent to high school level in Taiwan).

Even though I did not include the analysis of survey questionnaires in this dissertation, the content of the survey guided the interviews and focus groups. My interactions with VMMs about the survey were part of my field notes, such as VMMs in Korea had more to say about everyday discrimination than VMMs in Taiwan. Some of them expressed that they need more surveys like this (referring to the relevancy to their daily lives) and were tired of filling out government surveys. Overall, implementing the survey questionnaires helped me understand VMMs' general migration experiences and specifically to their social integration into the societies.

Interviewing VMMs with different backgrounds

Considering that the current literature tends to focus on the misery of VMMs, I intentionally oversampled VMMs who belong to the first category, those who work for community organizations or non-profit organizations that support other migrants especially newcomers. To my understanding, many organizations in Taiwan working with marriage migrants and migrant workers have VMMs working as their staff for two reasons. First, because they are the largest non-Chinese ethnic groups and the earliest wave came as early as 1990. Second, because there exists a large number of migrant workers (of both male and female) from Vietnam throughout Taiwan, community organizations are in need of VMMs' abilities to help with interpretation and provide other support. However, the situation was quite different in South Korea when I got there in the summer of 2011. Among all the VMMs who belong to the first group that I interviewed, only one of them has worked at the community organization for more than one year. Others are newly hired staff (less than six months) or are hired as part-time staffs/interpreters. This situation implies that in the year of 2011, while the majority of VMMs who have arrived Korea for five years, organizations working with migrants have begun to realize the needs to recruit VMMs to support their co-ethnics and newcomers. This indeed created additional difficulties when I identified potential interviewees in South Korea.

Table 2.2 displays an overview of the socio-demographic backgrounds of VMMs from the first category. In general, they received higher education in Vietnam (either high school or college) and most met their Korean/Taiwanese husbands through personal encounters or introduction through trustworthy social networks. With the permission from their Korean/Taiwanese supervisors, I interviewed most of them at their workplace during their work hours. As other Taiwanese or Korean married women, they also have to seek ways to balance work and family life. In addition, many of them are enrolled in night schools so it would be hard

to schedule other times for an interview. I also interviewed one in a community park, and one in her house. The interviews were in general pleasant and smooth. They were very capable to further elaborate on open-ended questions. Many of them expressed that they can relate to my situation and were excited that I will write up their stories. The longer they work with "their own people," either with newcomers or through answering hotlines for foreigners, they more they learn about how to relate to the experiences of other VMMs who are in dire need of emotional and economic support. Most of them were very helpful and were willing to help me identify other interviewees if necessary.

One of my research aims is to understand how VMMs who experienced adversity, those who belong to the second category, find protection and support from their social networks and the welfare systems. Table 2.3 shows their background and employment status. As expected, identifying VMMs who were living in the shelters was the most challenging part. In South Korea, I was able to visit one migrant women's shelter with my interpreter; all six VMMs who were living there filled out the survey while two of them agreed to tell me about their experiences, in the hope that their stories can prevent other sad stories from repeating. In Taiwan, I was rejected by all possible contacts about my intention to visit women's shelters. Only one social worker agreed to connect me with one VMM who lives in the shelter and was willing to talk to me outside the shelter. She was working as a part-time cleaner in a house, so I was trying to schedule a time and locate a space that we can talk in private. After she rescheduled several times because of work- and child-related issues, she decided that she did not want to be interviewed.

In total, I interviewed 18 VMMs who were divorced, widowed, or separated with their husbands. I recruited most of them through social workers in the collaborating organizations, or through snowballing from VMMs in other two categories. Many VMMs in these marriages

experienced domestic violence including one who got remarried to another Taiwanese man and became an activist for marriage migrants. In South Korea, many of these indicated that they are in the process of negotiating a divorce with their husbands. It is important to note that some divorcees did not have an abusive spouse. They decided to end the marriage that was not working anymore, so that they can pursue a better life. Interviews with this VMM category were emotional. Almost all of them cried when they recalled their difficult times and described their struggles. In terms of the timing and location for interview, several of them invited me to their houses or work places if they are self-employed (such as nail salons or noodle shops). Other locations include some quiet public or semi-public spaces such as churches and community parks. For those who had paid employment, interviews were done on weekends or in late evenings after they return from work. I also had one interview in a fast-food restaurant from 10PM to 11:30PM (when the restaurant was almost empty and quiet).

On top of the community organizations listed in appendix 2.2, my fieldwork sites also include several Vietnamese grocery stores and restaurants mostly in suburban or rural settings, where I conducted participant observation, engaged in informal conversations, and conducted several in-depth interviews (with the permission of the shop owner). I also paid home visits to several VMM families who are widowed or divorced. Those in South Korea were more enthusiastic about the visit of my interpreters and me. They were very curious about my internship experiences in Vietnam and other VMMs' life in Taiwan.

My survey and interviews covered VMMs who were residing in the following areas: (a) Taiwan: The Greater Taipei Area, Bade Taoyuan, Nantou, LiuChia Tainan, MeiNung Kaohsiung, Kaohisung City and PingTong. (b) South Korea: The Greater Seoul Area (including Ansan, Incheon, Suwon, and Seoul City), Daegu, and Daejeon. My goal was to cover a wide range of

VMMs' social integration experiences in different geographical areas in these two countries. In Taiwan, I had a good mix of VMMs residing in rural villages, urban areas, and some townships across northern, central, and southern Taiwan. In Korea, I was able to include Ansan City, an area considered as migrant workers' hub, and Daegu City, located in Southeastern Korea, an area considered as the most conservative and traditional (where all the murder cases took place) in South Korea. Although I was not able to talk to VMMs residing in remote areas in Korea, some of them I met were living in rural areas and commuted to the migrant center to take Korean classes or to work.

2.3.3 Qualitative Data Management

All of my interviewees agreed that I recorded our conversation. Interviews in Korea were conducted in Vietnamese and English through the help of Vietnamese interpreters, so I hired Vietnamese native speakers who are fluent in English to transcribe interviews in Korea. I worked with three Vietnamese transcribers. Two of them transcribed the interview verbatim, while one of them (with the highest proficiency in English) validated the interpreters' interpretation and translated the narratives in Vietnamese word by word into English.

Interviews in Taiwan were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, so I hired Mandarin Chinese speakers to transcribe interviews in Taiwan. I worked with five transcribers including three who had prior experience conducting sociological qualitative interviews themselves.

I analyzed the transcripts with the help of *Dedoose* software. Within dedoose, I created a coding scheme based on my interview guide and some key concepts from the quantitative empirical papers for triangulation. I then compared the experiences of VMMs across three

categories, and those in Taiwan and Korea. More details about coding strategies are described in Chapter 5.

2.4 Reflections from the Field

Just like most researchers using ethnographic methods and qualitative approaches, especially those who have certain "field sites" to enter and exit, I have spent a lot of my post-fieldwork time reflecting how my insider-outsider roles differ in Taiwan and South Korea, in what ways have my roles affect my research, and how my experiences resonate or differ from other feminist race/ethnicity or migration scholars especially those who entered the same field sites and worked with Asian women migrants.

First of all, my many roles—as an East Asian-looking young woman from rural Taiwan who was affiliated with a famous graduate school the U.S.—affect my relationship with different informants in Taiwan and Korea. Some of these roles have facilitated, while others have hindered the effectiveness of my data collection in several ways. As much as I am aware how Caucasian-looking foreigners are most valued along the racial/ethnic hierarchies in Taiwan, I learned from both literature and mass media that it holds true, if not worse, in South Korea. The issue came up first when I discussed with my Korean-English interpreters about how I should introduce myself when I write emails to NGOs/NPOs in Korea. Both of them felt that the organizations are more likely to respond if I only mention that I am from UCLA. While some grassroots/feminist organizations seemed to like my experience and knowledge about marriage migration better (than my UCLA affiliation) after my initial visits, some officers in government-run organizations showed immediate disappointments when they saw my interpreters and me. Without having to know Korean, I was able to understand perfectly when my interpreter

"explained" to them that I am from Taiwan and studying at UCLA. Interestingly, my Korean-English interpreters would often apologize when we ran into situations like this.

Within the feminist migration scholarship, prominent researchers researching female migration within Asia who are mostly from North America (Belanger & Wang, 2012; Constable, 2005; Faier, 2009; Freeman, 2011) and Western Europe (Piper & Roces, 2003). They delicately presented the circumstances of intra-Asia women migrants in patriarchal, ethnocentric East Asian societies from the perspectives of gender, ethnicity, class, and globalization. In addition to the experiences of Western scholars, other "minority" feminist migration scholars have studied (a) Asian women migrants with the same ethnicity/country of origin in one or more countries (Parreñas, 2001) or (b) Asian women migrants in their native countries (Choo, 2006; Hsia, 2007; Lan, 2006). When comparing my experience of working on a Vietnamese project in Taiwan and Korea as a Taiwanese to their experiences, I identified some interesting commonalities and differences.

First, compared to VMMs in Taiwan, most VMMs in Korea treated me as an insider, even as an ally. Our trust was built shortly after my interpreter introduced me and my purpose of making the trip to Korea (which is to find them and talk to them). Many VMMs in Korea thought I am a Vietnamese because I looked just like the sister of my interpreter. They showed the same degree of hospitality even after knowing that I am from Taiwan and I don't speak Vietnamese. Some of them were really relieved when knowing that I am not a Korean, because they did not have to practice Korean etiquettes and they could "say bad things about Korea" (in a joking manner). In other words, my "otherness" as a "foreign woman" and as temporary visitor allowed VMMs to express themselves to me without any concerns. Such experience is relevant to but different from what Freeman (2012) described, Korean-Chinese women were more open than

she expected to talk about sex and intimate matters than she expected, probably because Freeman comes from a culture that are open to such topics. Luckily, I am not working on a HIV-AIDS related project, otherwise, would my appearance make Asian women interviewees hesitant to talk about sensitive issues because they would assume I come from a similar culture?

Second, while most VMMs in Taiwan were relatively open to me, few considered me as an outsider or even treated me with hostility. Depending on the ways that I was introduced to them, if through trustworthy organizations or network (such as through a VMM who works for NGOs), they would consider me as a friend of a friend. In rural areas, when I mentioned that I am also from rural Taiwan, my familiarities with how patriarchal arrangements are made in their marital families suddenly made me an insider. The hostility that I experienced was from VMMs who emphasize that nothing went wrong with them. Not only to me, I noticed some VMMs who were presenting themselves as superior than other VMMs, either directly in a focus group or indirectly during our interview.

Third, some government-run community organizations that I visited in Korea rejected me after I explained that I would like to know about VMMs' experiences there. According to my interpreter, these organizations first thought I was a marriage migrant who needed help (obviously because of my appearance); further, they indicated that the bad things happened to VMMs "is not a good thing to study," and they would like to protect VMMs so that they do not think it is proper for me to interview them. As to some organizations in Taiwan, because of my multi-sited fieldwork approach, I understood that they might dislike the fact that I was not able to volunteer for them for a longer period as previous researchers did. However, I did my best to express that I would like to share my experiences in Korea if they are interested. Understanding the subtle differences of how these different roles affect my data collection, and how could

embrace or strategically work away from certain roles are important issues if I would like to continue this comparative project.

As all qualitative researchers might have experienced, there were certain challenging situations that I encountered in Korea as a "migrant woman researcher from a less-developed country." First of all, my foreigner's status created substantial frustration not only in the processes of data collection (that I had to rely on interpreters) but also in basic daily-life situations such as renting a place to live and opening a bank account. In the end, I needed a Korean friend to sign the housing contract for me and another one to open a bank account under her name for me. There were a few unpleasant episodes when I dealt with immigration officers and a local bank involving unnecessary requests to make copies of my passport and take my fingerprints. Not to mention that when traveling outside tourist areas in Seoul City where the address systems are more complicated and without any signs in English, even my Korean-English interpreters would get lost on our second or third visits. These unpleasant and inconvenient experiences gave me a first-hand experience about how VMMs may have felt when they first entered Korea.

Other unpleasant experiences were related to establishing interpersonal trust and maintaining a working relationship with interpreters. Two Korean-English interpreters failed to show up after we met twice and exchange emails to communicate in detail about the purpose and procedure of my visit to the community organization; they were graduate students at Korean universities and never contacted me to apologize or to follow up. Other instances include one Vietnamese-English interpreter who was trying to take control over the scene, and another was not showing enough respect to my interviewees. In other words, even I was very clear with them about that I fully respect my interviewees and there should be no judgment involved when they

interpret, some of them still demonstrate explicitly that they are from a different social class in Vietnam (compared to the VMMs). In retrospect, I suspect if I should have presented myself with more authority instead of presenting myself as a graduate student and would like to learn from them. After all, I took care of the expenses for meals and coffees from our initial meeting when I was deciding if they are suitable to work on the project.

The most uncomfortable experience of working and traveling alone in less-touristic areas in South Korea was the "patriarchal gaze" from local (especially drunk) men. "Patriarchal gaze" refers to men in patriarchal societies who feel that they are entitled to scrutinize any women as they are looking at some commodities. I also had similar experiences when walking alone in rural Vietnam or non-tourist district in Ho Chi Minh City. In addition to patriarchal gazes, I experienced harassment attempt in both Vietnam and South Korea. My uncomfortable experience of "patriarchal gaze" is not unique at all, one VMM that I interviewed (who met her Taiwanese husband through work later) described why she despised those Taiwanese men who flew to Ho Chi Minh City to look for wives through commercial brokers: "When I walked by those hotels they stayed in, the way how they looked at us (random Vietnamese women on the street) is as if we were naked. It was very disgusting."

To summarize, from my fieldwork experiences in Taiwan and Korea, I learned to conduct research projects across national, socio-cultural, disciplinary, and language boundaries. At different stages of the project, I had experience engaging with academics, grassroots organizations, policy advocates, government officials, my informants, and my interpreters, who hold distinct viewpoints on the welfare of women migrants and the development of their respective nation-states. My unique position as an insider-outsider through all possible angles—because of my gender, my origins, my appearance, and where I received my education—enables

me to maintain a comprehensive perspective and at the same time maintain a critical distance when investigating sensitive topics and working with marginalized populations.

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Table 2.1 Sample characteristics of all marriage migrants and by ethnicity/countries of origin, 2009 Multicultural Families in Korea

	All	Korean Chinese	Han Chinese	Vietnam	The Philippines	Japan
N	69,394	24,561	9,294	19,363	6,212	3,618
Characteristics of Wives						
Wives' Age						
Mean	33.4	39.8	34.1	24.7	32.3	40.6
(SD)	(10.1)	(9.6)	(8.2)	(4.5)	(7.2)	(6.8)
Wives' education						
Primary school	9.9	5.9	4.6	19.9	1.6	.2
Junior high school	28.9	28.1	32.3	41.2	2.7	.9
High school	42.6	52.2	44.6	33.2	38.3	40.2
College and above	17.6	13.2	17.8	3.9	56.5	58.5
Natal Family SES						
Poorest (0-2)	19.3	14.7	11.6	28.5	20.9	3.3
Poor (3-4)	21.8	15.4	15.9	33.5	17.1	16.4
Middle (5)	43.3	48.1	49.6	26.7	50.3	45.7
Wealthy (6-10)	15.6	18.9	20.8	6.4	8.9	32.4
Characteristics of Husbands						
Husbands' Age						
Mean	43.9	46.7	43.0	41.7	43.1	43.0
(SD)	(8.1)	(9.3)	(8.3)	(6.1)	(6.3)	(7.1)
Husbands' Education						
Primary school	7.7	7.8	3.5	6.2	11.4	7.2
Junior high school	18.5	18.2	12.6	19.4	13.7	11.5
High school	52.8	50.2	50.3	45.2	46.4	43.1
College and above	21.0	14.9	26.2	16.7	20.5	38.3
Marital Family SES						
Poorest (0-2)	24.1	31.5	24.1	18.2	16.8	14.5
Poor (3-4)	30.6	26.7	26.9	38.1	17.3	35.3
Middle (5)	38.5	34.5	39.9	33.3	54.1	34.8
Wealthy (6-10)	6.8	5.2	6.9	5.7	8.7	14.3
Family-level factors						
Living with parents-in-law						
Both passed away	19.0	27.4	18.1	10.0	14.8	13.6
Not living together	51.6	53.6	55.8	42.2	48.4	59.2
Live with either	17.9	10.2	14.1	25.7	21.0	17.4
Live with both	11.6	4.4	9.1	19.5	13.4	7.7
Marriage channel						
Via commercial agencies	30.7	8.8	22.5	67.1	19.4	1.4
Via family or friends	45.4	66.7	52.8	27.7	38.3	8.0
Religious organizations	8.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	32.7	74.1
Met by themselves	15.6	23.5	23.9	14.4	9.6	16.5

Table 2.1 Sample characteristics of all marriage migrants and by ethnicity/countries of origin, 2009 Multicultural Families in Korea (Continued)

	Taiwan	Mongolia	Thailand	Cambodia	Uzbekistan	Russia
N	218	1,022	1,048	1,924	698	358
Characteristics of Wives						
Wives' Age						
Mean	38.7	31.6	35.0	24.0	29.2	34.3
(SD)	(8.9)	(6.4)	(6.2)	(3.3)	(6.9)	(8.2)
Wives' education						
Primary school	4.1	1.8	14.8	30.4	2.2	.8
Junior high school	7.8	10.3	16.9	35.0	12.5	7.3
High school	27.1	26.7	36.5	21.7	38.8	30.2
College and above	60.6	60.1	31.0	9.4	44.8	60.1
Natal Family SES						
Poorest (0-2)	2.8	11.7	11.4	26.5	10.8	7.3
Poor (3-4)	6.0	17.7	23.8	14.9	18.6	16.8
Middle (5)	39.0	49.4	45.6	44.1	45.3	46.7
Wealthy (6-10)	38.5	19.7	18.0	11.6	23.2	25.7
Characteristics of Husbands						
Husbands' Age						
Mean	41.3	41.7	42.2	41.5	41.5	40.6
(SD)	(9.7)	(6.1)	(6.2)	(6.9)	(6.5)	(7.3)
Husbands' Education						
Primary school	2.8	3.0	11.2	11.6	2.0	1.4
Junior high school	1.8	15.3	17.7	16.0	6.5	8.4
High school	24.3	51.6	49.2	42.3	46.3	41.6
College and above	64.2	21.6	14.5	17.5	36.0	40.8
Marital Family SES						
Poorest (0-2)	11.0	17.3	18.3	13.2	13.3	15.4
Poor (3-4)	16.1	24.5	26.6	18.1	24.4	26.3
Middle (5)	44.5	45.8	45.7	53.7	45.4	45.8
Wealthy (6-10)	26.2	11.3	8.4	10.3	15.0	10.9
Family-level factors						
Living with in-laws						
Both passed away	16.1	16.0	14.7	9.0	12.0	12.3
Not living together	64.7	53.9	51.8	34.7	55.3	67.3
Live with either in-law	7.8	16.6	20.1	29.7	15.6	10.6
Live with both	7.3	11.6	11.1	24.0	15.0	6.7
Marriage channel						
Via commercial agencies	2.3	31.8	10.0	80.8	40.0	3.9
Via family or friends	29.0	38.0	40.4	11.5	38.0	33.2
Religious organizations	6.0	5.7	24.9	1.6	1.7	1.7
Met by themselves	57.8	20.9	21.3	2.5	18.2	57.2

Table 2.2 Socio-demographic Characteristics of VMMs who work or volunteer for NGOs/NPOs, information obtained at the time of interview (July 2011 to March 2012)

Country	Age	Education	Length of Stay	Marriage channel	Occupation
KOR	26	Senior high	4.5	Broker	Feminist NGO Staff
KOR	38	Senior high	18	Themselves*	Grocery store owner/Interpreter
KOR	25	Senior high	6	Broker	Feminist NGO staff
KOR	36	College	6	Via a relative	Community center staff
KOR	24	Junior high	4.75	Broker	Feminist NGO staff
KOR	42	College	11.5	Themselves	Grocery and restaurant owner
KOR	26	Junior high	6	Broker	Community center staff
KOR	26	Senior high	5.5	Via a relative	Feminist NGO part time staff
TWN	31	Senior high	7	Broker	NGO staff
TWN	33	Senior high	14	Via a friend	Case worker
TWN	45	College	20	Via a friend	Journalist
TWN	33	College	11.5	Themselves	Case worker
TWN	28	Junior high	8	Broker	NGO Staff
TWN	28	Senior high	10	Via a relative	Editor
TWN	31	Senior high	10	Via a friend	NGO Staff
TWN	35	College	9.5	Themselves	Case worker
TWN	31	Senior high	12	Via a friend	Vietnamese teacher
TWN	45	College	18	Themselves	NGO hotline/ hotel management
TWN	34	College	12	Themselves	Interpreter/ NGO volunteer
TWN	26	Senior high	5.5	Via a relative	NGO Staff
TWN	25	Senior high	2.5	Via a friend	Part-time NGO staff
TWN	44	Senior high	11	Via a friend	NGO staff
TWN	27	Senior high	8	Broker**	Case worker

*Divorced and remarried (to a Vietnamese migrant worker)
** Widowed

Table 2.3 Socio-demographic Characteristics of VMMs who experienced adversity, information obtained at the time of interview (July 2011 to March 2012)

Country	Age	Education	Marriage Channel	Length of Stay	Marital Status	Occupation
KOR	25	Junior high	Broker	5.6	Divorced	Unemployed
KOR	25	Junior high	Broker	5	Separated	Living in the shelter
KOR	27	Junior high	Broker	5	Separated	Living in the shelter
KOR	31	Senior high	Via a friend	8	Divorced	Factory worker
TWN	41	Junior high	Themselves	16	Widowed	Nail salon (at home)
TWN	30	Senior high	Themselves	10	Divorced	Works for migrant worker's broker
TWN	31	Senior high	Themselves	7	Divorced	Works at night markets
TWN	31	Senior high	Via a friend	11	Divorced	Unemployed
TWN	28	Senior high	Broker	10	Divorced	Nail shop (in a market)
TWN	41	College	Themselves	11	Widowed	Staff in a factory
TWN	31	Primary school	Broker	10	Divorced	Housewife/activist

Appendix 2.1 Interview Guide (English)

A. Health and Quality of Life

1. According to the questionnaire you just filled out, which part is most relevant to your daily life (and other marriage migrants), why?
2. How would you define health and good quality of life?
3. What does happiness mean to you?
4. How do you feel when you interact with health professionals? Would you be willing to describe your experiences during pregnancy, giving birth, and care?
5. Do you have any major sources of stress? What are they? What do you do when you feel stressful?
6. Do you have any health problems? What are they?
7. Compared with your health status when you were in Vietnam and when you first arrived at (Taiwan/South Korea), has your health status changed?
8. Do any health problems interfere with being a wife/mother/daughter-in-law, etc?

B. Migration and Immigration

1. How did you make the decision to migrate? Between you made the decision and your departure, did you do anything to prepare for migration?
2. What were the most striking cultural differences/ways of living after you arrived Taiwan/Korea? How did you deal with it?
3. Did you feel that you received adequate support when you first arrived? What are the supports that you had (or wish you had) in terms of integrating/adjusting into Korean/Taiwanese society?
4. How long did it take for you to feel more settled? What specific factors made you feel that way?
5. When was your most recent visit to Vietnam? How did you feel?
6. How do you feel about governments' policy toward marriage migrants and your (their) families? What would you propose if you were speaking to an immigration policy maker?

C. Marriage and Family

1. How do you feel about transnational marriage/families? If your children were to marry a foreigner, would you agree?
2. If you don't mind, would you describe how did you meet your husband and why did you decide to marry him?
3. How would you rate/describe your relationships with your parents-in-law and other members in the marital families? Has these relationships changed since you got married?
4. If you don't mind, please describe the most recent disagreement you had with your husband or other members in the marital families. Do you think such disagreement is due to cultural differences between Vietnam and Taiwan/Korea, or it is just differences between different individuals?
5. Do you think men and women are more equal here (Taiwan/Korea) or in Vietnam? Why?
6. Do you feel you are part of the marital family and the residential community? What makes you feel this way?

D. Lifecourse Reflection

1. What is the major life event that affects you the most?
2. (For those who had paid employment especially the NGO staffs) What does this job mean to you? What do you gain from this job for your personal development?
3. Do you have any short-term goals? What are the things that you are most concerned about?
4. In the long run, do you have any dreams that you wish to accomplish? When your children grow up and you retire, would you want to return to Vietnam?

E. Resilience

1. In retrospect, what helped you get through these difficult times?
2. What was the most difficult situation, the worst struggle that you experienced? What motivated you to get through that low point? Was there anyone who listened to you and supported you?
3. Compared to that lowest low point in your life, how do you feel about yourself now?

Appendix 2.2 List of Collaborating Organizations

(A) South Korea

베트남 여성 문화 센터 **The Vietnamese Women's Cultural Center (VWCC)**

The VWCC is a non-governmental organization established in July 2006 in Daegu for Vietnamese marriage migrants in Korea. In addition to offering language and acculturation courses to Vietnamese marriage migrants in Daegu, they work closely with National Women's Union of Vietnam in Hanoi to safeguard the human rights of Vietnamese marriage migrants. They started a five-year long program to inspect the qualifications of Korean men intending to marry Vietnamese women since 2007.

한국이주여성인권센터 **Women Migrants Human Rights Center of Korea**

인천여성의전화(아이다마을) **Incheon Women's Hotline (Asian Women's Community)**

수원시외국인복지센터 **Suwon Migrant Community Service Center**

Center for Multicultural Education at Pai Chai University

International Organization of Migration- Migration Research & Training Center (IOM-MRTC)

(B) Taiwan

南洋臺灣姊妹會 **TransAsia Sisters Association, Taiwan (TASAT)**

Developed from the "Foreign Brides Chinese Literacy Program" founded at Meinung Township in Kaohsiung in 1995, the TASAT was officially established in 2003 in Kaohsiung with another branch office in Taipei City. It is the first and largest grass-root NGO working with female marriage migrants in Taiwan. The objectives of TASAT are to help the immigrant women break away from isolation and become an active participant in the society. Currently, a majority of staffs in both Kaohsiung and Taipei office are marriage migrants from Southeast Asia.

新事社會服務中心 **The Rerum Novarum Center- Taipei and Nantou Office**

A Catholic social institute established in 1971 in Taipei, the Rerum Novarum Center provides employment services to indigenous workers, legal aid service, counseling and social service, education and support groups to migrant workers and marriage migrants.

賽珍珠基金會 **The Pearl S. Buck Foundation, Taipei Taiwan**

The PSBF in Taipei Taiwan was established in 1968 for the purpose of serving children fathered by American soldiers. In 1999, in recognition of diminished American presence and increasing influx of foreign brides, the PSBF-TT started to provide services to inter-racial families and especially to such single parents, in order to transcend cultural differences and to resolve conflicts. Their services include: Immigration documentation and citizenship assistance, support group for foreign spouses, multi-language hot line services, etc.

天主教越南外勞配偶辦公室 **Vietnamese Migrant Workers & Brides Office (VMWBO) & Taiwan Alliance to Combat Trafficking (TaiwanACT)**

The Vietnamese Migrant Workers & Brides Office (VMWBO) was established in 2004 under the auspices of the Hsinchu Catholic Diocese of Taiwan. The office is run by Reverend Nguyen Peter Van Hung. VMWBO provides direct services such as: housing via three shelters, counseling, legal assistance, mediation, interpretation and translation. VMWBO is dedicated to policy advocacy work with respective Governments and NGOs to affect change at the systemic level.

四方報 **Four-Way Voice**

Founded in 2006 by the late Lihpao's Dr. Lucie Cheng, 4-Way Voice has expanded to become the "paper Facebook" for today's 600,000 Taiwan migrant workers and migrant brides. Published monthly in Vietnamese, Cambodian, Thai, Tagalog, Indonesian, and Chinese, 4-Way Voice continues to strive to give Southeast Asian migrants a voice and better rights in Taiwan.

屏東縣好好婦女權益發展協會 **J-Association of Development for Women's Rights in Ping-Tung (JADWRP)**

臺南牧德關懷協會 **Tainan Mute Caring Association**

高雄基督教家庭協談中心 **Kaohsiung Christian Family Counseling Center**

CHAPTER 3

MIGRATION PROCESSES AND SELF-RATED HEALTH AMONG MARRIAGE MIGRANTS IN SOUTH KOREA

Abstract

Research on migrant health mostly examines labor migrants, with some attention paid to the trauma faced by refugees. Transnational marriage migration, which has existed for centuries, is conceptually different since it often involves social isolation from co-ethnics after settling in an unfamiliar culture and society. Drawing on a social determinants of health (SDH) approach, I use a large Korean national survey and stratified multivariate regressions to examine the link between migration processes—pre-migration socioeconomic status, post-migration socioeconomic status, and social integration—and the self-rated health of Korea's three largest ethnic/nationality groups of marriage migrants: Korean-Chinese, Vietnamese, and Han Chinese. I find that post-migration socioeconomic status and several social integration-related factors are associated with the health of marriage migrants of all three groups. Specifically, more social relationships with Koreans predicts good health among marriage migrants, while more social relationships with co-ethnics is associated with worse health. Marriage migrants' perceived social status of their natal and marital families is a better predictor of their health than more objective measures such as their education attainment and that of their Korean husbands. The post-migration social gradients among all ethnic groups demonstrate a dose-response effect of marital family's social standing on marriage migrants' health, independent of their own education and the social standing of their natal families. Lastly, I find some ethnicity-specific predictors such as the association between higher educational level and worse health status among the Vietnamese. This variability by group suggests a more complex set of social determinants of health occurred during the marriage migration processes than a basic SDH framework would predict. Using a new immigrant destination, South Korea, as an example, I conclude that migration and health policies that reduce ethnicity-specific barriers and offer

integration programs in early post-migration stages may offer a pathway to good health among marriage migrants.

Key Words: Self-Rated Health; Social Integration; Socioeconomic Status; Social Determinants of Health; Marriage Migrants; South Korea

INTRODUCTION

The Social Determinants of Health (SDH) framework highlights social and structural forces that shape population health beyond individual knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors (Blakely, 2008; WHO, 2008). While the movement of large numbers of people across political boundaries is clearly shaped by social and structural processes, scholars do not commonly apply a SDH approach to understand how migration processes affects migrant health (Acevedo-Garcia, Sanchez-Vaznaugh, Viruell-Fuentes, & Almeida, 2012; Dunn & Dyck, 2000). Other than research on acculturation, health beliefs, and the lack of accessible and affordable healthcare for migrants, there is little work that investigates how migration processes shape migrant health except for refugees.

Research on migrant health tends to focus on labor migrants or refugees. Marriage migrants are a unique migrant group because they do not settle in ethnic enclaves and they voluntarily choose to migrate for marriage. However, similar to other types of female migration, they may experience downward social mobility and are vulnerable to disempowerment in the migration processes (Hugo, 2000; N. Piper, 2004). To date, the limited research on the health of marriage migrants has focused primarily on reproductive health (Hsieh et al., 2011; Xirasagar, Fu, Liu, Probst, & Lin, 2010) and their vulnerabilities to social isolation, physical abuse and mental distress (S. Y. Choi, Kim, Ryu, Chang, & Park, 2012; S. Y. P. Choi, Cheung, & Cheung, 2012; Williams & Yu, 2006). In this article, I examine the link between the migration process and self-rated health among marriage migrants in South Korea, a gendered migration flow arriving at a new immigrant destination.

Patterns and Determinants of Self-Rated Health among Women Migrants

There is growing research about the differences between the migration experience of men and women (Asis, 2003; N Piper, 2008). Scholars has emphasized the importance of gender as more than a control variable, noting that the patterns and determinants of male and female migrants' health status can vary due to the differences in the migration processes and in the sending-receiving contexts (Llacer, Zunzunegui, del Amo, Mazarrasa, & Bolumar, 2007; Lopez-Gonzalez, Aravena, & Hummer, 2005). More recent studies have documented the differential vulnerabilities among female and male migrants (Kim, Carrasco, Muntaner, McKenzie, & Noh, 2013; Pottie, Ng, Spitzer, Mohammed, & Glazier, 2008). For example, women migrants' post-migration health trajectory was found to deteriorate more rapidly than men's during the first four years in the destination country (Kim et al., 2013). Furthermore, the inability to speak or read the language of the host society well has a significantly negative effect on the health of female migrants but not on male migrants, suggesting that improved social integration may reduce women migrants' risk of poor health (Pottie et al., 2008).

In addition to the significant variations in health status among women migrants of different socio-demographic characteristics (Kim et al., 2013), recent studies found that the socioeconomic development of different countries of origin (Singh Setia, Lynch, Abrahamowicz, Tousignant, & Quesnel-Vallee, 2011), different migration statuses such as refugees versus live-in care workers, along with their migration processes can have a substantial impact on women migrants' health. In contrast with women who migrate to join their husbands of the same country of origin, the self-selection of marriage migrants and their unique migration processes as well as post-migration integration experience may result in a different social patterning of general health status.

Socioeconomic Contexts Surrounding Migration and Migrant Health

A critique of current migrant health research is that it tends to decontextualize migrant populations in both the sending and receiving societies (Acevedo-Garcia et al., 2012). A "cross-national framework" avoids such decontextualization by examining migrant health from a population health perspective. It considers how the health of migrants may vary based on the push and pull factors of different migratory flows, health selection into migration, and economic development and health disparities between the sending and receiving societies (Acevedo-Garcia et al., 2012). Looking at the disconnectedness of existing migration policy and health policy, Zimmerman et al. (2011) emphasizes the importance of addressing the multiple phases of the migration process—pre-departure, travel, destination, interception, and return—in effectively protecting the health of migrants and the general populations (Zimmerman, Kiss, & Hossain, 2011). The frameworks proposed by Acevedo-Garcia et al (2012) and Zimmerman et al (2011) comprehensively consider how migrant health can be affected by the broader socioeconomic and health contexts in the sending and receiving societies as well as the immediate psychological and physical challenges migrants experience during the migration processes.

An individual's vulnerabilities to poor health are determined by the conditions of her socioeconomic group and the social power that the individual possesses, thus socioeconomic status (SES) is viewed as a fundamental "cause of the causes" by SDH (Solar & Irwin, 2007; WHO, 2008). SES is an aggregate concept which contains resource-based and prestige-based measures, offering potential trajectories for different socioeconomic groups to having differential access to life chances, material resources, health-enhancing resources and exposure to health risks that determines the consequences of ill health (Graham, 2004; Krieger, Williams, & Moss, 1997; WHO, 2008). Robust evidence demonstrates a positive association between

socioeconomic status (measured by income, education, and occupation) and health status in all developed countries (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2006), along with social gradients in self-rated health (Borg & Kristensen, 2000; Matthews, Manor, & Power, 1999). The income and educational gradients illustrate that "there is a generalized vulnerability to a wide range of threats to health that is associated with relatively lower social status" (Marmot, Ryff, Bumpass, Shipley, & Marks, 1997; WHO, 2008).

Findings from the Canada indicate that socioeconomic factors are important to self-rated health and the presence of chronic conditions for both migrants and non-migrants, but more so for migrants—healthier migrants are those in the highest income quintile who have received a college degree (Dunn & Dyck, 2000). In a study of migrant women from the former Yugoslavia in Australia, low SES following migration was identified as a key determinant to these women's poor self-rated health (Markovic, Manderson, & Kelaher, 2002). In a qualitative study on women who migrate for family reunions, they defined their health according to how well they are able to contribute to family wellbeing (Meadows, Thurston, & Melton, 2001) and their health experiences are affected by pre-and post-migration SES, motivations of migration, and post-migration experiences such as economic hardships and the lack of social support (Im & Yang, 2006).

Social Integration and Self-Rated Health

Defined as "the extent to which an individual participates in a broad range of social relationships" (Brissette, Cohen, & Seeman, 2000), social integration is a strong predictor of mortality and health outcomes among the general population (Berkman, Glass, Brissette, & Seeman, 2000). Berkman et al (2000) discussed the interchangeability of the terms between

social integration, social ties, and social networks in the health literature, as they all broadly refer to mezzo-level social processes linking macro-social structure and the micro-psychosocial mechanisms that affect human health. They conclude that characteristics of mezzo-level network ties provide opportunities for individuals to gain a sense of social integration through obtaining social support, acquiring social engagement and attachment, and having access to resources and material goods.

Some studies have demonstrated positive associations between social integration and good health for migrants, mostly in North America and Western Europe (Gorman, Ecklund, & Heard, 2010; Pearson & Geronimus, 2011; Todorova et al., 2013). Common measures of social integration include: availability and frequency of contacting friends or relatives, social interaction with neighbors, and participation in social activities such as church attendance or volunteering (Gorman et al., 2010; Pearson & Geronimus, 2011; Todorova et al., 2013). One major distinction between measuring social integration of migrants and of the general populations is that researchers are concerned about *with whom* migrants are socially interacting with, namely their *social engagement with the mainstream society* or *co-ethnic networks*, because of their differing effects on migrant health and implications on migration policy. Due to the research design of different social surveys, few studies have specifically examined both migrants' social relationships with the dominant population and with co-ethnics. In a study using the National Jewish Population Survey in the United States, Pearson and Geronimus found that those who have more co-ethnic social ties have better self-rated health, while the effects are strongest among those of lower socioeconomic position (Pearson & Geronimus, 2011). Compared with Chinese immigrants in the U.S., Kimbro et al (2012) found that Vietnamese have significantly more co-ethnic ties but receive less social support in general. Yet their results did

not reveal significant associations between co-ethnic ties and social support with self-rated health among Chinese, Filipino, and Vietnamese immigrants (Kimbro, Gorman, & Schachter, 2012).

Study Context: Marriage Migrants in South Korea

In Asia, the growing phenomenon of transnational marriage migration reflects the movement of women from less developed to wealthier countries (Hugo, 2005; Jones & Shen, 2008). As a rising economic power, Korea has seen a rapid increase in marriage migrants over the last decade, where the cumulative number reached 284,000 in 2011 (Chosunilbo, 2012). The triggering factor was the "bride deficit phenomenon," referring to Korean men in rural areas who suffer from disadvantageous positions in the domestic marriage market. It is no longer only a rural area phenomenon with a significant proportion of Korean men in transnational marriages also including divorced men of low socioeconomic status in urban areas, and more recently, urban never-married men (Y. J. Lee, Seol, & Cho, 2006).

Marriage migrants from different Asian countries have entered Korea at different times and have been driven by varied incentives. Chinese women of Korean ancestry began to enter Korea in the early 1990s after local Korean governments initiated "marriage tours" to recruit them as a solution for otherwise unmarriageable men in rural villages (H. M. Kim, 2007). Once Korea established formal relations with China in 1992, Han Chinese women in Northeastern China were also recruited to Korea as marriage migrants (H. K. Lee, 2008). In the early 2000s, marriage migrants started to arrive from Vietnam and later from Cambodia, mostly through commercial arrangements involving Korean men who take "marriage tours" of Southeast Asia where the matchmaking takes place. To date, the largest ethnic group of marriage migrants in Korea is ethnic Koreans from China (Korean-Chinese), followed by Vietnamese and Han Chinese.

Several Confucian traditions in Korean families may affect the health of marriage migrants, including rigid gender role ideologies between husbands and wives and heavy responsibilities of daughters-in-law in the marital families. The Korean society as a whole tends to view marriage migrants as a homogeneous group and to treat them as inferior because they come from poorer Asian countries (Yoon, Song, & Bae, 2008). These social realities place young migrant women into a multidimensional disadvantaged social position.

In response to the rising number and the integration needs of marriage migrants, the Korean government has adopted social welfare policies to facilitate marriage migrants' adjustment on the rationale that they have provided a segment of Korean men with the opportunity to continue their family line (Y. J. Lee et al., 2006). For example, the Korean National Health Insurance Program automatically covers marriage migrants who hold a valid spouse visa. Furthermore, if they cannot afford to pay the insurance premiums after giving birth, the Korean government will provide financial assistance or waive their premiums.[1] Such policies facilitate marriage migrants' access to healthcare in Korea, indicating that socioeconomic factors and migration-related factors may be more significant determinants of their health than access to healthcare.

Korean marriage migrants present an ideal population to examine the associations between SES, social integration and self-rated health among marriage migrants. The varied backgrounds of the three groups being considered provide different levels of the opportunity to develop social relationships with other Koreans, which should lead to better health, while relations focused on co-ethnics could indicate broader social isolation and worse health. The SDH framework also

[1] Information obtained from Korea.net (http://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/Living-in-Korea/National-Health-Insurance-for-Foreign-Nationals) on July 15, 2013, an official website from the Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism.

suggests that both pre- and post-migration SES will be associated with better health across all groups.

METHODS

Data and Analytic Subsample

The 2009 National Survey on Multicultural Families in Korea was designed to study the living conditions of marriage migrants by the Korea Ministry for Health, Welfare, and Family Affairs. Face to face interviews with questionnaire in ten languages were attempted in 2009 with 130,001 married immigrant residents in Korea, including both naturalized and non-citizens and excluding marriage migrants whose spouses are naturalized foreigners or foreigners. The 73,669 respondents represents a 56 % response rate, producing a similar distribution in marriage migrants' education level and average age (D. Kim, 2007). I use a deidentified public use file provided by the Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs. Our analytic subsamples are the three largest groups of female marriage migrants that reside in Korea: ethnic Koreans (Korean-Chinese) born in China (N=24,561), Han Chinese (N=9,292) and Vietnamese (N=19,363).

Dependent Variable

The outcome measure is self-rated health. Self-rated health is a powerful self-assessment of one's health related to several domains of life; it not only indicates the current level of health but also reflects one's health trajectories (Idler & Benyamini, 1997). The predictive validity of self-rated health to mortality has been established in multiple developed countries across different age, gender, and SES groups (Burström & Fredlund, 2001; Idler & Benyamini, 1997; Martikainen et al., 1999). It shows high test-retest reliability and has been used as a general health status indicator among different migrant populations (Frisbie, Cho, & Hummer, 2001;

McGee, Liao, Cao, & Cooper, 1999). I dichotomized health status as good (very good and quite good) versus other (neutral, bad, and very bad).

Independent Variables

I created two social integration variables to measure marriage migrants' numbers of different (1) social relationships with co-ethnics; and (2) social relationships with native Koreans. Other important independent variables that are associated with social integration and health in the literature include: Korean language proficiency, length of stay, and citizenship status (See appendix for details). Length of stay was coded into four groups with three cut-off points at 2 years (around the time when marriage migrants typically give birth to their first child), five years (an estimated average time for marriage migrants to obtain citizenship), and ten years (the time period when the migrant health advantage disappears in the U.S.).

Pre-migration SES indicators include marriage migrants' education and how they perceive their natal families' social standing in home countries (ranked from 0 to 10). Marriage migrants' social status in Korea is largely based on the social and economic status of their husbands, at least in the first few years upon arrival. Indicators of post-migration SES are the educational level of husbands and marriage migrant's perception of marital families' social standing (ranked from 0 to 10) in Korea. Based on the frequency distributions, I coded education levels of both marriage migrants and their husbands as below primary school, junior high school, high school, and college and above. Perceived SES of natal and marital families were coded as poorest if the rank was from 0 to 2, poor (3 to 4), middle (rank at 5), and wealthy (6 to 10).

Other Covariates

I include other covariates such as socio-demographic factors and psychosocial difficulties that marriage migrants encountered that are found correlated with self-rated health from the literature and from our analysis: the ages of wives and husbands, marital status (seven percent of Korean-Chinese marriage migrants were divorced at the time of survey), perceived discrimination (for its negative effects on self-rated health among migrants (Gee, 2002)), economic hardship measured by having to borrow money for living during the previous year, and whether the couple met through commercial agency (labeled "marriage channel" below). I control for marriage migrants' own monthly income because almost half (48%) of marriage migrants did not engage in paid employment. Considering that marital family's household income may not transfer to marriage migrants' resources due to different family dynamics and household sizes, I control for household income in this article to emphasize the effects of other SES factors.

Analytic Strategy and Missing Data

To highlight both between- and within-group variations, I stratified all analyses by three different ethnic groups and country of origin: Korean-Chinese, Han Chinese, and Vietnamese. After observing descriptive associations between key independent variables and the outcome variable, multivariate logistic regression was used to examine the associations among social integration, socioeconomic status, and self-rated health. After holding other covariates constant, Model 1 through 5 represents the odds ratios of (1) social integration factors, (2) pre-migration SES indicators, (3) post-migration SES indicators (4) pre- and post- migration SES indicators, and (5) all factors considered. Model a, b, and c each refers to the regression models of Korean-Chinese, Han Chinese, and the Vietnamese. All models in the analyses were unweighted.

Between 1% and 13% of key independent variables were missing across three ethnic groups. Husbands' education (7% to 12%) and social relationships with co-ethnics and with Koreans (10% to 13%) have the highest missing rate. Under the assumption they are missing at random, I use a multiple-imputation method in Stata 12.0. The command "mi impute chained" in Stata 12 works for both continuous and categorical variables which requires researchers to properly choose and assign imputation methods for variables included in the imputation model.[2] I built the imputation model with all variables and created 10 complete data sets for running logistic regressions. After the data were imputed, I dropped observations without health outcomes (missing rate ranged from 1% to 1.5% among three ethnic groups). I report logistic regression results with imputed data to provide consistent estimates. Log likelihoods were not available in the multiple imputation modules in Stata 12.0, thus I examined model fit with the joint Wald test and confirmed that all models and differences across nested models were significant. Compared with regression analysis with listwise deletion approach and without multiple imputation, I found a slight difference in the effects of husbands' education on the health of Korean-Chinese women (changed from significant to non-significant in the full model) with the imputed data set. No other significant differences were observed.

RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

Table 1 displays the demographic characteristics and descriptive results of key variables among marriage migrants who are Korean-Chinese, Han Chinese, and Vietnamese. Looking at

[2] Social Science Computing Cooperative from the University of Wisconsin-Madison: http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/sscc/pubs/stata_mi_models.htm

their general health status, Korean-Chinese reported the lowest percentage of good health (47%), followed by the Vietnamese (50.5%), while the Han Chinese reported the highest (54%). Among the three ethnic groups, the Vietnamese are the most vulnerable: they have the youngest age, lowest education, and lowest perceived SES of natal families. In addition, a majority had arrived within the previous two years, and almost half had no social relationships with native Koreans. Korean-Chinese wives had a higher level of social integration: they were the most proficient in the Korean language, 59 percent had already obtained citizenship and nearly 40 percent had at least two types of social relationships with Koreans. Eighteen percent of Han Chinese women had a college degree, highest among the three groups; they also had a higher percentage ranking their natal families as wealthy in China. On the Korean husbands' side, those who married Han Chinese had higher education than the other two groups, and those who married Korean-Chinese were ranked the poorest by their wives (25% as poorest). However, two-thirds (59%) of Vietnamese and Korean-Chinese ranked their current marital families as either poorest or poor, reflecting that their marital families are from relatively lower strata of the Korean society.

Pre- and Post-Migration SES, Social Integration, and Self-Rated Health

After controlling for covariates, social relationships with native Koreans and co-ethnics have contradictory effects on the health of marriage migrants (Table 2). Across ethnic groups, having more types of social lives with Koreans is positively and significantly associated with better health. Compared with Korean-Chinese and Han Chinese women who do not have any social lives with Koreans, those who have two types of social lives are 1.8 times more likely to report having good health. After controlling for the negative effects of perceived discrimination (a covariate in Models 1abc), having access to Koreans' help or spending leisure time together

are protective of marriage migrants' health. Having more social relationships with co-ethnics is significantly and negatively associated with Vietnamese women's health only; those with two types of social relationship with co-ethnics have a 19 % lower odds of reporting good health. Among other three social integration-related indicators, having acquired citizenship and longer length of stay are significant predictors of worse health among marriage migrants, independent of age.

As shown in Models 2a, 2b, 2c in Table 3, there are mixed findings of marriage migrants' own education and natal family SES on their health. For Korean-Chinese and Vietnamese, higher natal family SES is protective of health with SES gradients, even after considering post-migration SES factors (Models 4a and 4c). However, compared with Han Chinese women who rated their natal family as poorest in China, those who come from wealthy families had 21% lower odds of reporting good health (Model 4b). Marriage migrants' own education turned out to be most important for Vietnamese (Model 2c and 4c), for others it matters only for those with certain education levels.

The effects of increasing marital family SES alone, net of covariates, were consistently positive across three groups, yet only husbands' education influenced the health of Korean-Chinese (Table 3, Model 3a). When their husbands had a college education, Korean-Chinese women were 1.3 times more likely to report good health than those whose husbands only completed primary school education. However, such effects decreased in Model 4a after taking pre-migration SES into account. For the Vietnamese, those with husbands with a high school education were 1.6 times more likely to report good health compared to those with primary school educations. If we only look at the effects of marital family SES on marriage migrants' health, I can see positive social gradients across three ethnic groups.

In the full model considering both SES and social integration factors (Table 4), social integration indicators that were statistically significant in Table 3 all remain significant with little changes in the coefficients. Yet, the effects of SES slightly decreased after including social integration factors in the model. First, high SES of marital families is the only significant predictor of good health with clear social gradients across all ethnic groups. Han Chinese women who perceived their marital families as wealthy are 2.6 times more likely to report good health than those who perceived their marital families as poorest (Model 5b). Another indicator of post-migration SES, husbands' education level, lost significance for marriage migrants' health after controlling for social integration. Regarding pre-migration SES indicators, significant effects of marriage migrants' own higher education on their health are significant among all Vietnamese and Han Chinese with Junior high and high school education, yet the effects of higher education on health are negative rather than protective (Model 5b and 5c). The reduction in odds of reporting good health of Vietnamese women with college degree increased from 19% (Model 4c in Table 4: SES only model) to 30% (Model 5c in Table 5: full model) in comparison with those who have primary school education and below. Finally, while the wealth of the natal family is protective of the health of Korean-Chinese and Vietnamese (Model 5a and 5c), the association is reversed for Han Chinese women (Model 5b).

DISCUSSION

Using the case of marriage migrants in South Korea, this article examines how pre- and post-migration SES and social integration influence their health. Consistent with research on social gradients in health from industrialized countries (WHO, 2008), I find that higher post-migration social status of marriage migrants is significantly associated with good health among

the three ethnicities analyzed. Regardless of marriage migrants' socioeconomic backgrounds in the sending countries, the existence of significant post-migration SES gradients in health illustrates the positive effects of marital families' social standing on marriage migrants' health. As the literature indicates, the common goal of transnational marriage migration from poorer to wealthier countries is to seek social, economic, and spatial mobility (Constable, 2005). On the one hand, the protective effects of higher natal family social standing may directly indicate healthier living environments and improved access to high-quality healthcare prior to migration. On the other hand, the mechanisms linking higher marital family social standing to marriage migrants' health may indirectly involve psychosocial enhancement of one's wellbeing through obtaining a new identity that is associated with higher social status in the host society, in addition to the material benefits involved. The psychological effects may be even more important in a patriarchal and patrilineal society like Korea.

Contrary to the SDH literature that finds high educational attainment protective of one's health in general(Blane, 1999), marriage migrants who had higher education reported poorer health than those with primary school education, similar to research on Latino migrants in the U.S. (Acevedo-Garcia et al., 2012; Zsembik & Fennell, 2005). Researchers attribute the reversed effects of higher education on Latino's health to higher education promoting acculturation, which can result in negative health behaviors (Zsembik & Fennell, 2005). For marriage migrants in Korea who are "inserted" into different Korean families, a more plausible explanation would be that those with higher education experience more challenges in social integration — e.g. acculturative stress, ethnic discrimination and other negative experiences—which may erode other protective effects of education on health (Acevedo-Garcia et al., 2012; Takeuchi, Chun, Gong, & Shen, 2002). Taking Vietnamese women with college degree as an example, the main

task of marriage migrants in the first few post-migration years is to overcome challenges in managing cross-cultural marriage and family life in Korea, which requires socialization skills and knowledge that they did not learn in college and may entail an unexpected degree of subservience compared to that experienced in college. There may also be a selection effect, with only the healthiest from the low education group successfully migrating through marriage, while highly-educated women may be more successful in migrating with lower than average health, as suggested in a study on Mexican migrants in the U.S.(Acevedo-Garcia, Soobader, & Berkman, 2005).

Consistent with the literature on social relationships and health (Berkman et al., 2000; Cohen, 2004), I find that more social relationships with the dominant population is positively associated with migrants' health, after controlling for perceived discrimination. Social relationships that marriage migrants maintain with Koreans may represent the extent to which marital families and the Korean society accept them as legitimate members. In addition to obtaining social support and useful information through word of mouth, regular social engagement outside the marital family also prevent marriage migrants from social isolation and integration-related maltreatment from husbands or in-laws.

Previous research on co-ethnic social ties find either a positive (Pearson & Geronimus, 2011) or null association (Kimbro et al., 2012) with self-rated health of migrants. In contrast, I find that more social interaction with co-ethnics is associated with worse health for Vietnamese marriage migrants even after controlling for other covariates. While the literature from the U.S. suggests that "ethnic enclaves" provide a "cultural buffer" to the health-harming effects of American mainstream culture (Zsembik & Fennell, 2005), these women do not live enmeshed in supportive homeland enclaves but rather live in a new society. It is possible that having more

social interactions with co-ethnics in this context may induce social isolation rather than create segmented integration. It is not clear whether the Vietnamese choose to interact only with co-ethnics, or they experience more difficulties in establishing social relationships with Koreans. It is also plausible that at the time of the survey, more than half of the Vietnamese had entered Korea within two to five years, so being stay-at-home mothers provided little opportunity to establish social networks with the dominant population (Llacer et al., 2007).

Among other social integration-related indicators, the significant associations between longer length of stay and worse health, independent of age, have important policy implications. For example, compared with Han Chinese women who had arrived within the previous two years, those whose length of stay was between two to five years reported 26 percent lower odds of having good health. A rather dramatic reduction in the odds of reporting good health can also be observed among the other two ethnic groups. This indicates that marriage migrants' health erodes rapidly during after arrival regardless of their age and marriage channels. This is consistent with other research that find that the migrant health advantage disappears over time (Kim et al., 2013). More puzzling is the association between Korean citizenship and poor health after controlling for age and length of stay. As described earlier, the Korean government provides health insurance and welfare programs to marriage migrants before they acquire citizenship status, so poor health is not a likely motivation to apply quickly for citizenship to obtain health care, though it might be a motivation to obtain social services and civil rights that are limited to Korean citizens.

The ethnicity-specific predictors of good health in our analysis are similar to other research that finds variations across different countries of origin or ethnicity among women migrants (Iglesias, Robertson, Johansson, Engfeldt, & Sundquist, 2003; Kim et al., 2013; Singh Setia et al.,

2011), which may be related to different social and health contexts in source countries and their distinctive reasons for migration. Han Chinese women have the largest percentages who come from wealthy families (21%) and who went to college (18%), but negative associations between education and health as well as natal family social standing and health were observed. The reversed effects of education and wealth may be the result of different processes of social integration or self-selection of the healthiest among the lowest educated and with poorest family backgrounds in China, similar to the experience of highly educated Vietnamese. However, the negative effects of education disappeared for Han Chinese women with a college degree, signaling that higher education in China may have translated into human capital in Korea that protects their health.

Limitations of the current analysis include the single self-reported health indicator, cross sectional data, and potential sampling bias. Subjective health may be better measured with scales instead of one single question on self-rated health. However, this single item is well validated as strongly associated with mortality and more complex measures were not available in the dataset. Cross-sectional data makes it difficult to prove causality, but the selection bias towards healthy migrants provides support for the interpretation that the social factors examined affected health rather than the other way around; that is to say, it is less likely for marriage migrants' health to affect the relative social standing of marital families in Korea, but more possible for higher social standing of Korean marital families to affect marriage migrants' health. I also do not have information on the socio-demographic backgrounds of the non-respondents of this survey. The sample distribution corresponds to previous research in Korea, suggesting little selection bias on SES measures, but bias in some of the migration related variables cannot be ruled out.

Understanding how migration processes influence migrant health can inform health and migration policy. Since 2006, over 200 multicultural family centers have been established countrywide in Korea (Choe, 2012). Effective integration programs at early post-migration stages may identify at-risk transnational couples with weaker family support, and improve marriage migrants' health trajectories. Two-way social integration policy not only should direct Koreans to respect and appreciate diverse cultures that marriage migrants bring into the society, but also should encourage Koreans to interact with marriage migrants. Overall, the variability by ethnic group that I found suggests a more complex set of social determinants of health occurred during the marriage migration processes than a basic SDH framework would predict. Future research should take into account the sending and receiving contexts that migrants experience in the migration processes especially for migrant women.

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Table 3.1 Health, Sociodemographics of Marriage Migrants and Their Husbands, and Social Integration of Marriage Migrants from China and Vietnam in South Korea

	Ethnicity			Statistics
	Korean-Chinese (%)	Han Chinese (%)	Vietnamese (%)	Chi square /ANOVA
Unweighted N	24,561	9,294	19,363	
Self-Rated Health				P<.001
Very good	12.3	17.2	28.4	
Good	35.1	36.8	22.1	
Neutral	36.1	35.2	42.9	
Bad	13.6	9.6	6.3	
Very bad	2.9	1.2	0.4	
Wives' Age				P<.001
Mean (SD)	39.8 (9.6)	34.1(8.2)	24.7 (4.5)	
Wives' Education level				P<.001
Primary school and below	5.9	4.7	20.3	
Junior high school	28.1	32.5	41.9	
High school	52.2	44.9	33.8	
College and above	13.2	17.9	3.9	
Natal Family SES				P<.001
Poorest (0 -2)	14.7	11.6	28.5	
Poor (3-4)	15.4	15.9	33.5	
Middle (5)	48.1	49.6	26.7	
Wealthy (6-10)	18.9	20.8	6.4	
Husbands' Age				P<.001
Mean(SD)	46.7 (9.3)	43.0 (8.3)	41.7 (6.1)	
Husbands' Education Level				P<.001
Primary school and below	7.8	3.5	6.2	
Junior high school	18.2	12.6	19.4	
High school	50.2	50.3	45.2	
College and above	14.9	26.2	16.7	
Marital Family SES				P<.001
Poorest (0 -2)	32.1	24.7	19.1	
Poor (3-4)	27.3	27.5	40.0	
Middle (5)	35.3	40.8	35.0	
Wealthy (6-10)	5.3	7.0	6.0	

Table 3.1 Health, Sociodemographics of Marriage Migrants and Their Husbands, and Social Integration of Marriage Migrants from China and Vietnam in South Korea (Cont'd)

	Ethnicity			Statistics
	Korean-Chinese (%)	Han Chinese (%)	Vietnamese (%)	Chi square /ANOVA
Unweighted N	24,561	9,294	19,363	
Social integration indicators				
Social lives with Koreans				P<.001
Two aspects of social lives	42.9	30.0	21.1	
One aspect of social life	23.6	25.8	29.9	
None	33.4	44.2	49.0	
Social lives w/ Co-ethnics				P<.001
Two aspects of social lives	19.5	42.8	36.4	
One aspect of social life	22.8	29.0	34.1	
None	57.7	42.8	29.5	
Length of Stay				P<.001
0-2 years	7.0	36.1	38.3	
2-5 years	29.0	38.5	53.0	
5-10 years	36.5	17.1	7.7	
More than 10 years	27.5	8.3	1.0	
Korean Citizenship				P<.001
Have acquired citizenship	59.7	23.1	12.3	
Korean Proficiency Scale (Range: 1 to 5)				P<.001
Mean (SD)	4.02(.94)	2.82 (1.01)	2.66 (.82)	

Table 3.2 Logistic Regression of Social Integration on Very Good and Good Self-Rated Health, Marriage Migrants from China and Vietnam in South Korea, 2009

	Korean-Chinese	Han Chinese	Vietnamese
	Model 1a (OR)	Model 1b (OR)	Model 1c (OR)
Social Lives w/ Co-ethnics			
None	Ref	Ref	Ref
One type of social life	1.03	.99	.82***
Two types of social lives	1.05	.98	78 ***
Social Lives w/ Koreans			
None	Ref	Ref	Ref
One type of social life	1.42***	1.26***	1.15***
Two types of social lives	1.86***	1.82***	1.60***
Language Skill			
Korean Proficiency	1.32***	1.19***	1.22***
Citizenship Status			
Not yet acquired	Ref	Ref	Ref
Acquired citizenship	.77***	.83**	.73***
Length of Stay			
0-2 years	Ref	Ref	Ref
2-5 years	.84**	.74***	.86***
5-10 years	.78***	.76**	.78**
More than 10 years	.79***	.63***	.64*

*p<.05,**p<.01,***p<.001

Note: After controlling for marriage migrants' own monthly income, household monthly income, wives' age, husbands'age, perceived discrimination, marriage channel, economic hardship, and marital status.

Table 3.3 Logistic Regression of Pre-and Post-Migration Socioeconomic Status on Very Good and Good Self-rated Health, Marriage Migrants from China and Vietnam in South Korea, 2009

	Korean-Chinese			Han Chinese			Vietnamese		
	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 4a	Model 2b	Model 3b	Model 4b	Model 2c	Model 3c	Model 4c
Odds Ratios	Pre-SES	Post-SES	Pre- and post-SES	Pre-SES	Post-SES	Pre- and Post-SES	Pre-SES	Post-SES	Pre- and post-SES
Pre-Migration SES									
Wives' Education									
Below primary school	Ref		Ref	Ref		Ref	Ref		Ref
Junior high school	0.99		.99	.68**		.69***	.81***		.81***
High school	1.13		1.16	.77*		.79*	.74***		.72***
College and above	1.22*		1.20*	.98		.98	.80**		.81**
Natal Family SES									
Poorest (0-2)	Ref		Ref	Ref		Ref	Ref		Ref
Poor (3-4)	1.30***		1.19**	.87		.81*	1.09*		1.04
Middle (5)	1.39***		1.15**	.97		.80**	1.39***		1.20***
Wealthy (6-10)	1.58***		1.31***	.99		.79**	1.79***		1.39***
Post-Migration SES									
Husbands' Education									
Below primary school		Ref	Ref		Ref	Ref		Ref	Ref
Junior high school		1.04	1.04		.89	.95		.93	1.01
High school		1.15*	1.11		.94	.98		1.04	1.16*
College and above		1.30***	1.21*		1.01	.98		.93	1.03
Marital Family SES									
Poorest (1-2)		Ref	Ref		Ref	Ref		Ref	Ref
Poor (3-4)		1.35***	1.28***		1.11	1.15*		1.22***	1.21***
Middle (5)		1.72***	1.65***		1.62***	1.72***		1.54***	1.40***
Wealthy (6-10)		2.18***	1.99***		2.77***	2.86***		2.72***	2.39***

*p<.05,**p<.01,***p<.001

Note: after controlling for wives' own monthly income, household monthly income, wives' age, husbands' age, perceived discrimination, marriage channel, economic hardship, and marital status

Table 4. Logistic Regression of Social Integration and SES on Very Good and Good Self-rated Health, Marriage Migrants from China and Vietnam in South Korea, 2009

	Korean-Chinese	Han Chinese	Vietnamese
Odds Ratios	Model 5a	Model 5b	Model 5c
Socioeconomic Factors			
Wives' Education			
Below primary school	Ref	Ref	Ref
Junior high school	.94	.68***	.78***
High school	1.01	.77*	.68***
College and above	1.04	.90	.70***
Natal Family SES			
Poorest (0-2)	Ref	Ref	Ref
Poor (3-4)	1.17**	.84*	1.03
Middle (5)	1.16***	.84*	1.19***
Wealthy (6-10)	1.34***	.85	1.38***
Husbands' Education			
Below primary school	Ref	Ref	Ref
Junior high school	1.05	.95	1.003
High school	1.11	.99	1.14
College and above	1.15	.99	1.001
Marital Family SES			
Poorest (0-2)	Ref	Ref	Ref
Poor (3-4)	1.26***	1.11	1.17**
Middle (5)	1.58***	1.62***	1.34***
Wealthy (6-10)	1.82***	2.56***	2.20***
Social Integration			
Social lives w/ Co-ethnics			
None	Ref	Ref	Ref
One aspects of social life	1.02	.98	.83***
Two aspect of social lives	1.03	.97	.79***
Social lives w/ Koreans			
None	Ref	Ref	Ref
One aspects of social life	1.38***	1.23**	1.15***
Two aspect of social lives	1.77***	1.73***	1.55***
Language Skills			
Korean Proficiency scale	1.31***	1.15***	1.23***
Citizenship Status			
Not yet acquired	Ref	Ref	Ref
Acquired citizenship	.76***	.84**	.73***

Table 4. Logistic Regression of Social Integration and SES on Very Good and Good Self-rated Health, Marriage Migrants from China and Vietnam in South Korea, 2009 (Cont'd)

	Korean-Chinese	Han Chinese	Vietnamese
Odds Ratios	Model 5a	Model 5b	Model 5c
Length of Stay			
0-2 years	Ref	Ref	Ref
2-5 years	.86**	.74***	.84***
5-10 years	.79***	.75***	.75***
More than 10 years	.79***	.62***	.64*

*p<.05,**p<.01,***p<.001

Note: After controlling for wives' own monthly income, household monthly income, wives' age, husbands' age, perceived discrimination, marriage channel, economic hardship, and marital status

CHAPTER 4

MARITAL POWER DYNAMICS AND WELLBEING OF MARRIAGE MIGRANTS

Abstract

Transnational marriages are increasing within the European and Asian regions where one spouse migrates across national borders to marry. Compared to other forms of intermarriages, little is known about ethnic intermarriages involving transnational migration, especially in societies that are new immigrant destinations. Using social survey from South Korea (N=64,972), this article examines the marital power dynamics between transnational couples and the wellbeing consequences of power differentials for the migrating spouse. The results suggest that upward social mobility obtained through transnational marriages, measured by dyadic gaps in education and family social standing between transnational couples, provides a solid foundation for many marital unions, and thus leads to marriage migrants' better health, life satisfaction, and more positive views on marriage migration. This article sheds light on the unique power dynamics of bi-ethnic families, one of the emerging and unconventional forms of contemporary families, and informs policymakers across family, health, and migration domains.

Key Words: Power Dynamics; Wellbeing; Intermarriages; Resource Theory; Migrant Families.

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, marriages involving couples of different race/ethnic or national backgrounds have been on the rise globally (Heikkilä & Yeoh, 2010; J. Lee & Bean, 2010; Qian & Lichter, 2011; Yang & Lu, 2010). In the United States, increasing trends of interracial marriages have blurred group boundaries in a multiracial society (Qian & Lichter, 2007, 2011). Globally, however, the phenomena of "transnational marriage" or "cross-border marriage" are marriages involving couples from two societies within the same region such as Asia or Europe (Heikkilä & Yeoh, 2010; Yang & Lu, 2010). These marriages would be categorized as same-race marriage in the US, but they are viewed differently in the Asian or European regions. These transnational marriages, which take place across ethnic and national boundaries and involve changes in one spouse's legal status and physical movement (M. Kim, 2010), deserve further attention from family and migration scholars for the following reasons.

First, these ethnic intermarriages are typically comprised of migrant wives and native husbands from two societies within the same region that share somehow similar yet different norms of gender ideologies (Soin, 2001). This situation creates unique marital power dynamics that are not yet understood in the marriage and family literature. Second, these unions subsequently form inter-ethnic families which nurture bi-ethnic children; an examination of these marriages and the wellbeing of marriage migrants will inform research on the development of these bi-ethnic children in homogeneous societies. Third, the receiving countries are often new immigrant destinations, the incoming flows of marriage migrants challenge the openness of these societies and the receptiveness of their social policies to migrants. Consequently, these unions signal a changing landscape of family demography in the global context. In-depth analyses of the

wellbeing of these unions will further inform marriage and family practitioners and policy makers.

Marriage and transnational migration are two significant life events that affect marriage migrants' mental and physical wellbeing. The growing "intra-Asia marriage migration" involves female migrants who move from poorer to wealthier countries in Asia via commercially arranged contacts and other marriage channels (Constable, 2005a; Hugo, 2005; Jones & Shen, 2008; Piper, 2008). These marriages are less studied in the marriage and family literature, which often assumes that marriages are based on romance. Commercial marriages are typically viewed as behavior falling somewhere between human trafficking and arranged marriage. Consequently, public discourse and prior research tends to focus on the negative aspects of these marriages (H. M. Kim, 2011; H. K. Lee, 2005; J. W. Lim, 2009) with outcomes such as social isolation, domestic violence, and suicide attempts (Choi, Cheung, & Cheung, 2012; S. Kim & Shin, 2007; Lin, Huang, Chen, & Shao, 2009; Williams & Yu, 2006; Woelz-Stirling, Kelaher, & Lenore Manderson, 1998). Further analyses of "what works" for these marriages while considering the social integration of marriage migrants will allow policy makers to design effective health and immigrant integration policies.

South Korea (hereafter, Korea) is one new destination for Asian marriage migrants numbering 284,000 in 2011 (Chosunilbo, 2012). Most marriage migrants to Korea are from China, followed by Vietnam, Japan, the Philippines, and Cambodia. As one of the most ethnically homogenous countries in the world, Korea also holds a rigid culture of patriarchy and prevalent gender discrimination (Cho, 1998; Chun & Das Gupta, 2009). In recent years, the visibility of migrant brides and their children have triggered policy debates under the discourse of "Korean multiculturalism" (C. S. Kim, 2011; T. Lim, 2010; Watson, 2012). Multicultural

marriages are likely to increase due to the imbalanced sex ratios at birth that peaked between 1990 and1994, which may soon produce proportionally more bachelors in the domestic marriage market (Hesketh & Xing, 2006). Research has not examined the wellbeing of these marriages from the perspective of marital power dynamics; also, most studies on marriage migrants are based on small-scale local surveys or a case study approach.

Using social survey data from Korea, I focus on transnational marriages involving Korean husbands and migrant wives from Japan, China, Vietnam, Cambodia and the Philippines. I sought to answer the following questions: What are the associations between marital power dynamics and the wellbeing of marriage migrants? And, do the associations change after considering migrant wives' ethnicity, marital family-level factors, and the levels of social integration of migrant wives?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Determinants and Consequences of Marital Power Differentials

The concept of power is central to the study of all social relationships in society, and is defined as "the ability to change the behavior of another member of a social system" (Straus and Yodanis, 1995). Power dynamics within husband/wife relations significantly determine the duration and quality of the marriage as well as the wellbeing of the couple and other family members. Imbalanced power distribution in a marriage creates tension and stress, disproportionately impacting the physical and mental wellbeing of the spouse with less power.

Resource theory has been widely applied to understand marital power by family sociologists. It assumes the spouse who has more valued resources, measured by income or education, or coming from a higher status background, makes most of the decisions and holds greater marital power (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). In addition to individual resources, other explanations of

marital power include interpersonal skills (French and Raven, 1959) and social structural explanations such as those from feminist theorists, who claim that power differentials within families reflect sex stratification in patriarchal societies (Fox & Murry, 2004). Other theorists examine marital power from both individual and structural dimensions. As a modification of resource theory, Rodman's "theory of resources in cultural context" emphasizes the interaction of equalitarian ideology with the social structure stressing the joint influences of resources and cultural differences regarding power, and has been used to examine how different culture norms influence marital power (Burr, Ahern, & Knowles, 1977; Diefenbach, 2002; Kulik, 2011; Rodman, 1972).

Rodman's theory of resource in cultural context stands out in three ways. First, he distinguishes the differential effect of resources across different societal contexts according to the prevalence of equalitarian norms: patriarchy, modified patriarchy, transitional equalitarianism, and equalitarianism. Second, he recognizes that marital power dynamics across different classes or subcultures within a given society operate in different manners. Thus, individuals from different social and economic positions may relate to greater or lesser likelihood of attitudes toward the equalitarian distribution of power (Rodman, 1972). Third, Rodman considers other structural factors such as the power dynamics within an extended family that can influence marital power among the couple. To summarize, Rodman's elaborated resource theory takes the cultural component into account. While the comparative resources of the spouses are essential to explain marital power, the cultural or subcultural expectations of marital authority further influence marital power (Rodman, 1972).

Empirical evidence from industrialized societies generally supports the idea that successful marital relationships provide advantages to married couples such as better health and general

wellbeing (Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton, 2001; Robles & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2003; Wood, Avellar, & Goesling, 2009). The positive effect is usually greater for men than women (Waite & Gallagher, 2001). A well-functioning marriage enhances health through interference with the cardiovascular, endocrine, and immune systems (Robles & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2003). Wallerstein and Blakeslee categorized well-functioning marriages into four forms: romantic, rescue, companionate, and traditional (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1995). These marriages can all be happy and stable, even the views of appropriate division of labor and household responsibilities vary among them. For example, in a well-functioning "traditional marriage," the husband typically has to provide economic stability, so that the wife gains a sense of security to procreate and knows that herself and her children are protected by husband's resources when crises in life and marriage occur (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1995).

Unequal distribution of power in marriage can have detrimental effects to the disadvantaged spouse such as poorer psychological and physical functioning (Wood et al., 2009). Family sociologists have confirmed that marital satisfaction is generally higher among men, because they possess more marital power (Gray-Little & Burks, 1983). A wide array of negative consequences can be categorized by the level of severity. First, the spouse with less power tends to do the majority of household work (Straus & Yodanis, 1995). However, most studies did not support this finding because wives still did more household work even when they had more power (Diefenbach, 2002; Kulik, 2011). Second, the spouse with less power has lower self-esteem and higher chances of depression (Robles & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2003). Third, physical violence is more likely to take place in marriages where the power is unequally distributed. (Straus & Yodanis, 1995; Yllö, 1984). These negative consequences happen in marriages when

husbands hold more power. Interestingly, the consequences are found to be less severe or even harmless when wives dominate (Straus & Yodanis, 1995).

The Wellbeing of Marriage Migrants

Globalization contributes to the increase of transnational marriage because it facilitates human interaction across borders (IOM, 2010; Jones, 2011; Jones & Shen, 2008). Transnational marriages are viewed somewhere between romantic relations and international transactions (Bélanger, 2010; Constable, 2009; Waldis, 2006). Negative stereotypes of these marriages emerged from the "mail-order bride" phenomenon of the early 1980s, which dominated popular discourses on international marriages (Constable, 2005a). In reality, most brides and grooms voluntarily enter these marriages including those who choose to meet through commercial agencies. Frequent transnational activities continue after marriage including the couples' social network, transnational childcare and small-scale business arrangements. According to Constable (2003), Transnationalism serves as the best framework to understand transnational marriages because they illustrate the "multi-directional flows of desires, people, ideas and objects across, between, and beyond national boundaries" (Constable, 2003).

Marriage entails emotional and physical separation from one's family and transnational migration adds the dimension of separation from one's country of origin. Consequently, marriage migrants' wellbeing is greatly affected by the process of social integration into the marital family and the receiving society. Regardless of whether marriage migrants migrate for marriage or marry for migration, they often do so to seek social and economic mobility in a relatively wealthier country. In some cases, marriage migrants that married up to a wealthier nation found themselves to have actually married down to husbands from the lower strata of the receiving society. Coined as "the paradoxes of global hypergamy"(Constable, 2005b), some marriage

migrants realize that post-migration married life not only fails to meet their expectations but leads to downward mobility.

Merali identified three specific forms of vulnerabilities among marriage migrants: (1) the "gender-insensitive nature" of immigration policies in the receiving country, (2) lack of awareness of their rights, and (3) conventional beliefs about gender roles and social norms governing family life (Merali, 2008). While immigration laws in most countries regulate a "waiting period" before they can obtain citizenship, rarely do these countries provide formal integration programs. Governments expect their spouses to be responsible in all integrative aspects: to obtain new language proficiency, seek employment opportunities, and adapt to the lifestyle in the host societies (Merali, 2008). Thus, maltreatment reported by marriage migrants extends to unique forms of integration-related abuse (Merali, 2008; Raj & Silverman, 2002). Some examples include husbands concealing wives' immigration papers to create fear of deportation (Raj & Silverman, 2002); and husbands limiting wives' opportunities to acquire language proficiency (Bui & Morash, 1999).

In sum, marriage migrants may experience greater power asymmetry in transnational marriages and subsequent social and health consequences. Nevertheless, actual circumstances may vary based on differences in gender role ideology, socioeconomic status, and social acceptance of intermarriage in both the sending and receiving contexts. Next, I present an overview of marriage migration in Korea.

Marriage Migration to South Korea: An Overview

Transnational marriages in Korea represented 4.6 percent of total marriages in 2001; the number increased sharply to 13.6 percent in 2005, and slightly decreased to 10.5 percent in 2010 (Jones, 2011; H. K. Lee, 2008). In response, the Korean government has loosened immigration

policies to facilitate the integration of marriage migrants and their "multicultural children" (Y. J. Lee, Seol, & Cho, 2006). The triggering factor was the increasing number of unmarried Korean men in rural areas who needed to continue their family line. Nowadays, it is no longer only a rural phenomenon. According to marriage registration and census records, Korean men in transnational marriages include rural never-married men, divorced men of low socioeconomic status in urban areas, and more recently, urban never-married men (Y. J. Lee et al., 2006). Foreign wives in Korea come from Northeastern China (Korean-Chinese or Han Chinese), followed by Southeast Asia, some from Central Asia, and a small portion from East Asia.

The Unification Church which advocates interethnic marriages introduced brides from Japan during the 1970s and the 1980s (Y. J. Lee et al., 2006). Known as the "Getting rural bachelors married" project, the Korean-Chinese women began to enter Korea in the early 1990s after local Korean governments initiated "marriage tours" to recruit them in Northeastern China (H. M. Kim, 2007). Soon a commercial brokerage system was established in both the sending and receiving societies to facilitate the marriage and immigration arrangements. These arrangements include oversea tours for prospective grooms, recruitment and training of potential brides, matching activities and group weddings, and subsequent services to complete the bride's paperwork for emigration (H.Z. Wang & Hsiao, 2009). This "global migration industry" first attracted Han Chinese women after Korea established formal relations with China in 1992 (H. K. Lee, 2008). In the early 2000s, the commercial agencies expanded to Vietnam and Cambodia, areas where Korea holds a promising image as a destination for migration.

In Confucian societies such as Korea, traditional gender roles of husbands and wives still persist. For example, the Korean society expects daughters-in-law to carry out filial affection to parents-in-law (Chi, 2007). The marriage decision thus involves considerable input from one's

family. Economic growth and social development in Korea over recent decades granted women universal education and career opportunities, allowing educated Korean women more autonomy in making marriage decisions, including delaying the timing of marriage, demanding a fair division of household labor, choosing to remain single or not to have children after getting married (Jones & Shen, 2008). Consequently, women from less-developed countries with similar cultural backgrounds become ideal candidates to marry into families who seek wives and daughters-in-law with "traditional virtues": a woman who is submissive, obedient, and follows the practice of filial piety (H.Z. Wang, 2007).

Since 2006, the Korean government has enacted legislation to integrate marriage migrants, claiming that "a diverse, multicultural society" is the future (Belanger, Lee, & Wang, 2010; Cheng, 2008). For example, the "Grand Plan" in 2006 required all official documents to replace "biracial families" and "mixed blood children" by "multicultural families" and "multicultural children" (Lee 2008); and the "Laws to Support Multicultural Families" in 2008 clearly defined that only a family consisting of a marriage migrant and a native-born Korean can be protected by these laws. These immigration policies treat marriage migrants as a homogeneous group and assume them as inferior because they come from poorer Asian countries (Hsia, 2007; Yoon, Song, & Bae, 2008). Critics point out that three ideologies— assimilation, patriarchy, and nationalism— shaped the production of immigrant statistics (Belanger et al., 2010; H. K. Lee, 2008; H.Z. Wang & Belanger, 2008). Relevant social policies tend to focus on "assisting them" yet fail to recognize both inter- and intra-group differences, which further stigmatizes marriage migrants as "racialized others" and reinforces discrimination against them (Cheng, 2008).

Hypotheses

Some recent studies show that Rodman's resource theory in cultural context is most applicable in the context of modified patriarchy (Diefenbach, 2002). Rodman categorized Korea as a modified patriarchal society in 1972. Scholars have recognized Korea's socioeconomic development over the past half century including social movements and laws that protect women's rights. Yet, gender role ideology remains rigid especially in the lower strata of the Korean society, where a majority of marriage migrants have married into.

On the husbands' side, considering that Korean husbands are already more resourceful in the Korean society compared to their migrant wives, husbands with additional years of education or come from families of higher social standing may be able to provide better quality of life for marriage migrants. On the migrant wives' side, if their purpose of marriage migration is to achieve upward social mobility—to "marry up" to a better family in a richer country, I assume they would expect to marry to a husband with more years of education and a marital family of higher social standing than their natal families. Therefore, I hypothesize that (1) the larger the dyadic gaps in education, the better the marriage migrants' wellbeing; and (2) the larger the dyadic gaps in socioeconomic status, the better the marriage migrants' wellbeing. Regarding age differences, larger age gaps may create additional difficulty in cross-cultural communication and conflicts in family values, I hypothesize that (3) smaller dyadic gap in age is associated with better wellbeing of marriage migrants.

METHOD

Data

The 2009 National Survey on Multicultural Families in South Korea was undertaken to study the living condition and welfare needs of marriage migrants. The survey identified 167,000 married immigrant residents in Korea including both naturalized and non- citizens. Marriage

migrants whose spouses are naturalized foreigners or foreigners were excluded from the survey. A total of 130,001 migrants who married native Koreans were found to be living in Korea in 2009. Survey agencies recruited interviewers to conduct face-to-face interviews through home visits. 73,669 questionnaires were collected with a response rate of 56 %. The analytic subsamples of this paper are: total N=64,972; Korean-Chinese n=24,561; Han Chinese n=9,292; Vietnamese n=19,363; Japanese n=3,618; Filipinas n=6,212; and Cambodian n=1,924.

Key Variables

Wellbeing outcomes Subjective wellbeing is commonly measured in global social surveys by self-rated health, general happiness, and life satisfaction (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2012; Klugman, 2011). I use three variables to measure the wellbeing of marriage migrants: 1) Self-rated health represents general psychosocial and physical health; 2) life satisfaction measures overall wellbeing including psychosocial and material aspects; and 3) view of marriage migration to Korea is measured by whether respondents would recommend families or relatives to marry a Korean and migrate to Korea. This last question represents an overall view of, and satisfaction with, marriage migration to Korea. All variables were dichotomized so that the ratings of the highest two ratings (such as very good and quite good health) were compared to lower ratings.

Marital power dynamics I create three gap variables as proxy measures for "relative resourcefulness and knowledge" among transnational couples. 1) Dyadic differences in age are classified into four groups: wives older than the husbands; husbands who are 0 to 10 years older; 11 to 20 years older; and more than 20 years. (2) Dyadic differences in education were calculated by husbands' education minus wives' education. I classify the dyadic differences into four categories: wives' education higher than husbands; no gap; and husbands' education is one level

or two to five levels higher than wives. (3) Dyadic differences in family social standing are measured by the gaps between perceived SES of natal family in home country and perceived SES of marital family in Korea on a 0 to 10 scale. I classify them into natal> marital; natal=marital; natal < marital (1 and 2 levels); and natal <marital (3 to 10 levels). In each model containing gap variables, I also control for wives' age, education, and natal family SES.

Social integration was measured by social relationships with co-ethnics, social relationships with Koreans, length of stay, citizenship status, and Korean language proficiency (Cronbach α =0.94). Citizenship status represents legal status and rights, while Korean language proficiency indicates communication skills and ability to get around by themselves.

Marital family-level factors Based on correlation analysis, I include wives' ethnicity, marriage channels, co-residence with parents-in-law, and husbands' disability as a set of marital family-level factors that might affect couple dynamics and wellbeing of marriage migrants. Living with extended families may reduce wives' space to exercise her own power and opinion compared to wives who live in nuclear households (Rodman, 1972). Even if marriage migrants do not co-reside with parents-in-law, in-laws still play an important role in making family decisions. Therefore, I create dummy variables measuring the differences between: living with both, living with either, not living together but either or both are alive, and in-laws who have passed away.

Control variables include: 1) perceived discrimination; 2) economic hardship measured by if they had to borrow money for living expenses and if they can afford to see a medical doctor; 3) Wives' individual earnings and martial family's household income; and 4) divorce (divorce rate is relatively low ranging from 0.2% to 7.8% among the six ethnic groups).

Analytic Strategy and Missing Data Management

For three wellbeing outcomes, I estimated three models of increasingly complexity. Model 1 contains the proxy variables of marital power dynamics. In Model 2, I introduce wives' ethnicity and marital family-level factors. In Model 3, social integration indicators were also introduced as a full model. Multivariate logistic regressions were used to examine the association among key independent variables and wellbeing in the sequential models. In total, approximately 1% to 11% of key independent variables were missing responses. Among those, husbands' education (9%), social relationships with co-ethnics (11%) and with Koreans (11%) had the highest missing response rate.

Assuming randomness of missing data, I used a multiple-imputation method with chained equations in Stata 12.0 (Acock, 2005). I built the imputation model with background variables and created 10 complete data sets for running logistic regressions. To avoid convergence failure, outcome variables were dichotomized before imputation. A subsample of 1720 cases missing information on citizenship were omitted to facilitate convergence success. A separate analysis showed that the dropped subsample was not significantly different from the larger sample. After the data were imputed, I dropped those observations without wellbeing outcomes (missing rate ranged from 1% to 4%). All gap variables indicating marital power dynamics were created with the imputed data. I report logistic regression results with imputed data to provide consistent estimates. Log likelihoods were not available in the multiple imputation modules in Stata 12.0, thus I examined model fit with the joint Wald test and confirmed that all models and differences across nested models were significant.

RESULTS

Socio-Demographic Backgrounds of Marriage Migrants and Korean Husbands

Table 1 shows that half of the sample reported having very good or good health, 56 percent felt they were very or quite satisfied with life, and 46 percent valued the experience of marriage migration to Korea. Forty-one percent of Japanese marriage migrants had good health; only 33 percent were satisfied with their current lives, which is the lowest level among migrant wives. By contrast, Cambodian women reported the highest levels of wellbeing. Although healthier than the average, only 33 percent of marriage migrants from the Philippines valued the experience of marriage migration to Korea.

<Table 1 about here>

The average age gaps between transnational couples are 11 years, but young Vietnamese and Cambodians have an average age gap of 17 years with their Korean husbands. Younger women from Southeast Asia are the primary targets of brokers from commercial agencies. The average ages of Korean-Chinese and Japanese wives were around 40 years old, and they reported worse health status. The levels of education among migrant wives reflect the social development of their home countries; 59 percent of Japanese and 57 percent of Filipinas went to college or graduate school, while 20 percent of Vietnamese and 30 percent of Cambodians only had primary high school education. On the Korean husbands' side, 21 percent went to college (not shown in the table), a lower level than the general population where 50 percent of Korean men aged 25 to 64 went to college in 2010 (Chun, Cho, Khang, Kang, & Kim, 2012).

On average, 43 percent of marriage migrants felt that their natal families belong to the middle class in the home societies. Yet only 49 percent ranked their marital families as middle class, 31 percent as relatively poor, and 24 percent as poorest. More than 50 percent of Korean-Chinese, Han Chinese, and Vietnamese ranked their marital families as poorest or poor, indicating that most have married Korean families that hold relatively lower social status. In

terms of wives' ethnicities, 21 percent of Han Chinese women and 33 percent of Japanese women identified themselves as from natal families that are relatively wealthy; on the lower end of socioeconomic scale, more than 60 percent of Vietnamese are from poorest or poor families, similar to around 40 percent of Cambodians. Eighty-one percent of Cambodian wives met their Korean husbands through commercial agencies; they also have the highest rate of co-residence with either or both parents-in-law (53%) and of husbands' physical disability (13%). Likewise, 67 percent of Vietnamese were introduced through agencies to Korean husbands, and 45 percent live with either or both in-laws. In addition, a majority of Japanese women (74%) married Korean husbands and migrate to Korea through the medium of religious organizations as are 32 percent of immigrant women from the Philippines.

Among indicators that represent social integration, Japanese wives have migrated to Korea for 10 years on average, yet only 5 percent of them obtained Korean citizenship, implying that they choose to maintain their Japanese citizenship. As for Korean-Chinese women, 60 percent obtained Korean citizenship; they also have the highest level of Korean language proficiency. Two groups of new comers, the Vietnamese and Cambodians have arrived within the last 3 years, are still in the progress of learning Korean and extending their social network to Koreans. Only 19 percent of Vietnamese have Korean friends for support or to spend leisure time. More than half of Cambodians have reached out and shared one or two aspects of their social lives with native Koreans.

Associations Between Status Differences and Marriage Migrants' Wellbeing

Tables 2 to 4 display the associations between proxy measures of marital power dynamics and three wellbeing outcomes. Model 1 shows the logistic regression outcomes of three dyadic measures: gaps in education, gaps in family social standing (SES), and gaps in age. Model 2

includes wives' ethnicity and marital family-level factors, while Model 3 further includes social integration factors. Table 2 shows the partial effects of marital power dynamics on wives' self-rated health. A gradient that supports the "marital hypergamy" assumption is observed in status differences in education and SES but not in age differences. Overall, wives reported better health if their husbands have higher education and family social standing. Wives in marriages that are educationally homogamous are 1.17 times more likely to report having good health, and 1.27 times more likely to report good health in marriages when husbands have higher education than the wife (Model 1a). The strengths of status difference in education decreased slightly after introducing wives' ethnicity, marital family-level factors and social integration factors into the models (in Model 2a and Model 3a), yet the gradient is consistent and are all statistically significant (P<.001).

<Table 2 about here>

Dyadic gaps in SES influence wives' health in the same way. After controlling for marital family-level factors and social integration, wives who marry up 3 to 10 levels (measured by relative SES) are 1.8 times more likely to report having good health, compared to wives who marry down in terms of relative perceived social status. The age gap appears to be less important than gaps in education and SES. Wives are more likely to report having good health if they are much younger than their Korean husbands. In the final model (Model 3a), those who are 21 and more years younger than their husbands are 1.14 times more likely to report having good health, compared with wives who are older than their husbands. Looking at the partial effects of age itself, age is negatively associated with having good health, even after controlling for length of stay (which is also statistically significant) in the final model.

Table 3 shows that the effect of dyadic gaps in education and SES on migrant wives' life satisfaction is similar to their effect on wives' self-rated health. Before considering marital family-level and social integration factors, wives who are less educated than their husbands and have the largest education gaps are 1.35 times more likely to report being satisfied with life (Model 1b), compared to the reference group. The odds increased to 1.37 times in Model 2b, and decreased again to 1.28 times in Model 3b, implying that social integration is a significant factor in predicting life satisfaction. From one end of the spectrum in SES gaps to another, the "marital hypergamy" gradient of life satisfaction is steeper than self-rated health. Compared to those who "marry down" to husbands of lower SES, wives who "marry up" 3 to 10 levels are 2.7 times more likely to live a satisfactory life (Model 1b); the odds increased to 2.9 when considering other factors (Model 3b).

<Table 3 about here>

Even though the observed effects of dyadic gaps in education and SES appeared to be similar, wives' education itself fails to show a consistent pattern in direction and strength of associations. However, the SES of wives' natal families has a significant effect with a consistent pattern (Model 1b through 3b), while the effects of dyadic gaps in SES on life satisfaction are all statistically significant ($P<.001$). In other words, both "marrying up" and coming from a relatively wealthy family are important to wives' life satisfaction after migration. When considering marital family-level factors and social integration, the significant effects of age gaps disappeared. Interestingly, wives' age predicts life satisfaction better than the effect of age gaps. Those in the intermediate age group between 30 and 44 years old were least satisfied with life (Model 1b and 2b). When introducing social integration into the model (Model 3b), being older is significantly associated with worse life satisfaction, after all other factors are held constant.

The third wellbeing outcome seeks to capture whether immigrants have positive emotions with their decision to migrate and life experience in Korea, and would even recommend to family members or relatives. As is shown in Table 3, wives' education is a significant and consistent predictor regardless of ethnicity. The more education the wives received prior to migration, the less they value the experience of marriage migration to Korea. Immigrant women who received higher education have a 41 percent deduction in chances of valuing the experience of marriage migration (Model 3c), after controlling for other factors. The consistent pattern and significant effect illustrate that better educated wives experience more frustration.

<Table 4 about here>

Similar to the findings in health and life satisfaction, those who "marry up" tend to value the experience of marriage migration than those who "marry down." However, the SES of natal families has little influence to whether they value the experience, which is contrary to its effects on health and life satisfaction. Interestingly, marriage migrants tend to view marriage migration to Korea more positively when they enter an older age. The life course explanation is perhaps applicable in understanding such contrast. As marriage migrants age, they have managed multiple social roles as wife, daughter-in-law, mother, and immigrant. Thus they are more likely to value the experience compared to newcomers younger than 30 years old, who are still struggling in raising "multicultural children".

Wellbeing Outcomes among Marriage Migrants of Different Ethnicities

The effects of marriage migrants' ethnicity on self-rated health are significantly different from the base category (Korean-Chinese). In Model 3a, Japanese women are 1.5 times more likely to report having good health, possibly due to their better health prior to migration. As for Cambodians, selection effect probably explains why they are 1.7 times more likely to report

having good health. Those who are healthier are more likely to take on the challenge of marriage migration. Vietnamese are the least healthy group among all marriage migrants possibly due to their poorer and rural origins. In addition, in terms of geographic distance and climate difference, Vietnamese experience more difficulty adjusting to immigrant life in Korea. Even though they are less healthy, the Vietnamese still had greater life satisfaction than the Korean-Chinese, Han Chinese, and the Filipinas (Model 3b).

Migrant wives who reported least life satisfaction are from the Philippines who had a 61 percent deduction in odds of having a satisfactory life (Model 3b) compared to Korean Chinese. One possible explanation is that they experience more cultural conflicts with Korean society. For example, they do not share the lineage of Confucian culture and may hold more liberal ideologies on gender equality.

DISCUSSION

This article contributes to the interdisciplinary literature of family and migration in three respects. First, it applies resource theories to examine marital power dynamics among transnational couples using innovative measures comprising migrant wives' social status in their home countries and husbands' social status in Korea. Second, previous research on intermarriages has commonly used marital instability or wives' vulnerability as outcome measures (D. S. Kim, 2011; Smith, Maas, & van Tubergen, 2012; Tang, 1999; Zhang & Van Hook, 2009), this study extends the conventional perspective from "problem-focused" to "wellbeing-focused." Third, previous research has emphasized the complexities of gender, family, and migration with qualitative or discourse-based approach (M. Kim, 2010; Robinson, 2007; H.Z. Wang, 2007). This article demonstrates such complexities with large-N data and addresses the wellbeing consequences of such complexities.

In summary, for marriage migrants, marrying up economically shows both statistical significance and steep gradients in all wellbeing outcomes, marrying up educationally predicts good health and life satisfaction, while marrying up in terms of age leads to better health. It is quite understandable that a well-off marital family in Korea can provide better quality of life for marriage migrants from poorer Asian countries; in addition to material resources such as housing and transportation methods, it is also likely that marriage migrants gain a sense of relative prestige in Korean society which leads to better wellbeing. How do Korean husbands' additional levels of education become protective of marriage migrants' health and life satisfaction? Because of these additional years of education, these Korean husbands may be more capable of appreciating cultural differences, they may have higher level of health literacy or social networks to gather useful information for their migrant wives. In terms of age gaps, one possible interpretation that wives who marry husbands of older age reported better health is because they compare their health status with their husbands.

The findings support Rodman's theory that there is an interplay between conventional gender role ideology and spouse's relative resourcefulness and knowledge (Kulik, 2011; Rodman, 1972). In the lower strata of Korean society where the male breadwinner model remain as the conventional norm, ethnic intermarriages that work better (measured by better wellbeing of marriage migrants) are composed of husbands with higher social status and migrant wives who successfully "marry up." The results also correspond to what Constable (2005b) called "the paradoxes of global hypergamy" where wives had worse health and life satisfaction if they have married down to husbands with less education, or to marital families of poorer social standing. In a similar fashion, the case of intra-Asia marriage migration to Korea resonates with the speculation of "traditional marriage" in Wallerstein and Blakeslee' work on good marriages

(Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1995). Marriage migrants married to husbands of higher social status compared to their natal families have better wellbeing outcomes than others, because the male breadwinner model and secured economic foundations of these marriages meet expectations for the decision to "marry abroad."

This study is hampered by some limitations. First, the data do not allow a comparison between the wellbeing of migrant wives and Korean husbands. Second, by using structural measures to represent marital power, this study cannot capture other aspects of couple dynamics such as self-reported division of labor, decision-making process, and others. However, relative age, educational level, and social standing of natal and marital families are effective proxy measures of the negotiating power between transnational couples. Third, the cross-sectional nature of the data limits in drawing causal inferences on the relationship between status difference and wellbeing outcomes. Lastly, there is also no way to control for the healthy selection effects of immigrant women from different countries. Nevertheless, given that the average length of stay of the sample is five years, this study serves as a baseline reference for future research on the wellbeing of marriage migrants.

With the increasing trends of population movement and advanced technology that connect people, marital unions made through diverse marriage channels across racial/ethnic/national boundaries have proliferated. The subsequent migration of one spouse creates further challenges for both the sending and the receiving societies, warrants attention from scholars in relevant disciplines and policy makers. The findings of this study highlight the diverse forms of transnational and bi-ethnic families and shed lights on ways to improve the welfare of these families that are at risk of being further marginalized under the impact of capitalist globalization.

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Table 4.1 Outcome Distributions and Sample Characteristics, 2009 Multicultural Families in Korea

	All	Korean Chinese	Han Chinese	Vietnamese	Filipinas	Japanese	Cambodians
N	64,792	24,561	9,294	19,363	6,212	3,618	1,924
Wellbeing outcomes							
Self-rated health							
Very good	18.3	12.1	17.0	28.0	18.3	8.6	25.6
Quite good	31.4	34.8	36.3	21.8	36.7	31.7	43.2
Neutral	37.9	35.8	34.8	42.2	36.5	46.2	24.1
Bad	9.7	13.5	9.5	6.2	6.6	11.6	4.7
Very bad	1.5	2.8	1.2	.4	.4	1.1	1.0
Life Satisfaction							
Very satisfied	23.2	17.1	16.5	40.5	13.3	4.2	25.3
Satisfied	32.2	37.0	41.6	20.2	36.7	28.7	39.8
Neither	36.5	38.1	34.5	33.1	39.0	49.3	27.2
Dissatisfied	5.4	5.2	4.8	3.7	8.1	14.5	4.0
Very dissatisfied	1.2	1.4	1.3	.7	1.2	2.0	1.4
Views on marriage migration							
Strongly recommend	11.8	8.8	11.6	15.7	5.8	15.3	25.1
Recommend	32.8	33.1	35.6	32.2	25.8	36.8	35.6
Moderate	37.2	37.1	34.8	36.7	45.1	37.6	29.5
Object	11.3	13.6	10.8	9.1	14.4	6.6	6.1
Strongly object	3.3	4.3	4.2	1.7	4.9	1.4	.6
Characteristics of Migrant Wives							
Wives' age	33.4	39.8	34.1	24.7	32.3	40.6	24.0
Mean (SD)	(10.1)	(9.6)	(8.2)	(4.5)	(7.2)	(6.8)	(3.3)
Wives' education							
Primary school	9.9	5.9	4.6	19.9	1.6	.2	30.4
Junior high school	28.9	28.1	32.3	41.2	2.7	.9	35.0
High school	42.6	52.2	44.6	33.2	38.3	40.2	21.7
College and above	17.6	13.2	17.8	3.9	56.5	58.5	9.4
Natal family SES							
Poorest (0-2)	19.3	14.7	11.6	28.5	20.9	3.3	26.5
Poor (3-4)	21.8	15.4	15.9	33.5	17.1	16.4	14.9
Middle (5)	43.3	48.1	49.6	26.7	50.3	45.7	44.1
Wealthy (6-10)	15.6	18.9	20.8	6.4	8.9	32.4	11.6
Characteristics of Marital Families							
Husband's age	43.9	46.7	43.0	41.7	43.1	43.0	41.5
Mean (SD)	(8.1)	(9.3)	(8.3)	(6.1)	(6.3)	(7.1)	(6.9)
Husbands' education							
Primary school	7.7	7.8	3.5	6.2	11.4	7.2	11.6
Junior high school	18.5	18.2	12.6	19.4	13.7	11.5	16.0
High school	52.8	50.2	50.3	45.2	46.4	43.1	42.3
College and above	21.0	14.9	26.2	16.7	20.5	38.3	17.5

Table 4.1 Outcome Distributions and Sample Characteristics, 2009 Multicultural Families in Korea (Cont'd)

	All	Korean Chinese	Han Chinese	Vietnamese	Filipinas	Japanese	Cambodians
N	64,792	24,561	9,294	19,363	6,212	3,618	1,924
Marital family SES							
Poorest (0-2)	24.1	31.5	24.1	18.2	16.8	14.5	13.2
Poor (3-4)	30.6	26.7	26.9	38.1	17.3	35.3	18.1
Middle (5)	38.5	34.5	39.9	33.3	54.1	34.8	53.7
Wealthy (6-10)	6.8	5.2	6.9	5.7	8.7	14.3	10.3
Marital family-level factors							
Co-residence with parents-in-law							
Both passed away	19.0	27.4	18.1	10.0	14.8	13.6	9.0
Not living together	51.6	53.6	55.8	42.2	48.4	59.2	34.7
Living with either	17.9	10.2	14.1	25.7	21.0	17.4	29.7
Living with both	11.6	4.4	9.1	19.5	13.4	7.7	24.0
Marriage channel							
Broker agencies	30.7	8.8	22.5	67.1	19.4	1.4	80.8
Family or friends	45.4	66.7	52.8	27.7	38.3	8.0	11.5
Religious organizations	8.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	32.7	74.1	1.6
Others	15.6	23.5	23.9	14.4	9.6	16.5	2.5
Husbands' physical disability							
Physically disabled	7.7	7.9	6.2	6.7	10.5	6.8	12.9
Social Integration factors							
Language skills							
Korean proficiency scale (1- 5 scale)							
Mean	3.3	4.0	2.8	2.65	2.98	2.92	2.69
(SD)	(1.1)	(.9)	(1.0)	(.8)	(.6)	(.9)	(.8)
Korean citizenship	34.3	59.8	22.9	12.3	44.3	5.3	5.2
Length of stay							
Mean	5.3	7.2	3.9	2.6	5.6	9.5	2.0
(SD)	(4.2)	(4.2)	(3.8)	(1.9)	(3.9)	(5.3)	(1.1)
Social lives w/ co-ethnics							
One aspect	27.7	20.6	26.1	30.3	22.9	24.3	24.8
Two aspects	30.3	17.6	25.4	32.4	39.4	58.5	16.1
Social lives w/ Koreans							
One aspect	26.8	21.3	23.2	26.6	22.5	31.1	27.4
Two aspects	32.1	38.7	27.0	18.8	21.2	32.7	25.7
Other covariates							
Perceived discrimination							
Yes	32.5	39.4	37.7	24.1	27.5	33.9	23.5
Experienced economic hardships over the last year							
None	62.8	57.8	63.8	71.5	53.9	60.1	68.7

Table 4.2 Associations Between Marital Power Dynamics and Wives' Self-Rated Health, 2009 Multicultural Families Survey in Korea

	Very Good and Quite Good Health		
	Model 1a (OR)	Model 2a (OR)	Model 3a (OR)
Gaps in Education			
Wife > husband	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wife = husband	1.17***	1.14***	1.11***
Husband > wife (1 level)	1.27***	1.23***	1.19***
Husband > wife (2 to 5 levels)	1.29***	1.27***	1.20***
Wives' Education			
Elementary school	1.00	1.00	1.00
Junior high school	0.90	0.95***	0.83***
High school	1.06	1.01	0.91**
College and above	1.29***	1.21***	1.03
Gaps in SES			
Wife > husband	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wife = husband	1.41***	1.41***	1.36***
Husband > wife (1 to 2 levels)	1.68***	1.65***	1.57***
Husband > wife (3 to 10 levels)	1.93***	1.90***	1.79***
Natal Family SES			
Poorest (0-2)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Poor (3-4)	1.31***	1.33***	1.30***
Middle (5)	1.71***	1.60***	1.54***
Wealthy (6-10)	2.27***	2.18***	2.08***
Gaps in Age			
Wives are older than husbands	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wives 0 to 10 years younger	1.11***	1.06	1.06
Wives 11 to 20 years younger	1.11***	1.10**	1.11**
Wives 21 and more years younger	1.06	1.13**	1.14***
Wives' Age			
Younger than 30 years old	1.00	1.00	1.00
30 years old to 44 years old	.84***	0.79***	0.87***
45 years old and older	.51***	0.49***	0.51***
Wives' Ethnicity			
Korean Chinese		1.00	1.00
Han Chinese		0.99	1.20***
Vietnamese		0.67***	0.85***
Japanese		1.14***	1.53***
Filipinas		0.70***	0.87**
Cambodians		1.43***	1.65***
Marital Family-level Factors			
Co-residence with parents-in-law			
Both passed away		1.00	1.00
Not living together		1.11***	1.13***
Living with either in-law		1.17***	1.16***
Living with both		1.18***	1.15***
Marriage channel			
Via commercial agencies		1.00	1.00
Through family or friends		1.03	1.01
Religious organizations		0.83***	0.88**
Others		1.13***	1.07**

Table 4.2 Associations Between Marital Power Dynamics and Wives' Self-Rated Health, 2009 Multicultural Families Survey in Korea (Cont'd)

	Very Good and Quite Good Health		
	Model 1a (OR)	Model 2a (OR)	Model 3a (OR)
Husbands' physical disability			
Physically disabled		1.03***	1.03***
Social Integration factors			
Language skills			
Korean proficiency scale			1.27***
Korean citizenship			
No			1.00
Yes			0.81***
Length of stay			
Less than two years			1.00
Two to five years			0.81***
Five to ten years			0.74***
More than ten years			0.66***
Social lives w/ co-ethnics			
None			1.00
One aspect			0.94**
Two aspects			0.92***
Social lives w/ Koreans			
None			1.00
One aspect			1.21***
Two aspects			1.62***
Other covariates			
Perceived discrimination			
None	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	0.69***	0.68***	0.71***

*p < .05.**p < .01.***p < .001.

Table 4.3 Associations Between Marital Power Dynamics and Wives' Life Satisfaction, 2009 Multicultural Families Survey in Korea

	Very and Quite Satisfied With Life		
	Model 1a (OR)	Model 2a (OR)	Model 3a (OR)
Gaps in Education			
Wife > husband	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wife = husband	1.15***	1.14***	1.11***
Husband > wife (1 level)	1.29***	1.27***	1.22***
Husband > wife (2 to 5 levels)	1.35***	1.37***	1.28***
Wives' Education			
Elementary school	1.00	1.00	1.00
Junior high school	1.04	1.02	0.96
High school	0.98	1.02	0.91**
College and above	0.94	1.20***	1.00
Gaps in SES			
Wife > husband	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wife = husband	1.88***	1.95***	1.91***
Husband > wife (1 to 2 levels)	2.08***	2.25***	2.14***
Husband > wife (3 to 10 levels)	2.70***	3.02***	2.86***
Natal Family SES			
Poorest (0-2)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Poor (3-4)	1.36**	1.40***	1.36***
Middle (5)	1.79***	1.83***	1.76***
Wealthy (6-10)	2.23***	2.31***	2.20***
Gaps in Age			
Wives are older than husbands	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wives 0 to 10 years younger	1.11***	0.97	0.98
Wives 11 to 20 years younger	1.16***	0.99	0.99
Wives 21 and more years younger	1.11**	0.97	0.98
Wives' Age			
Younger than 30 years old	1.00	1.00	1.00
30 years old to 44 years old	0.79***	0.77***	0.87***
45 years old and older	0.83***	0.80***	0.85***
Wives' Ethnicity			
Korean Chinese		1.00	1.00
Han Chinese		0.99	1.21***
Vietnamese		0.96	1.23***
Japanese		0.71***	0.97
Filipinas		0.33***	0.39***
Cambodians		1.15**	1.29***
Marital Family-level Factors			
Co-residence with parents-in-law			
Both passed away		1.00	1.00
Not living together		0.95*	0.96
Living with either in-law		0.89***	0.87***
Living with both		0.83***	0.80***
Marriage channel			
Via commercial agencies		1.00	1.00
Through family or friends		1.26***	1.24***
Religious organizations		1.11**	1.23***
Others		1.24***	1.17***

Table 4.3 Associations Between Marital Power Dynamics and Wives' Life Satisfaction, 2009 Multicultural Families Survey in Korea (Cont'd)

	Very and Quite Satisfied With Life		
	Model 1a (OR)	Model 2a (OR)	Model 3a (OR)
Husbands' physical disability			
Physically disabled		1.01*	1.01**
Social Integration factors			
Language skills			
Korean proficiency scale			1.28***
Korean citizenship			
No			1.00
Yes			0.76***
Length of stay			
Less than two years			1.00
Two to five years			0.80***
Five to ten years			0.69***
More than ten years			0.63***
Social lives w/ co-ethnics			
None			1.00
One aspect			0.98
Two aspects			0.99
Social lives w/ Koreans			
None			1.00
One aspect			1.43***
Two aspects			2.07***
Other covariates			
Perceived discrimination			
None	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	0.68***	0.67***	0.69***

*p < .05.**p < .01.***p < .001.

Table 4.4 Associations Between Marital Power Dynamics and Wives' View on Marriage Migration, 2009 Multicultural Families Survey in Korea

	Highly or moderately valued marriage migration		
	Model 1c (OR)	Mode 2c (OR)	Model 3c (OR)
Gaps in Education			
Wife > Husband	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wife = husband	1.01	1.01	0.98
Husband > wife (1 level)	1.06*	1.06*	1.01
Husband > wife (2 to 5 levels)	1.15***	1.16***	1.08*
Wives' Education			
Elementary school	1.00	1.00	1.00
Junior high school	0.91***	0.93*	0.90***
High school	0.77***	0.83***	0.79***
College and above	0.59***	0.65***	0.59***
Gaps in SES			
Wife>husband	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wife=husband	1.28***	1.31***	1.29***
Husband > wife (1 to 2 levels)	1.34***	1.38***	1.33***
Husband > wife (3 to 10 levels)	1.57***	1.61***	1.56***
Natal Family SES			
Poorest (0-2)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Poor (3-4)	1.01	0.98	0.96
Middle (5)	1.13***	1.10***	1.08**
Wealthy (6-10)	1.04	0.98	0.96
Gaps in Age			
Wives are older	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wives 0 to 10 years younger	0.88***	0.91***	0.92**
Wives 11 to 20 years younger	0.89***	0.93*	0.93*
Wives 21 and more years younger	0.99	1.03	1.03
Wives' Age			
Younger than 30 years old	1.00	1.00	1.00
30 years old to 44 years old	1.01	1.02	1.18***
45 years old and older	1.73***	1.68***	1.85***
Wives' Ethnicity			
Korean Chinese		1.00	1.00
Han Chinese		1.31***	1.19***
Vietnamese		1.18***	1.15***
Japanese		0.66***	0.68***
Filipinas		1.27***	1.07
Cambodians		1.96***	1.72***
Marital Family-level Factors			
Co-residence with parents-in-law			
Both passed away		1.00	1.00
Not living together		0.90***	0.91***
Living with either in-law		0.92***	0.91***
Living with both		0.95	0.92**
Marriage channel			
Via commercial agencies		1.00	1.00
Through family or friends		1.17***	1.15***
Religious organizations		1.65***	1.94***
Others		0.96	0.94**

Table 4.4 Associations Between Marital Power Dynamics and Wives' View on Marriage Migration, 2009 Multicultural Families Survey in Korea (Cont'd)

	Highly or moderately valued marriage migration		
	Model 1c (OR)	Mode 2c (OR)	Model 3c (OR)
Husbands' physical disability			
Physically disabled		0.99***	0.99***
Social Integration factors			
Language skills			
Korean proficiency scale			1.04***
Korean citizenship			
No			1.00
Yes			0.69***
Length of stay			
Less than two years			1.00
Two to five years			0.83***
Five to ten years			0.69***
More than ten years			0.62***
Social lives w/ co-ethnics			
None			1.00
One aspect			1.00
Two aspects			1.01
Social lives w/ Koreans			
None			1.00
One aspect			1.40***
Two aspects			1.90***
Other covariates			
Perceived discrimination			
None	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	0.71***	0.70***	0.73***

*p < .05.**p < .01.***p < .001.

Appendix 4.1

Measurement of covariates

a. Measurement of Social Relationship

Two questions in the survey identified marriage migrants' social relationships with others. Respondents were asked, "With whom do you spend time when you have personal or family trouble?" and "who do you spend leisure time with or doing recreation activities with?" Each respondent can choose one or more answers from: people from my home country, Korean people, and other foreigners. With these six possible answers, we used principal component analysis and confirmed that four answers represent two different and negatively correlated dimensions of social integration among marriage migrants:

(1) Social relationships with native Koreans: measured by (a) whether marriage migrants would go to a Korean friend when they are in trouble; and (b) whether marriage migrants spend leisure time with Koreans.

(2) Social relationships with co-ethnic networks: measured by (a) whether marriage migrants would go to a co-ethnic friend when they are in trouble; and (b) whether marriage migrants spend leisure time with co-ethnic friends.

Therefore, we coded each respondent as having zero, one, or two types of social relationships with Koreans, and having zero, one, or two types of social relationships with co-ethnic networks.

b. Measurement of Korean Language Proficiency

Language proficiency is a 3-item scale measuring how fluently the respondent speaks, reads, and writes Korean on a Likert scale of (1) very good to (5) very poor. These items were reversed, summed, and averaged to create a Korean language proficiency score. The Cronbach α value of Korean proficiency scale is .94.

c. Measurement of Citizenship Status

Respondents were asked whether they have acquired Korean citizenship at the time of survey (yes=1/no=0)

d. Measurement of Perceived Discrimination

Respondents were asked whether they have experienced discrimination because they are foreigners in Korea (yes=1/no=0)

CHAPTER 5

Patterns and Processes of Social Integration among Vietnamese Marriage Migrants in Taiwan and South Korea

Abstract

The current literature on marriage migrants who migrate from poorer to wealthier countries tends to focus on the vulnerabilities of the migrant women. The social consequences of transnational marriage migration such as social integration remain less understood. This chapter describes the very diverse, sometimes unexpected patterns, and nuanced processes of marriage migrants' social integration that are facilitated or hindered by unrecognized (a) family dynamics within their natal and marital families; (b) social processes within the sending and receiving countries; and (c) the interaction of these two.

Based on forty-eight qualitative interviews and a year of multi-site fieldwork working with 16 migrant organizations, I propose a *double transition of marriage migration framework* and a *two-step social integration model* to illustrate the patterns and processes of social integration among Vietnamese marriage migrants (VMMs) in Taiwan and South Korea. I found that two factors at the time of VMMs' double transition of marriage migration—their marriage channels and life course stages at marriage—together reflect their differential pre-migration exposure to gender-based bias, education received in Vietnam, and pre-migration work experiences. Depending on marital family's characteristics such as gender structure and family socioeconomic status, favorable social integration outcomes were achieved primarily by VMMs with privileged backgrounds, who often married through personal encounter. However, some VMMs from poor natal families who married through commercial agencies also achieved favorable social integration outcomes because of marital family's flexible gender role attitudes and their pre-migration life experiences.

Overall, marriage migrants' gendered social roles—as wives, daughters-in-law, and mothers—in the marital families allow them to better negotiate their individual agency, which is

defined as the ability to make free choices. The sense of belonging gained through participating in these family roles serves as a strong foundation for marriage migrants to further integrate into the host societies as migrant groups through participating in social roles as community members and citizens. Based on the interviewees' experiences, VMMs in Taiwan found it easier to integrate than VMMs in South Korea, because of differences in each society's manner of organizing migration and its gender system.

Using different case scenarios presented in this chapter, I demonstrate the importance of marital family's characteristics and receiving countries' migration policy in facilitating VMMs' two-step social integration: first into the marital family, second into the host society. Furthermore, this chapter shows that marriage migrants can benefit from transnational migration and achieve autonomy through successful social integration.

I. INTRODUCTION

Empirical studies on transnational gendered migration have focused mostly on two major flows of legal female migrants: marriage migrants and domestic labor migrants. In addition to the well-documented economic causes and consequences of domestic labor migration (Morrison, Schiff, & Sjöblom, 2007; Oishi, 2005), migration scholars have also emphasized the significance of the social dimensions of transnational gendered migration (M. Asis, Piper, & Raghuram, 2010; Piper, 2009; Truong, 2000). Broadly speaking, the social dimensions of gendered migration include its non-economic causes and consequences, such as how the gender systems in both the sending and receiving countries impact the migration process, and whether transnational migration empowers or subordinates women after they migrate (M. M. B. Asis, 2005; Carling, 2005; Ghosh, 2009).

Southeast Asian women who migrate to East Asia through transnational marriages now constitute a significant proportion of migrants in the destination countries. Taiwanese and Korean governments consider them legitimate citizens because of their multiple social roles—as wives, daughters-in-law, and more importantly, as the mothers of the new generation of the host societies. With a stable incoming number of women migrants each year since the 1990s, transnational marriage migration is generating significant social and demographic change in contemporary East Asia. Among marriage migrants in Taiwan and South Korea (hereafter, Korea), the Vietnamese marriage migrants (VMMs) constitute the largest group of migrants without prior ethnic ties to the host societies. Their migration to Taiwan and Korea illustrates a gendered migration process that intersects social stratification based on ethnicity, social class,

and capitalist globalization. In addition, it provides an opportunity to contrast migration outcomes in a natural setting.

This chapter aims to explore the patterns and processes of VMMs' social integration in Taiwan and South Korea with three specific research questions:

1. What factors in the pre- and post-migration stages shape different patterns of social integration among VMMs in Taiwan and South Korea?
2. How do VMMs in different life circumstances negotiate their individual agency (defined as their ability to act independently and make free choices) to achieve favorable social integration outcomes?
3. Do VMMs' social integration processes differ in Taiwan compared to Korea? If so, how are they different and why?

II. STUDY CONTEXTS

Transnational marriage migration from less-developed Asian countries to East Asia is a highly gendered social phenomenon. In 2005, marriages in which the wives were of foreign origin accounted for 32% of new unions in Taiwan and 14% in Korea (Jones & Shen, 2008). Among all foreign spouses, foreign wives represent ninety-two percent in Taiwan and sixty-four percent in Korea (H.C. Hsia, 2008; H. K. Lee, 2008). According to recent population statistics, there are approximately 460,000 marriage migrants residing in Taiwan by the end of 2012[1] and 284,000 in Korea by the end of 2011 (Chosunilbo, 2012). The triggering factor which first gave visibility to female marriage migrants was the "bride deficit phenomenon" in East Asia, i.e., men in rural areas suffer from disadvantageous positions in the domestic marriage market. However,

[1] Estimate from the National Immigration Agency in Taiwan.

it is no longer only a rural area phenomenon. For example, according to marriage registration and census records, Korean men who are involved in transnational marriages include rural never-married men, divorced men of low socioeconomic status in urban areas, and more recently, urban never-married men (Y. J. Lee, Seol, & Cho, 2006). In the following sections, I will discuss the ways in which globalization, demographic transitions and social change, and regional economic inequalities within Asia contribute to the social phenomenon of intra-Asia marriage migration.

Out-migration of Vietnamese women to Taiwan and South Korea

Compared to other sending countries in Southeast Asia such as Indonesia and the Philippines, the Vietnamese out-migration to other Asian countries is a relatively recent phenomenon, especially for women. It was not until 1986 that Vietnam began to welcome investment from other industrialized countries in Asia and the West, which increased the interactions between local Vietnamese and foreign business people. Vietnamese women started marrying Taiwanese men and entering Taiwan in the early 1990s, after the Taiwanese government encouraged Taiwanese people to start business in Vietnam (H.Z. Wang & Hsiao, 2009). Soon after the initial waves of VMMs entered Taiwan, a commercial matchmaking system was established in both the sending and receiving societies to facilitate the marriage and immigration arrangements. The entry of VMMs to Korea started around the year of 2000, primary through transnational matchmaking agencies. The annual number of VMMs migrating to Taiwan peaked around the turn of the century and dropped in 2004 when the Taiwanese government began to regulate the brokerage practice to prevent human trafficking. However, the number of Vietnamese women

married to Korean men rapidly increased at the same time, from 10 to 34 percent of all transnational marriages in South Korea between 2004 and 2006 (Jones, 2011).

As part of the "migration industry," the commercial brokerage system established by transnational matchmaking agencies in the Asian Pacific region has received much attention from migration scholars (Surak, 2011; H.Z. Wang & Chang, 2002). These agencies provide comprehensive and flexible arrangements including oversea tours for prospective grooms, recruitment and training of potential brides, matching activities and group weddings, and subsequent services to complete the bride's paperwork for emigration (H.Z. Wang & Hsiao, 2009). At VMMs' pre-migration stage, some illegal agencies provide filtered, partial information to both sides about their future partners, and thus increase the vulnerabilities of these marriages and the post-migration welfare of VMMs. At VMMs' post-migration stage, some brokerage agencies advertise their "guarantee service": some provide interpretation services for the brides and marital families to communicate, while some offer compensation for "run-away brides" within six months to the marital families (Kim, 2011; H.Z. Wang, 2007).

Social Causes of the Influx of Marriage Migrants

Over recent decades, economic growth and social development in Taiwan and Korea granted women universal education and career opportunities. Educated Taiwanese and Korean women have thus adopted more equal gender ideologies and gained more autonomy in making marriage decisions, including delaying the timing of their first marriage, demanding fair division of household labor, and choosing singlehood or voluntary childlessness after marriage (Jones & Shen, 2008). The traditional notion of hypergamy (women marrying up to men with higher income or education) may be one reason to explain the mismatch between men and women in the

domestic marriage markets in Taiwan and Korea. However, there are several other East Asian features in marriage and family life that contribute to the increase of transnational marriages.

In Confucian societies such as Taiwan and Korea, traditional gender roles of husbands and wives persist among older generations; for example, society expects daughters-in-law to carry out filial affection to parents-in-law (Chi, 2007). These intra-Asia transnational marriage decisions are not made based on an individual's preference but involve consultation from one's family and community. Moreover, pressures from routine social and familial interaction in a traditional culture of *familism* has pushed men beyond a "suitable age" to seek their ideal wife across national boundaries, in order to fulfill the obligations of the "filial son"(Suzuki, 2008). Consequently, women from less-developed countries with similar traditions and cultural backgrounds are ideal candidates to marry into families who seek someone with "traditional virtues": a woman who is submissive, obedient, and follows the practice of filial piety (H.Z. Wang, 2007).

Global and regional socioeconomic inequalities significantly facilitate these intra-Asia transnational marriages (Belanger & Tran, 2009). For many marriage migrants and their natal families, a transnational marriage can offer social and economic mobility, benefit natal and extended families as well as future generations (Palriwala & Uberoi, 2005). Marriage migrants from less-developed Asian countries are presented with a rosy picture of marriage in East Asian destinations: geographical proximity allows more frequent visits to their homeland; and a high degree of cultural cohesiveness within Asian societies, such as the Confucian traditions of patriarchy and familism that persist in Taiwan, Korea and Vietnam (D Bélanger, Hong, & Wang, 2007; D. Bélanger, Lee, & Wang, 2010; Suzuki, 2008; Tseng, 2010).

Marriage migrants of different countries of origin entered Taiwan and Korea at different times and were driven by various incentives. "Marriage tours" were initiated by local Korean governments to recruit ethnic Korean women from Northeastern China (referring to the "Korean Chinese" in the literature) for unmarried bachelors in Korea in the 1980s (H. M. Kim, 2007), this was not the case in Taiwan. Other structural mediators include improved diplomatic relations and subsequent economic activities (both of which increased the marriages between Korean men and Han Chinese women), transnational co-ethnic social networks and religious affiliations; (H. K. Lee, 2008; Y. J. Lee et al., 2006), the proliferation of profit-oriented transnational matchmaking agencies (H. K. Lee, 2005; Lu, 2005; H.Z. Wang & Chang, 2002), or a combination of the above reasons. In Taiwan, the majority of marriage migrants come from China, followed by Vietnam, Indonesia, and other Southeast Asian countries. Notably, a proportion of these marriage migrants are ethnic Chinese from Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, and Myanmar. In Korea, the majority is Korean Chinese (ethnic Koreans from China), followed by Vietnamese, Han Chinese, Filipinas, Japanese, Mongolians, and other Southeast Asian women.

Taiwanese and Korean Governments' Policy Response

In response to this gendered migration flow, both Taiwanese and Korean governments have loosened immigration policies to facilitate the integration of marriage migrants and their children, because these women have provided a certain segment of Taiwanese and Korean men with opportunities to have children and continue their family line (Y. J. Lee et al., 2006; Tseng, 2010). In Taiwan, the Ministry of Interior announced a 10-year plan in 2003 with an estimated annual budget of 3.4 million U.S. dollars to provide comprehensive services and integration programs for marriage migrants and their children. The National Immigration Agency was

officially established in 2007 to accommodate the increasing demands of immigration administration and management. Since 2006, the Korean government has enacted legislation to integrate marriage migrants, claiming that "a diverse, multicultural society" is where Korea is heading (D. Bélanger et al., 2010; Cheng, 2008). For example, the "Grand Plan" in 2006 required all official documents to replace "biracial families" and "mixed blood children" by "multicultural families" and "multicultural children" (Lee 2008); and the "Laws to Support Multicultural Families" in 2008 clearly defined that only a family consisting of an immigrant by marriage and a native-born Korean can be protected by these laws.

Despite these migration policies in Taiwan and Korea, two "new immigrant societies," these societies tend to view marriage migrants as a homogeneous group, and treat them as inferior because they come from poorer Asian countries (H. C. Hsia, 2007; Yoon, Song, & Bae, 2008). Hence, critics argue that three ideologies— assimilation, patriarchy, and nationalism— have shaped the process and production of immigrant statistics (D. Bélanger et al., 2010; H. K. Lee, 2008; H.Z. Wang & Belanger, 2008). The failure to recognize both inter- and intra-group differences while focusing only on assistance programs further stigmatizes marriage migrants as "racialized others" and reinforces discrimination against them (Cheng, 2008).

Summary

I have presented an overview on how globalization, demographic transitions, and regional economic inequalities generate gendered migration flows from Southeast Asia into East Asia. In the case of VMMs' migration to Taiwan and Korea, the gender systems, including women's rights, status, and roles (Mason, 1995), in both the sending and receiving countries play a crucial role in their migration processes. On the one hand, the patriarchal culture and family-centered

traditions in Taiwan and Korea is one of the reasons these families favor women migrants from less-developed countries in Asia, expecting them to perform traditional gender roles. On the other hand, as postindustrial economies experiencing rapid social development and the expansion of the civil society under democratic regimes in Taiwan and Korea, women's social status, rights, and roles have changed over the past two decades. Marriage migrants regarded as Korean or Taiwanese citizens may benefit from these changing gender role ideologies, which differ from both their natal and traditional social structure of their host societies, and enable them to successfully integrate into the host societies in perhaps unexpected ways with their host families.

III. METHODS

Sample Selection and Fieldwork Arrangement

The Institutional Review Board at UCLA approved this project involving research on vulnerable populations prior to my departure for fieldwork in July 2011. Fieldwork in Taiwan and Korea took place from July 2011 to March 2012. In order to include VMMs of heterogeneous background and life experiences, I recruited three specific groups: a) those who worked or volunteered for NGOs/NPOs or migrant community centers that support new marriage migrants, b) VMMs who suffered from domestic violence or who have been divorced or widowed, and c) other VMMs who do not belong to the first two categories.

In collaboration with 16 organizations working with marriage migrants and migrant workers in Taiwan and South Korea, I conducted 55 qualitative interviews and four focus groups with VMMs in both rural and urban settings. Interview questions were grouped into five main categories: health and wellbeing, marriage and family life, pre-migration life history, post-migration settlement, and life course reflections. For VMMs who work or volunteer for

NGOs/NPOs, interview questions include their experiences while working with other VMMs and their views on how to improve the integration experiences of marriage migrants. Collaborating agencies include non-profit media organizations, feminist organizations, church-related organizations, one marriage broker agency, and both government-funded and non-government-funded community centers. I also conducted informal interviews with Taiwanese/Korean officers or social workers in the collaborating organizations.

In Korea, I recruited Korean-English interpreters to help arrange and to accompany me on visits to community organizations. I then recruited Vietnamese-English interpreters for interviews with VMMs. All interviews in Taiwan were conducted in Mandarin Chinese or Taiwanese (the author is fluent in both), except for a newcomer who required a Vietnamese-Chinese interpreter.

Sampling Strategy and Characteristics of the Subsample

The goal of this chapter is to explore the patterns and processes of social integration among VMMs whose motivation for migration was through transnational marriages. Therefore, I excluded those who migrated for paid employment and married local men later (N=6 in Taiwan, N=1 in Korea). In total, forty-eight interviews remained for analysis: 32 from Taiwan and 16 from Korea. All interviews were digitally recorded. Verbal informed consent was obtained prior to interview from interviewees.

Table 5.1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the subsample. The mean age of the subsample is 31.7 years old, ranging from 22 to 63 years old. Because the VMMs' migration to Taiwan took place earlier than to Korea, the mean age of the subsample in Taiwan (33 years old) is older than those in Korea (29 years old), with an average length of stay of 10.2 years and

5.6 years, respectively. At the time of interview, around one out of four interviewees' marital status was divorced, widowed or separated. Sixty-one percent of the interviewees went to high school and college in Vietnam, which is higher than the average VMMs in Taiwan and Korea. In Taiwan, almost 40 percent of the interviewees are from Hanoi or Ho Chih Minh City, two major metropolitan cities in Vietnam, while only 18 percent of the interviewees in Korea are from urban areas. In terms of marriage channels, the percentages of interviewees who met their husbands through commercial brokers in Taiwan and Korea were 38 and 44 percent. Seven VMM interviewees in Taiwan and one in Korea are ethnic Chinese.

<Table 5.1 about here>

Data Management and Analytic Strategy

Vietnamese to English interviews were transcribed by native Vietnamese speakers with proficient English skills. Interviews in Taiwan were transcribed by native Mandarin Chinese speakers. The transcripts were uploaded into Dedoose (www.dedoose.com), a web-based analytic program supporting researchers to analyze qualitative and mixed-methods research (Dedoose, 2013). I first read all transcripts, sorted all data according to VMMs' pre- and post-migration stages, and identified excerpts that contain themes and domains related to my research questions. Overall, I developed the parent codes (main themes) and child codes (sub-themes) based on the principles of grounded theory (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2003). Because this chapter is part of a larger mixed-methods project, some of the child codes were informed by the results of quantitative data analysis from a large-scale social survey of marriage migrants in South Korea in chapters 3 and 4. Furthermore, during the data collection processes, I iteratively adjusted the interview questions and triangulated the results with VMMs who work with other VMMs (the

first category of three sampled groups) as well as the leaders of community-based organizations working with marriage migrants. To discover patterns and themes that emerged from VMMs' wide range of life experiences, I applied thematic analysis (Patton, 2002) as the main method of content analysis.

To answer the first research question "What factors in the pre- and post-migration stages shape different patterns of social integration among VMMs in Taiwan and South Korea," I found two important aspects of marriage migrants' characteristics at their "entry point" into the host society best illustrate their different patterns of social integration: (1) VMMs' life course stage at the time of marriage and (2) the way that they met their husbands (marriage channels): personal encounter, introduction through social network, and commercial matchmaking agencies. As illustrated in Figure 5.1, "the double transition of marriage migration framework," the way these two aspects of VMMs' lives intersect largely shows how they make the transition from the pre-migration to post- migration stage, and from being single women to married women.

<Figure 5.1 about here>

Based on the different intersections of life stage and marriage channels, I traced marriage migrants' experience backwards to their pre-migration stage. Using an open coding strategy, I explored how each VMM came to choose a transnational marriage. Some common characteristics that emerged are the socioeconomic status of their natal families, education level, work experience, and exposure to different levels of gender bias in Vietnam. I then merged the characteristics that emerged from the inductive inference and identified three major categories of pre-migration rationales for choosing a transnational marriage which I label: privileged, constrained, and disadvantaged.

For the post-migration stage, I developed the parent codes based on the interview guide and used open coding strategies as well as results from quantitative data analysis to develop child codes. I identified VMMs' two-stage social integration: (1) into the marital families and (2) into the host societies. For social integration into the marital families, some common characteristics that shape VMMs' pattern of integration included marital family's social status, and emotional support shaped by the gender attitudes of husbands and parents-in-law. The former represent VMMs' perceived social status in the destination country and whether VMMs experienced economic difficulties in their double transitions. The latter determine the (in)flexibilities of gender structure in the marital family. For social integration into the host societies, some common themes emerged that shaped VMMs' pattern of integration are: exposure to integration programs and migration organizations, access to the continuing education system, social lives with the native population, and perceived gaps of gender norms between the sending and receiving societies. According to VMMs' different experiences with these factors affecting their social integration, I identified three different categories of social integration for both into the marital family and into the host society: smooth, challenging, and difficult (see Table 5.2 for more details).

<Table 5.2 about here>

To answer the second research question: "How do VMMs in different life circumstances negotiate their individual agency to achieve favorable social integration outcomes?", based on the different patterns of social integration identified, I provide some instances of VMMs who successfully negotiated their individual agency under different life circumstances, in other words, to act independently and make free life choices, in the process of achieving favorable social integration outcomes.

To answer the third research question on whether VMMs' experiences differ in Taiwan and Korea, I first compare the narratives of VMMs with similar migration characteristics in Taiwan and Korea to understand their differential migration processes. I then contrast their views on conventional gender role ideologies, the gender systems, and national social integration policies including services and programs provided by both government and non-government sectors.

IV. RESULTS

The results section is organized by the three research questions. First, I propose a "double transition of marriage migration" framework to illustrate different social integration patterns among VMMs in Taiwan and Korea. Second, using some common social integration patterns of VMMs, I propose a "two-step social integration model" to demonstrate that social integration into the marital family precedes and is essential for social integration into the host society. Based on this model, I illustrate how VMMs came to act independently and make free choices to achieve favorable (upward) social integration trajectories. Third, I present how VMMs' social integration experiences differ in Taiwan and Korea.

A. The "Double Transition of Marriage Migration" Framework

In the proposed framework, I use three marriage channels to represent the different types of marital relationships that VMMs seem to have had with their husbands at their "entry point" into host societies. My observations suggest that transnational couples who met through personal encounters are more likely to have a stronger marital relationship, followed by those who met through introduction from families or friends (social network), and then those who met through commercial brokers. Using marriage channels as the starting point, along with VMMs' age at

their marriage representing their life stage, I explore —both backwards and forwards—two important dimensions of their transition: (1) how they came to choose a transnational marriage; and (2) how their rationales for marriage migration and their marital relations influenced their double transitions as well as their post-marriage/post-migration social integration experiences.

In the pre-marriage/pre-migration stage, gender-based bias or differential treatment in VMMs' natal families affected their opportunity to receive an education, and their propensity to start either formal or informal employment in an earlier age to help their natal families. In other words, the levels of gender-based bias/discrimination in VMMs' natal families seemed to be a fundamental root force that differentially sorted VMMs' life course trajectories.

According to the intersection of VMMs' age at marriage and their marriage channels, figures 5.2 and 5.3 shows the spectrums of VMMs' pre- and post-migration in Taiwan and in Korea, respectively. In order to illustrate the expected and unexpected transitions between VMMs' pre- and post-migration life course trajectories, I classify their rationales for marriage migration into three broad categories: privileged, constrained, and disadvantaged.

<Figures 5.2 and 5.3 about here>

VMMs in the "privileged" category are those who come from relatively well-off family backgrounds, had the opportunity to receive more years of education, and were able to make their own decisions on who to marry. Furthermore, they were well-protected by natal families and had little exposure to gender-based bias or discrimination compared to other two groups. Other than these privileged VMMs, almost all other VMMs reported that their decisions to marry abroad were related to different types of gendered constraints in their childhood and adolescence. One type of constraint comes from their natal families, including unfulfilled desire to attend high school or college (while their older and younger brothers did go to college), strict parental

(mostly paternal) restrictions on socialization outside the family, and disapproval of their marrying Vietnamese boyfriends. Another type of gendered constraint was related to low social status of Vietnamese women in the society, whether they have witnessed domestic violence in the immediate neighborhoods, or they themselves experienced sexual harassments in the workplace.

Chi is an example from the "constrained" category. She felt she had missed the "right age" to marry in Vietnam, because she attended university after working for a few years to earn the tuition. Her path to Korea through choosing a transnational marriage shares a lot of similarities to those who have gone to Taiwan for similar reasons.

> "At that time, I was 30 years old, my cousin who was married to a Korean man through commercial agencies asked me to do the same thing. I did not want that at first, because there are some relatives in my family married to foreigners, I didn't want to be like them since I was a child. But, it must be my destiny. At that moment, my job application wasn't successful, and my parents did not approve the marriage between me and my boyfriend. When my husband visited from Korea with a religious group, I took this chance to meet him. He was very sincere so I was wondering if I could have a different future in Korea. If I got any luck, my life would be better. Besides, I grew up in a neighborhood where some of my neighbors would beat their wives severely; I don't want a marriage like that." (36 years old, in Korea for 6 years, married)

Comparatively, the constrained VMMs had a more trustworthy social network to meet Taiwanese/Korean husbands, through extended family members or friends, while the disadvantaged VMMs were only able to go to commercial brokers. However, what differentiates the disadvantaged VMMs from the constrained VMMs is their extreme lack of economic resources, which not only reflected from their low educational level, but also their motivation for migration. In general, their goal was to improve their natal family's economic conditions. Furthermore, some disadvantaged VMMs experienced gender-based violence such as sexual harassment and severe paternal control. In my sample, 70 % of those who married through

commercial brokers had junior high school education or below. They went to the brokers when they turned 18 or after they had worked for several years, and were in their mid-20s. A majority of them never left their rural hometown, but had engaged in informal employment to support the natal families at an early age. Choosing a transnational marriage through brokers was one of the few "gendered opportunities" they had, because in most cases, they did not have to pay any fees.

> "It was a trendy thing to do. In the village, families were talking about whose daughter married to Taiwan and they built a tall house for the parents, one after another. I went to the broker's place thinking I would marry a Taiwanese. But the broker told me I was going to meet Korean men. I think it must be fate."(26 years old, in Korea for 5 years, married)

In the post-marriage/post-migration stage, two important factors appeared to characterize VMMs' social integration into the marital family: the marital family's socioeconomic status and gender role attitudes. The right sides of figures 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate the spectrum of VMMs' post-marriage/post-migration social integration experiences in Taiwan and Korea, respectively. It is important to note that even among VMMs who married through the same channel, a wide variation exists in terms of the flexibility of gender attitudes in the marital families, partially corresponding to the marital relationships between the transnational couples, regardless of the socioeconomic status of marital family. The ways that these two important dimensions intersect shape VMMs' differing post-migration experiences and thus create both the *expected* and *unexpected* transitions that VMMs make in the first few post-marriage/post-migration years. As expected (by themselves and the author), VMMs with privileged backgrounds in Vietnam typically have better social integration outcomes than those without privileged backgrounds, and are more capable of accessing social and material resources in Taiwan and Korea.

Unexpected, however, some VMMs who integrate well in both the marital families and the host societies are from resource-deprived backgrounds and/or those who left Vietnam to escape

gender-based bias and violence at home and at workplace. Below, I use some examples to describe what factors contributed to the expected and unexpected life transitions among VMMs.

a. The Expected Transitions

The literature on intra-Asia marriage migration has mostly attributed marriage migrants' negative experiences to the lower socioeconomic status of both their natal and marital families, which is true but also fails to capture the full spectrum of their life stories. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 demonstrate that VMMs' pre- and post-migration life experiences are generally interconnected: there is a correlation between "privileged" and "smooth integration," "constrained" and "challenging integration," as well as "disadvantaged" and "difficult integration." In general, VMMs who met their husbands through personal encounters tend to have marital families that are relatively wealthier and hold more flexible gender attitudes. Such a scenario is more common in Taiwan than in Korea.

Compared to VMMs who met their husbands through commercial agencies, VMMs who met their husbands through personal encounter or through introduction also had more accurate (but often not complete) information about both the husbands' personal characteristics and the marital family's expectations when they entered the marriage and the host society. Another way to make sense of the correlation is that privileged VMMs have considered the marital prospect more than transnational migration, while the constrained VMMs took both marriage and migration into consideration, and the disadvantaged VMMs were motivated to choose marriage migration because of the migration aspect more than the marriage itself.

VMMs who experienced more flexible gender role ideology in their marital families, seemed to have smoother integration into the host society compared to others. Several VMMs

who met their husbands through personal encounters in Taiwan described how their parents-in-law treat them as their own daughters, or even better than their own daughters, because they are "far away from their natal families." One of them had a father-in-law who delivered home-made lunch for her when she first started working full-time for a non-profit media agency. Another VMM, who got married and migrated at the age of 33, "an unmarriageable age in Vietnam," describes how her mother-in-law made her "double transition" significantly easier.

> "My mother-in-law was extremely nice to me. She has done a lot of things that really touches my heart. When my husband and I had our first serious fight after I came to Taiwan, I did not see him off before he went to work on that day. My mother-in-law asked my husband if I was sick, my husband said no and he left. She then came to our bedroom and saw my crying. She said: "what happened? Was he being unreasonable to you? I will scold him for you after he comes back." I burst into laughter after hearing her comforting words. Few months after I arrived here, she knew what kind of fruits I like to eat, she would stuff the fridge with these fruits, she really spoiled me. Most important of all, she respects my decision of not having children, because I had a car accident in Vietnam, it might be dangerous to get pregnant and also I was not young anymore. (44 years old, in Taiwan for 11 years, married)

b. The Unexpected Transitions

Depending on the rigidity/flexibility of gender structure in the marital families including how the parents-in-law view the "addition" of a foreign daughter-in-law, some VMMs who married through the broker system had surprisingly smooth integration processes. On the VMMs' side, they knew that they should be very observant and attentive when getting to know new family members; they also kept their expectations low. On the marital family's side, both the husband and the parents-in-law were grateful for VMMs' reproductive contribution to the family. As time went by, strong mutual trust and good relationships were built between VMMs and their marital families that indicated that the VMMs have gained acceptance and recognition through their efforts to integrate into their marital families.

> "I consider myself very lucky. I felt more adjusted after three months because my husband and in-laws have been nice to me. Our relationships improved gradually after I spoke better Korean. I wanted to come to Korea because Korea holds a promising image in Vietnam. So I went to a broker that is recognized by the Korean government and met my husband." (26 years old, in Korea for 6 years, married)

Residing in rural Southern Taiwan, Linh runs a Vietnamese restaurant with her husband's and in-laws' help. Meeting her Taiwanese husband through commercial brokers, Linh felt that her rather smooth integration processes was due to a postponed pregnancy after a successful negotiation with her husband. Unlike other VMMs who got pregnant right away, she had her first child three years after she arrived at Taiwan. Describing owning her own restaurant as one of her dreams in life, she demonstrates her satisfaction about the support from her husband and his extended family. "My sister-in-law is a nurse, so she takes my son to the community health center for all health-related check-ups and vaccination since he was born."

Furthermore, VMMs who migrated at a later life stage also found it easier to make the transition than younger ones, because of they had more life and work experience in Vietnam. Those who met through personal encounters or through brokers had a wider age variation than those through social networks. As described in Figures 5.2 and 5.3, most VMMs who belong to the "disadvantaged" category stopped their education after junior high school. Those who married and migrated in their mid-20s already had ten years of life experience either through paid employment or helping with family businesses. With better communication and negotiation skills, these women made an unexpected and better post-migration transition for upward life course trajectories than might have been hard to achieve if they were to stay in Vietnam.

A couple of VMMs in my sample left their home towns to work in bigger cities before they became VMMs. At the time of meeting their husbands, they were already living independently

and in fact, sending money home to support their natal families. With their pre-migration life experiences as internal migrants, they made a smooth transition in the process and are integrated well into the host society. Making the decision to migrate abroad through transnational marriages, as described by one VMM in Taiwan and one in Korea, "was the only way for me to see more of this world and to continue support my natal family." Labor migration literature has noted that those who can afford to migrate as labor migrants are not the poorest in their home countries (Lan, 2008). Without being able to afford the commission fee to the broker in charge of labor migration, the least resourceful women would not be able to leave the country. However, Vietnamese women did not have the option to migrate as labor migrants until the early 2000s. Yet, even after such options became available, Vietnamese women who became VMMs through brokers might not have the skills needed, or would not be able to afford the commission fee. The intersection of multiple life dimensions of these VMMs, along with their own perseverance, demonstrates the possibility that women migrants from humble backgrounds were able to alter their life trajectories through transnational migration.

B. The Two-Step Integration Model: Marital Family First, Host Society Second

For most marriage migrants from Vietnam, life as a married woman and as a migrant almost always begins at the same time: the day when they enter the host country and move in with their husbands and marital families. However, at the initial stage, marital families are the most important environment for VMMs to acquire both the knowledge and the language skills needed to start their post-migration life journeys. In addition to adjusting to the social roles as wife and daughter-in-law, typically most VMMs consider giving birth as the most important "duty" after relocating to Taiwan and Korea, as expected by their parents-in-law. In Taiwan,

VMMs had their first child after 1.9 years of marriage, earlier than native-born mothers (2.6 years) and marriage migrants from China (2.2 years) (Yang and Schoonheim 2010). That is to say, most VMMs have to adjust to new social roles as wife, daughter-in-law, and mother shortly after they enter the host societies.

A smooth integration into the marital families is central to VMMs' social integration into the host societies and later, into the local labor markets. Table 5.2 presents the two-stage social integration model and the key characteristics that differentiate VMMs' different levels of social integration into the marital families and the host societies. This model stresses the importance of the sequence of social integration into the marital families before social integration into the host society. Within the marital families, having strong support from both husband and parents-in-law creates expanded space for VMMs to exercise their individual agency (defined as act independently and make free life choices) and extended time to integrate with their new social roles, regardless of their marriage channels. Within the host society, having early exposure to immigrant integration programs and having access to the continuing adult education system are two major ways for VMMs to establish and maintain social relationships with the native population outside the marital families. Both appeared to be critical to the wellbeing and favorable life course trajectories of VMMs.

In the following section, I will use four scenarios to demonstrate different key factors shaping VMMs' integration trajectories. I will also use anecdotes to show how VMMs negotiated their individual agency to achieve better social integration outcomes.

Scenario 1: Successful integration into the host society with marital family's support

Table 5.2 shows some crucial characteristics of VMMs who had a smooth social integration processes compared to those who did not. Without flexible gender arrangement in the marital family, VMMs are less likely to have an early exposure to integration programs and to continue their participation at the adult education system. Scenario one illustrates the importance of marital family's efforts in supporting VMMs to integrate into the host society.

As a highly gendered migrant group coming from a relatively poorer country, VMMs' social pressure comes not only from gendered expectation in the marital families but also from pervasive stereotypes in the host societies. For VMMs with strong support from husbands and parents-in-laws, socialization outside the marital families could be challenging because their immediate neighborhoods may not be as receptive as their marital families. Some VMMs who are welcomed in the marital families say that they were shocked and sometimes angry when they first learned about their neighbors' gendered stereotypes towards them and outdated images about Vietnam. Consequently, establishing significant social relationships outside the marital families implies social acceptance and a new identity with social roles as community members and citizens.

VMMs were able to establish social relationships outside the marital families in Taiwan and Korea through two major channels: immigrant integration programs and the continuous education systems, the adult schools. As both the Taiwanese and Korean governments established immigrant integration programs a few years after the "peak year" of incoming VMMs, early exposure to immigrant integration programs has greatly facilitated VMMs' social integration into the host societies. It is not only because they find some courses provided by migrant centers useful, it is that attending courses regularly is a legitimate "excuse" to take a break from household duties and an opportunity to exchange information with other marriage

migrants and migrant workers. Most important of all, VMMs obtain reliable information from these centers about their social rights and ways to access social services that can protect them.

While immigrant integration programs are designed for immigrants, adult schools offer different sets of courses and professional training that are designed for the native populations. However, because most courses are offered in the evening, continuing participation is challenging because married women have to fulfill family obligations (such as picking up children from schools and preparing for dinner) before attending night schools. When Kim migrated to Taiwan in 1999, there was no immigrant integration program in the township where she lives. She started to attend adult schools after she finished her main duty as a daughter-in-law: giving birth to two sons.

> "I felt more adjusted after I gave birth to two sons and started to attend adult schools at night. I wanted to study and to make friends with both Taiwanese and other marriage migrants. The teacher was very nice. She tried very hard to explain everything to us. I think teachers at night schools are very attentive and responsive, because we were all eager to learn. We all liked her a lot. We told her that we would like to take the drivers' exam for riding motorbike. Nothing was translated into Vietnamese at that time, so the teacher read the manual and explained the meaning page by page, again and again, to prepare us for the exam. My mother-in-law took care of my sons when I went to school at night, sometimes my father-in-law would help, too. My husband is in Vietnam for business most of the time, but my parents-in-law treated me with lots of respect. I have been going to adult school since then." (34 years old, in Taiwan for 12 years, married)

Building mutual trust and gaining support with marital family members allow some VMMs to expand their social lives and enhances their socialization skills in the host societies. In Kim's case, she would not be able to attend adult school continuously without having parents-in-law to take care of her sons. Another VMM, who insisted that she would attend adult schools, had her sister-in-law to take care of her sons, regardless of her husband's disapproval. For some other VMMs who actively sought the opportunity to learn but were not able to do so, common reasons

are the unavailability of childcare or having too many family issues to take care of. For example, a few mentioned that they tried to bring children to class and realized that it would not work.

Compared to VMMs who had some exposure to immigrant integration programs and attended some adult school, those VMMs whose marital families severely monitored their daily activities to "prevent them from escaping" in their early post-migration stages, missed the opportunities to integrate in their early post-migration stages and suffered from social isolation over the years.

Scenario 2: Why gender structure in the marital family matters

Using three VMMs in Taiwan and Korea who were or used to be full-time NGO staffs at the time of interview as an example, the second scenario illustrates how partial support from the marital family—either from only the in-laws or the husband—creates challenging integration processes for VMMs. In general, stronger support from the husband and less from the in-law implies a rather flexible gender structure than the other way around, because most in-laws respect their own sons' view point if the foreign daughter-in-law has been performing the "wife role" well. VMMs with less support from their husbands experience imbalanced marital power dynamics either due to husbands' dominance or lack of attention. This creates worse frustration and accumulative stress, especially in the early stage of social integration when VMMs had no other significant social relationships.

Regardless of whether the transnational couples live with the in-laws, parents-in-law's acceptance and care are symbolic indicators of VMMs' social integration in the marital family. In general, close relationships between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are considered as an important aspect of family relations and the "success" of the daughter-in-law patrilineal societies

like Taiwan and Korea. Duong described the marital relationship with her husband as unsatisfying, but her mother-in-law has been kind and generous. More than a decade has passed, Duong vividly described in detail about how her mother-in-law took care of her during her "sit-in" month after she gave birth to her two sons.

> "My mother-in-law said that she did not receive proper care of during her own sit-in month, so she wanted to take good care of me. It is very important for a woman's health if she can rest and eat very well during that time. She cooked every meal for me, used a special kind of wood to heat the bathing water, and even carried the water from the first floor to the second floor. She said it is ok, I should not climb the stairs." (33 years old, in Taiwan for 14 years, married)

In contrast, San was appreciative of her husband from his appearance to personality throughout our interview. She described that being happily married and having a full-time job as a staff member in a large-scale NGO is due to the efforts of both she and her husband, whom she met through a friend. However, it took her a long time to learn how to get along and meet the demands of her parents-in-law. For example, she needs to prepare different types of foods for her mother-in-law and father-in-law and they never stopped complaining about the taste of the food.

> "My parents-in-law are very picky and still think in very traditional ways. Because of the age gap between my husband and me, my in-laws are the same age like my grandparents in Vietnam. It is impossible to communicate with them. I relied on my husband's support for the past ten years. I have no idea if I would be still here if he had not been supportive. He told me that he never planned to marry his previous Taiwanese girlfriends because he believes no one can handle his parents. He could foresee a divorce with any of his previous girlfriends. That's why he came to Vietnam to look for a wife. He knew that his parents are very difficult, and he knew that I have been very accommodating, so he supported me as much as he could. He encourages me to attend language classes and computer classes, and we share everything, he even likes a kind of Vietnamese food that my parents-in-law always say is poisonous." (31, in Taiwan for 10 years, married)

In general, rigid patriarchal arrangements exist more in Korea in VMMs' marital families than in Taiwan, regardless of the marriage channels. Han, who met her Korean husband through work as a Korean-Vietnamese interpreter in Vietnam, described that she made every effort in

order to have a happy marriage. She arrived in Korea in 2000 after corresponding with her husband through letters for five years. She thought about all the worst case scenarios in Vietnam, but things turned out to be not so bad. Her in-laws were generally kind to her. But, according to her, because Korean couples do not share a lot of feelings and thoughts, even though she was fluent in Korean, it has been very challenging to express herself. She illustrated how she decided to open up to her husband and parents-in-law about her own preference about foods, after keeping everything to herself for several years.

> "I wanted to have Vietnamese foods but my mother-in-law always said the taste is too strong and it does not smell good. I had to follow what she said because I am the daughter-in-law. After several years, when we knew each other better, I decided to communicate with them so that I can have Vietnamese food on the dinner table. I said to them: "Korean food also has very strong taste, I learned to appreciate it and it has been a long time, why don't you try to appreciate Vietnamese foods?" Later, they were fine with having some Vietnamese dishes. Even though I cannot invite my friends to my house with a full table of Vietnamese dishes like some other VMMs, at least I felt better that I spoke for myself after so many years." (42 years old, in Korea for 11.5 years, married)

Scenario 3: When the marital tie breaks: "My life is better without my ex-husband!"

I intentionally recruited VMMs who work for NGOs as well as those who experienced adversity to capture their wide range of social integration experiences. VMMs in scenarios 3 and 4 are those who experienced adversity. Using two different scenarios, I show what characterizes their different life course trajectories and various social integration outcomes. Among the 48 VMMs in the subsample of this chapter, eight were divorcees, three were widowers, and two were separated from their husbands. Of the two VMMs who were separated, one mentioned that she was seriously considering getting a divorce; another was in the process of negotiating a divorce. In scenario 3, I use cases of VMMs who divorced their Taiwanese/Korean husbands yet

remain socially integrated in the host societies to demonstrate the possibilities of positive consequences of transnational marriage migration even when the marital ties break.

Research has indicated that marital unions are less stable among transnational couples than domestic couples in Korea (D. Kim, 2007). In Korea, the intermarriages between Korean husbands and Vietnamese wives had the shortest survival rate compared to others (Y. J. Lee et al., 2006). Because of the imbalanced power relations, maltreatment reported by marriage migrants extends to unique forms of immigration- or integration-related abuse (Merali, 2008; Raj & Silverman, 2002). Some examples include husbands concealing wives' immigration papers so that the wives suffer from constant threats of deportation (Raj & Silverman, 2002). In other cases, husbands may hinder wives' social integration by limiting opportunities to acquire language proficiency (Bui & Morash, 1999). A recent study comparing marriage migrants from China with local women in Hong Kong indicates that younger marriage migrants are more vulnerable because of their limited social network for resources and protection (Choi, Cheung, & Cheung, 2012).

In a similar fashion, VMMs who had filed for a divorce or are fighting for a divorce described experiencing verbal and physical abuse. Through exposure to migrant integration programs or work, one unexpected consequence of establishing trustworthy social relationships with the native populations or with co-ethnic networks is that some VMMs decided to end their marriages. Diep met her husband in Vietnam in a restaurant where she was a waitress. Her husband asked the manager about her and brought a translator along with him when they first had dinner. She did not mind the age gap of 17 years, because she felt like she could have a better life and improve her family's financial situation in Vietnam. The marriage lasted less than three years before she filed for a divorce with the help of a women migrants' center. She won the

custody of her daughter and did not ask for anything from her Korean husband. Diep decided to stay in Korea for her daughter's education because she believes the education system is better in Korea than in Vietnam. She works for a car component factory and raises her daughter on a small income.

> "After the marriage, my husband wanted me to stay at home, he didn't want me to go out, or if I wanted, he would drive me there and wait to take me home afterwards. I didn't know anyone, couldn't talk to anyone either. The house somehow was like a prison. There was grass in front of the house, our home was like a villa, but I had to ask for his permission to go out, otherwise I couldn't go anywhere. ……My husband started to hit me after he had an affair with another woman. Each time I would call to the Women's Center, and they would set up a reconciliation appointment for us. At first, I didn't want to divorce because of our daughter. But when I heard him saying that because he was rich, he married me so I would be his servant, I couldn't stand it, I didn't have any feelings for him anymore. I decided to get a divorce." *(31 years old, in Korea for 8 years, divorced after 3 years of marriage)*

Diep was in total isolation and had to rely on her husband for everything. She never met any of her husband's relatives and always wished that she had parents-in-law and siblings-in-law so that she would not have been so lonely. In addition to physical abuse, as in other non-transnational marriages, reasons such as husbands' extreme neglect, being irresponsible about family obligations, and the lack of consensus about fertility decisions also led to divorce among both Taiwanese/Korean VMMs. Hong, who speaks extremely fluent Chinese and dresses fashionably, works for a broker agency that facilitates the recruitment of Vietnamese migrant workers to Taiwan, recalled her decision to end her marriage.

> "We had very serious communication problems for a long time. He refused to communicate. That year I had a major operation, I could get paralyzed if things did not go well. He came to the hospital to sign the inform consent before the operation, but never came to visit me during the month when I was hospitalized. I realized that I did not want this unhappy marriage anymore. I have no regret that I came to Taiwan because of our marriage, but I think my life is better without my ex-husband. I have a job with enough income and an active social network comprised of both Taiwanese friends and Vietnamese friends." (30 years old, in Taiwan for 10 years, divorced)

In summary, the pursuit of a good life among VMMs involved different combinations of marriage and migration outcomes: whether they have a good marriage and a good life, a failed (first) marriage but a better life, or a failed marriage and a life of struggle. For those who experienced a smooth social integration into their marital families, husbands and in-laws provide a solid foundation for them to explore opportunities to further integrate into the host societies. For those whose transnational marriages failed but have been able to integrate into the host societies through employment or social networks, they have gained increased autonomy and advancement in various life prospects that were not available for them in Vietnam. Many of the VMMs married and migrated at a fairly young age. If their "first attempt" in transnational marriages failed, they are still in their late 20s or early 30s – which enables them to still pursue a desirable marriage and family life.

Scenario 4: The importance of social protection and welfare resources

In scenario 4, I emphasize the importance of a functioning social welfare system that can provide protection for marriage migrants. I illustrate this importance with stories of divorcees who are not well-integrated, widowers, and VMMs I interviewed in one women's shelter in Korea, who were separated from their Korean husbands. Some shared experiences of these VMMs include (1) they met their husbands through illegal brokers without honest information about their husbands' backgrounds; (2) they were never accepted by the parents-in-law; (3) they did not have the opportunity to establish social relationships with co-ethnics or the native populations until they were divorcing or being severely abused; (4) they tolerated their husbands' abuse, just like other married women who stayed in abusive relationships, either for their children or they believed their husbands' apologies.

VMMs in this scenario are the most vulnerable group not only because they grew up in resource-deprived natal families, but also because they went to untrustworthy brokers and married Taiwanese/Korean husbands who did not value them. Several of these VMMs' husbands are either drug addicts or gamblers, and many of them were abusive. Binh, who was still fighting with her husband for custody of her daughter at the time of interview, had to invite her mother from Vietnam to support her emotionally. When Binh stayed in migrant women's shelter after her husband severely beat her, her husband destroyed her passport and resident visa, and reported to the police that she was no longer in Korea, which seriously delayed her process of getting citizenship and her chances of winning the custody of her daughter. Without Korean citizenship and sufficient language proficiency, Binh had not been able to find a part-time job in the manufacture-concentrated local labor market, "I have to borrow money from others to afford the taxi fee to visit my daughter every other week."

From 2006 to 2008, five VMMs were murdered by their husbands in Korea. The VMM who was murdered in 2010 by her husband had stayed in women's shelter several times before the tragedy happened. Similar cases of extreme abuse and maltreatment also took place in Taiwan in early 2000s. In contemporary East Asia, some men, especially those from the lower strata of these societies, still hold the traditional view that wives are men's "property," or a husband has the right to beat his wife as a way to "teach her a lesson" (C. S. K. Tang, 1999). Compared to marriages within the native populations, a functioning social welfare system--which can provide protection and early intervention in abusive marriages--is especially needed for marriage migrants.

C. Does Destination Matter?

The structural factors that drive VMMs to Taiwan and Korea include demographic transitions in the receiving societies, the proliferation of the migration industry in Vietnam, and regional economic inequalities within Asia. In addition, I have demonstrated that different combinations of gendered rationales—privileges, constraints and disadvantages—have motivated individual VMM to choose a transnational marriage and migrate to Taiwan or Korea. Indeed, the emigration of VMMs to Taiwan and Korea seems to have more similarities than differences. However, the social integration processes differ at least for three reasons: (1) the differences in each society's manner of organizing migration, which affects how VMMs of different socioeconomic backgrounds migrate to in Taiwan versus Korea, (2) the gender systems, especially the rigidity of gendered expectation for married women in the Taiwanese vs. Korean society; and (3) the Taiwanese vs. Korean governments' differential approaches to the development of immigration and immigrant integration policies.

As described in the section on study contexts, the first wave of VMMs arrived at Taiwan in early 1990s because of Taiwanese government's "Go-South" economic initiatives. Even though the peak-year of incoming VMMs to Taiwan (in 2001) and to Korea (in 2006) were both comprised mostly of broker-introduced transnational marriages, those who subsequently decided to go to Taiwan had a larger existing co-ethnic network compared to those in Korea. Furthermore, before the peak-year of 2001 in Taiwan, it has been almost a decade that VMMs who met Taiwanese husbands through personal encounters gradually arrived in Taiwan. Yet in Korea, it was not until 2003 that there were 1,402 VMMs, implying that VMMs who arrived before the peak year (10,128 VMMs were in Korean in 2006) had rather limited co-ethnic network, and that Korean society as a whole had little prior interaction with them. Such contrast can potentially explain why VMMs in Taiwan found it easier to integrate than those in Korea.

Research has documented that a significant proportion of small-scale marriage broker agencies are operated by VMMs themselves in Taiwan (H.Z. Wang & Chang, 2002), but not in Korea. Several of my interviewees in Taiwan followed their older sisters or cousins to Taiwan (by marrying a Taiwanese man) or they themselves have introduced Taiwanese men to their younger sisters or cousins. When these newer VMMs migrate, they enter a reliable, existing co-ethnic social network. Some of the more recent VMMs traveled to Taiwan with another "fellow VMM," who was from the same natal village, took the same flight, and both reside in the same township in Taiwan.

> "My friend from my village not only came to Taiwan with me on the same flight, we even went back to Vietnam together after six months.[2] I am really lucky that I was never alone in the process." (32 years old, in Taiwan for 12 years, married)

Han, whose sister had already married a Taiwanese man and resided in another city, met her Taiwanese fisherman husband through a marriage broker, described that she had fellow VMM who accompanied her throughout the entire process of transnational marriage migration. In addition, more VMMs who are ethnic Chinese chose to migrate to Taiwan because of their ethnic origins. They may not speak fluent Mandarin Chinese prior to migration, but VMMs who are ethnic Chinese found that they share a larger degree of cultural affinity with Taiwanese compared to those who are not ethnic Chinese. Therefore, this subgroup has experienced a smoother social integration process both into the marital families and into the Taiwanese society.

The second distinction that characterizes VMMs' social integration in Taiwan versus Korea is the difference in the Taiwanese and Korean gender systems. As noted, Taiwan has a more equitable gender system that offers women higher social status, more social rights, and more flexible social roles. As VMMs increase their social exposure outside the marital families, they

[2] The mandatory return visit required by the Taiwanese government.

gradually adapt prevalent gender role ideologies granting women more equal treatment (for most of the cases in Taiwan), or ideologies that are discriminatory and demote women into a subordinate position (for some cases in Korea). Similarly, within VMMs' marital families, patriarchal gender arrangements are more flexible in Taiwan than in Korea. The "bride deficit phenomenon" in East Asia is a consequence of the conflict between social advancement of women and traditional gender roles that marital families expect their daughters-in-law to fulfill. While both Korean men and Taiwanese men are motivated by similar reasons to marry VMMs, the rigidity of gendered expectation from the marital families varies, as illustrated in figures 2 and 3. In Korea, VMMs have heard that VMMs in Taiwan in general are doing better through the Vietnamese news on the Internet and from radio stations. In Taiwan, whenever I mentioned interviewing VMMs in Korea, the first response would be: "How are they doing? I heard that VMMs have a hard time in Korea because Korean husbands and in-laws are very strict. When I visited Vietnam, my parents would tell me how many of VMMs in Korea have returned to the village after being maltreated. Is it true? If so, perhaps I have made a better choice that I came to Taiwan."

Several types of organizations provide social services and offer immigrant integration programs. VMMs who have been exposed to feminist organizations are more aware of their social rights. They have benefited from the supportive and empowering environments in these feminist organizations. In relatively homogeneous and close-knit societies like Taiwan and Korea, VMMs navigate the host society gender systems through observing the gender relations in their residential neighborhoods, and the ways how the mass media portray women's social and political roles. Through this process, they simultaneously discern what the "conventional" marital power dynamics are and how native-born wives are being treated at home. By knowing

the social rights and laws that protect them, VMMs can increase their negotiation power with their husbands and demand for equal treatment "like the wife of our neighbor." Anh, who attended the first social integration program organized by feminists and activists in Taipei County, talked about her observation on gender in Vietnam and Taiwan.

> "I think men and women are more equal in Taiwan compared to Vietnam. I have seen domestic violence on both sides, but the laws protect women better here in Taiwan. In Vietnam, usually a group of people in the community would gather and comfort the battered wife, and ask her to forgive her husband. The social norm is that women have to keep adjusting to men's behavior in Vietnam." (32 years old, in Taiwan for 10 years, married)

In addition to distinguishing between the gender egalitarian norms in their native communities in Vietnam and in the host societies, some VMMs also raised the issues of whether gender role ideologies in the host societies apply to transnational marriage migrants and the complexities of power dynamics when the in-laws are involved.

> "I think the marriages between native Taiwanese are more equal than marriages between Taiwanese husbands and foreign wives. If our marital families do not treat us like their own family members, the rules among native couples will not apply to us. Right now, there are 450,000 of us in Taiwan, how many of us got similar treatment at home like you (referring to the author/the interviewer who is a native Taiwanese)? How many? How many?" (25 years old, in Taiwan for 2.5 years, married)

> "I think women in Vietnam have more social rights either inside the family or in society than Korea. Vietnamese men help their wives and other family members also share some house chores. But here in Korea it is almost never the case, at least not for me. Of course I know some Korean men who help their wives but there are just a few. Especially when the couple lives with the parents-in-law, there is no way for the son to help. If he volunteers to help, his parents get angry and later they will give the daughter-in-law a hard time." (32 years old, in Korea for 5.5 years, married)

None of the VMMs that I interviewed in Taiwan claim that men and women are more equal in Vietnam than Taiwan regardless of their own education level and whether they were married into rural or urban areas; yet there are mixed responses in Korea. For VMMs who experienced gender-based violence or who decided to marry abroad because they did not aspire to marriages

in Vietnam, they were looking for more mutual respect in transnational marriages. However, when some VMMs experienced the rigidity of patriarchal arrangements in Korea, they were extremely disappointed. They came to realize that their efforts in tolerating unequal treatment were not being recognized by Korean marital family members. According to their in-laws or officers in the migration centers, "this is the way that women or daughter-in-laws are supposed to behave in our society."

The third major distinction between Taiwan and Korea is differences in the governments' attitudes toward marriage migrants. Based on the national surveys targeting marriage migrants, the literature has indicated some commonalities between the attitudes of Taiwanese and Korean governments (Belanger, Wang, and Lee, 2011). However, from the naming and framing of the immigrant integration programs, the Korean government tends to view marriage migrants as part of the marital families, while Taiwanese government focuses on their needs as individuals who are new citizens. In South Korea, government-funded immigrant centers are called "Center for healthy multicultural families" or "Multicultural family support center"; while those in Taiwan are called "Community Center for New Immigrants" or "Immigrant Women and Family Service Center."

When I asked VMMs for their viewpoints on the current immigrant integration programs and social services provided by the governments, most VMMs in Taiwan would suggest adding services in finding paid employment[3] and they are appreciative of the government's efforts over the last decade. Those who arrived before 2003 (the first year of the 10-year long "Grand Plan") said that they wished they had had these social services and immigrant integration programs at

[3] A job search site designed for immigrants in Taiwan has been launched by the National Immigration Agency in January, 2013. See: http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aall/201301110016.aspx

the time of their arrival. Interviewees in Korea had more to say when it comes to their views on immigrant integration programs and what social services are needed from them. A majority mentioned that they do not have time to attend the classes because of family chores and they also know many other VMMs whose marital families highly restrict their daily activities. Huong, who had just become a full-time staff in a women's organization (which was established in 2005 and has become the major advocacy organization for marriage migrants), expressed her views on the immigrant integration programs:

> "I think the courses designed for marriage migrants only focus on the operation of Korean families. For example, there are classes about how to cook Korean cuisine, Korean family values, and the Korean etiquette that Korean women should know especially for a Korean wife or daughter-in-law." (26 years old, in Korea for 5 years, married)

V. DISCUSSION

This chapter advances the scholarly understanding on the diverse patterns and nuanced processes of social integration of transnational marriage migrants by using a multilayered multilevel analysis to illustrate the complexity of factors involved in how, and to what degree VMMs' integrate over time with their multiple social roles and into the specific contexts of their host society. Empirical sociological studies involving VMMs' post-migration adaptation experiences in Taiwan and Korea tend to focus on just one analytic level. The major focus has been on their gendered interaction and adjustment within the marital families (Chung & Yoo, 2013; W.-h. A. Tang & Wang, 2011; H.Z. Wang, 2007); on their ethnicized[4] interactions with nation-states (H. M. Kim, 2007; Tsai, 2011; H.Z. Wang & Belanger, 2008); and on the links

[4] Here I use the term "ethnicized interaction" to refer to research focusing on how the nation-states use differential treatment to marriage migrants of different ethnicities, the assumptions that these governments hold when making different policies toward marriage migrants with different ethnicities, as well as the political implications of the interactions between governments and marriage migrants.

between their socioeconomic status and migration outcomes (H.Z. Wang, 2011). Using different components in the double transition of marriage migration framework and two-stage social integration model identified in this chapter, I show that VMMs' social integration into marital family is critical in shaping upward post-migration life trajectories, and social integration into the host society are essential for marriage migrants' wellbeing when their marital families fail to support them.

In addition to describing VMMs' heterogeneity and their diverse post-migration experience in Taiwan and Korea, this chapter contributes to two relevant, yet different, literatures on immigrant integration and on social integration. The former focuses on how migrants are incorporated socially, economically, and culturally into the host society because of their racial/ethnic differences as opposed to the mainstream society (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003); the later emphasizes whether and how individual's participation in their social roles creates senses of belonging (a form of conventional membership) to community and institutions (Brissette, Cohen, & Seeman, 2000) . As a migrant group, VMMs' legitimate social roles as new citizens and the mothers of "new Taiwanese"[5] and "Kosians"[6] provide them a unique opportunity to establish significant social relationships with marital family members and community members. As the largest and most visible migrant group without ethnic ties, VMMs' social integration into Taiwan and Korea reflects a mutual acceptance between these two nation-states and the collective community composed of VMMs and other Vietnamese in Taiwan and Korea. In other words, VMMs' social roles as wives and daughters-in-law allow them to participate in the institutions of marriage and family, which create their sense of belonging to the marital family and their

[5] The term that Taiwanese government once used to refer to children born of Taiwanese fathers and foreign-born mothers from China and Southeast Asia

[6] The term that Korean governments used to refer to children born of Korean fathers and foreign-born mothers from other Asian countries.

residential community. Furthermore, VMMs' social integration into the host societies also brings about further possibilities of economic integration into the labor markets and the potential for upward mobility of their bi-ethnic children.

VMMs in Korea seem to have encountered more challenges in their post-migration adjustment than those in Taiwan, mostly because of Korea's more gender restrictive social, cultural, and political environments. One important aspect that contributes to the social integration of VMMs in Taiwan and to a lesser degree for VMMs in Korea is that they have benefitted from a more equal gender role ideologies and advanced social rights than their native communities in Vietnam. In this regard, the case of VMMs in Taiwan gives new definition to "upward social mobility" that is rarely recognized in the gender and migration literature: "marrying up" in the context of a more equitable gender system, rather than "marrying up" economically to countries with a higher GDP.

Differences in gender equality between Taiwan and Korea are revealed in several gender-related indices released by the United Nations. According to the Gender Empowerment Measure[7] (GEM) published in the Human Development Report 2007/2008, Taiwan and South Korea ranked 19th and 65th respectively, while Vietnam ranked 53 (Watkins, 2007). A more recent indicator, the Gender Inequality Index (GII), captures two more aspects of women's wellbeing other than empowerment: reproductive health and labor market participation (Klugman, 2011). Due to the advanced healthcare systems and labor market structures, Taiwan and Korea ranked the 4th and 12th place respectively among 146 countries, while Vietnam ranked 59th. However, according to the latest Global Gender Gap Report that specifically examined the gaps between

[7] The GEM considers women's relative economic income, participations in high-paying positions, and access to professional and parliamentary positions.

men and women in each country, Korea ranked 108 among 135 countries, while Vietnam had a better ranking at the 66th place (Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2012). These gender-related rankings imply that VMMs who have migrated to Korea have, in fact, "married down" to a destination where gender inequalities are more severe than their home country.

Feminist migration scholars have paid increasing attention to the developmental potential that transnational migration brings to migration flows that are composed primarily of women (M. Asis et al., 2010). As illustrated in this chapter, VMMs who achieved upward life trajectories especially those married through commercial brokers serve as an example of how women migrants can achieve autonomy and life advancement through transnational migration. VMMs' unique experiences not only distinguish themselves from live-in domestics in East Asia, but also from other women who migrate for family reunification. The daily activities for live-in domestics are largely confined to the households of employers; current immigration laws in East Asian countries do not grant domestic workers citizenship. For many women who migrate for family reunification, their family roles prevent them from directly seeking integration opportunities in the destination countries, including women who migrate to join their husbands (of the same country of origin) or who migrate for children's education while their husbands remain in the sending countries.

One major policy implication of this chapter would be for Korea to learn from the experience of Taiwan's efforts to integrate women migrants who enter their country as marriage migrants. The Taiwanese experience is 10 years longer than Korea's, and they have developed more inclusive policies and social welfare systems while valuing marriage migrants' contributions to their marital families and the Taiwanese society. Relatively speaking, Korea has a stronger sense of ethnic cultural identity compared to Taiwan (Douglass, 2011). Furthermore,

several dimensions of the Korean patriarchy remain rigid and persistent across generations compared to the Taiwanese patriarchy (Brinton, 2001). Policies reflect the culture of the society, so such differences would be difficult to change if other aspects of women's rights in Korea do not also change.

Immigrant integration programs at both pre-and post-migration stages —targeting marriage migrants, both the natal and marital families, and the general populations in the receiving societies—could prevent some of these (already socially and economically) fragile families from falling apart. In his study on migration and integration policy in Japan, Kibe (2011) argues that successful social integration for migrants include two dimensions: first, how well migrants are integrated into the host society and second, how well they integrate into its welfare system (Kibe, 2011). Taiwan and Korea both have universal healthcare systems and most VMMs are still young, so the issues of social integration into the welfare systems are less urgent, yet important. As VMMs and their families enter later life stages, more social policies and intervention programs will be needed to enhance the health and wellbeing VMMs and their children.

Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation of this study is the small sample size from convenience sampling. Yet because I oversampled VMMs who work or volunteer for NGOs/NPOs that serve other VMMs, these VMMs have extensive experience with countless VMMs over the years and are familiar with region-specific social issues and context-specific VMM family issues. A second limitation is the different sample sizes between Taiwan (N=32) and Korea (N=16). One of the reasons for this difference is that there are more VMMs in Taiwan and South Korea. In addition, because the majority of VMMs in Taiwan arrived five years earlier than the majority VMMs in Korea (in

the year of 2001 versus in 2006), VMMs with a longer length of stay in Taiwan have entered a different post-migration life stage. Thus their experiences allowed me to explore how they socially integrate into the Taiwanese society. In other words, VMMs in Taiwan are one step further in their post-migration life stages as well as in their family life cycles. I do not anticipate that having a smaller sample size of VMMs in Korea affects the results significantly because VMMs in Korea are not as heterogeneous as those in Taiwan. I intend to conduct a follow-up fieldwork in 2016 in Korea to investigate VMMs' post-migration experiences after the majority has migrated for 10 years and has entered the same family life cycles as those in Taiwan in 2012.

To capture the social consequences of transnational marriage migration fully, it is important to examine a less-studied aspect of marriage migration: the transnational connections between VMMs and their natal families. Future research should elaborate on VMMs' social role as "transnational daughters" after they migrate to Taiwan and Korea. A recent study illustrates how VMMs in the United States feel obliged to send money back home because of their roles as "transnational daughters" who reside in the U.S., although traditional Vietnamese kinship practices do not expect married daughters to show filial piety through monetary support (Thai, 2012). Compared to VMMs in the U.S., VMMs in East Asia remain in societies with similar cultural practices of kinship and are also geographically closer to Vietnam. In fact, direct flights between major cities in Taiwan and Can Tho City, close to where a majority of VMMs' home communities are located, have been established to facilitate mutual visits between VMMs and their natal families, especially during Lunar New Year vacations. In Korea, VMMs reported less frequent visits due to more expensive airfare and such attempts have received frequent disapproval from Korean husbands and in-laws. Further research examining VMMs'

transnational engagement with natal families in Vietnam will build the scholarly knowledge about this unique migrant population further.

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Table 5.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of subsample, Vietnamese Marriage Migrants in Taiwan and Korea

	Taiwan	South Korea	All sample
N	32	16	48
mean age (min-max)	33 (24-63)	29.1 (22-42)	31.7 (22-63)
high school education and above	59%	63%	61%
married through brokers	38%	44%	40%
divorced, widowed, or separated	22%	25%	23%
mean length of stay (min-max)	10.2 (1-20)	5.6 (2.5-11.5)	8.7 (1-20)
from urban Vietnam	38%	18%	31%
ethnic Chinese	22%	6%	16%
reside in urban Taiwan/Korea	38%	13%	30%

Figure 5.1 The “Double Transition of Marriage Migration” Framework

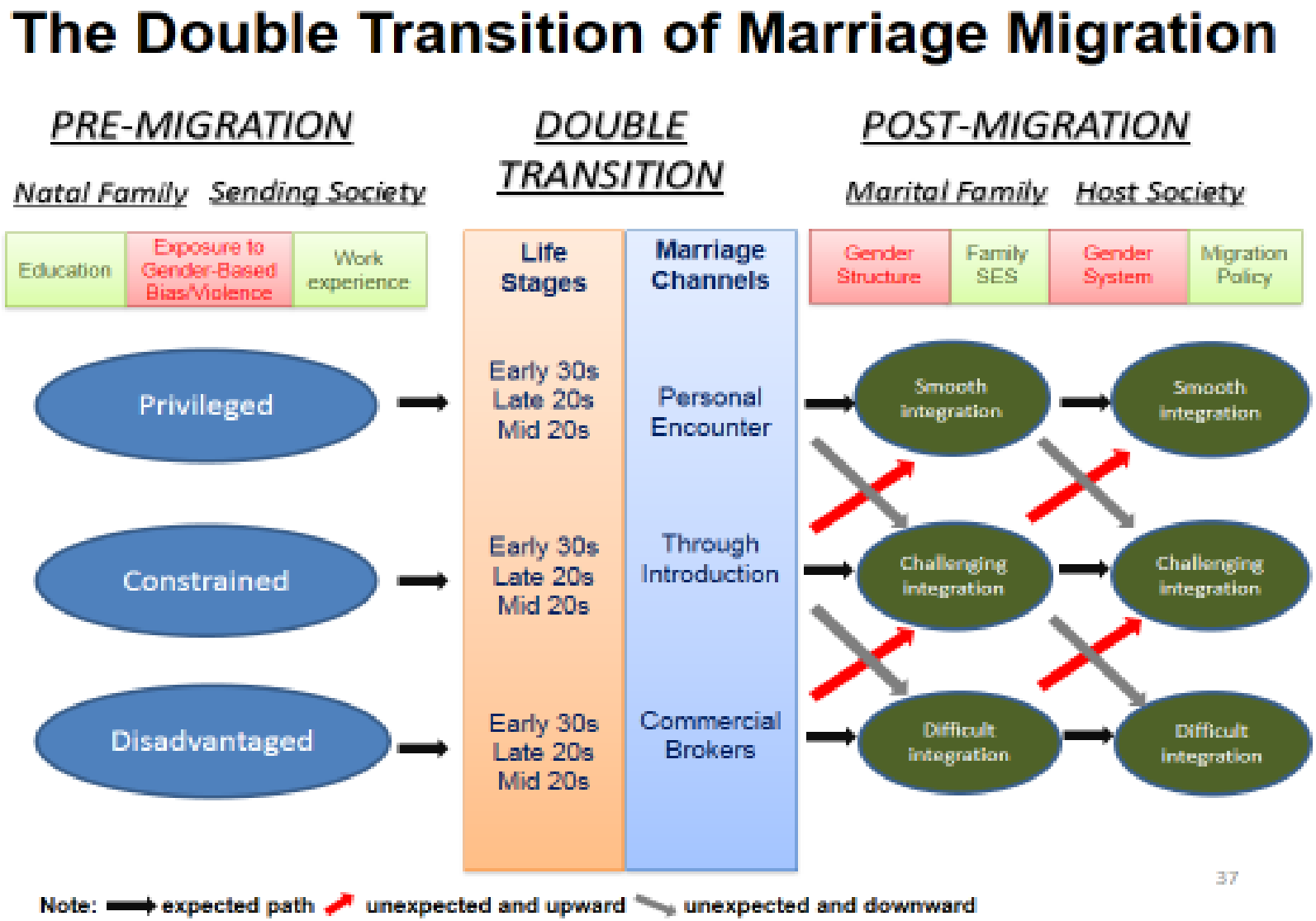

Figure 5.2 Double Transition of Marriage migration: Vietnamese Marriage Migrants to Taiwan

				Double Transition				
Pre-marriage/pre-migration stage				marriage and migration		Post marriage/post-migration stage		
Rationale*	Exposure to gender bias	Education experience	Work experience	Life course stage	Marriage channel	Marital family social status	Marital family gender attitudes	Integration** experience
A	None	College	A lot	Early 30s	Personal encounter	High	Flexible	X
A			Some	Late 20s				X
A &B	Low	HS	Little	Early 20s		Middle	Indifferent	Y
B		HS	Some		Through introduction	Middle	Flexible	X
B	Medium		Little	Early 20s				Y
B &C		Junior	None			Low	Rigid	Z
B&C	Medium	Junior	A lot	Mid-20s	Commercial brokers	High	Flexible	X
C			Some	Early-20s				Y
C	High	Primary school	Little	Late teens		Low	Very rigid (and discriminatory)	Z

*Gendered rationales in choosing a transnational marriage: A: privileged; B: constrained; C: disadvantaged

**Social integration experiences: X: smooth; Y: challenging; Z: difficult

Figure 5.3. Double Transition of Marriage migration: Vietnamese Marriage Migrants to Korea

Pre-marriage/pre-migration stage				Double Transition marriage and migration		Post marriage/post-migration stage		
Rationale*	Exposure to gender bias	Education experience	Work experience	Life course stage	Marriage channel	Marital family social status	Marital family gender attitudes	Integration** experience
A	None	College	A lot	Late 20s	Personal encounter	High	Open	X
A			Some				Indifferent	Y
A &B	Low	HS	Little	Early 20s		Middle	Rigid	Y
B			Some	Mid- 20s	Through introduction	Middle	Indifferent	Y
B	Medium	HS	Little				Rigid	Z
B &C			None	Early 20s		Low	Very rigid	Z
B&C	Medium	Junior	A lot	Mid-20s	Commercial brokers	High	Open	Y
C			Some	Early-20s			Rigid	Z
C	High	Primary and below	Little	Late teens		Low	Very rigid (and discriminatory)	Z

*Gendered rationales in choosing a transnational marriage: A: privileged; B: constrained; C: disadvantaged

**Social integration experiences: X: smooth; Y: challenging; Z: difficult

Table 5.2 Two-Stage Social Integration Model

Step 1	**Social Integration into the marital family**			
Key characteristics of integration processes	Smooth	Challenging		Difficult
Support from husband	Strong	Strong	Low	Low
Support from in-laws	Strong	Low	Strong	Low
Gender structure at home	Highly flexible	Flexible	Less flexible	Rigid
Level of individual agency	High	Medium		Low
Step 2	**Social Integration into the host society**			
Key characteristics of integration processes	Smooth	Challenging		Difficult
Exposure to integration programs	Early exposure	Late exposure		No exposure
Attended adult schools	Continuous	Stopped because of child care		Never
Social lives with native population	Active and significant	Mostly restricted to family members		Few or none
Perceived gaps in gender norm	Improved	Similar		Worsen

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Integrated Conclusions

This dissertation uses social survey and in-depth interviews to understand how transnational marriage and gendered migration affect the wellbeing of Asian women migrants, the intra-Asia marriage migration flows to Taiwan and Korea. I found that gender dynamics, socioeconomic status, and social integration are three key and interconnected determinants of marriage migrants' health and wellbeing.

Specifically, marital power dynamics between marriage migrants and their husbands have a direct effect on marriage migrants' self-rated health, life satisfaction, and views on marriage migration; marriage migrants' exposure to gender-based bias affects their propensity to marry across borders through different channels, while the flexibility of gender structure in the marital families is critical in marriage migrants' double transition of becoming married women and of becoming migrants.

Relatively speaking, post-migration socioeconomic status is more important to marriage migrants' wellbeing than pre-migration socioeconomic status. When comparing different measures of socioeconomic status, the social standing of marital families is more important than the education of their husbands to marriage migrants' self-rated health and life satisfaction. Even though the social standing of natal families reveals little effect on marriage migrants' post-migration health, marriage migrants' own education has a reversed effect on how they view and value the experience of marriage migration.

In terms of the various dimensions of social integration, social relationships with the native populations affect marriage migrants' health in a positive way, yet social relationships with co-

ethnics turn out to influence their health negatively. Overall, marriage migrants' gendered social roles—as wives, daughters-in-law, and mothers—in the marital families allow them to better negotiate their individual agency. The sense of belonging gained through participating in these family roles serves as a strong foundation for marriage migrants to further integrate into the host societies as migrant groups through participating in social roles as community members and citizens.

By using multiple measures of gender dynamics, socioeconomic status, and social integration, I showed both (1) the quantitative significance of these factors to the health and wellbeing of marriage migrants from different Asian ethnicities/countries of origin in South Korea, and (2) the qualitative importance of these factors in shaping the life trajectories of Vietnamese marriage migrants in Taiwan and South Korea who met their husbands through different marriage channels at different stages of their lives.

As two new immigrant destinations currently experiencing demographic transitions, the Confucian traditions in Taiwan and South Korea have a profound influence on the marriage and family lives of marriage migrants. On the positive side, some supportive husbands and in-laws have provided flexible family arrangements and hold less rigid gender role ideologies. Along with shared cultural affinity within the Asian region such as cohesive family values, these factors have greatly facilitated the social integration of marriage migrants who come from rather privileged natal families as well as those who have a humble family background.

However, in some marital families in Taiwan and many marital families in South Korea, patriarchal family arrangements and rigid gender role ideologies prohibit marriage migrants from exercising their individual agency. Under such circumstances, marriage migrants are constrained by the obligations of multiple family roles rather than participating and integrating into these

family roles. Failing to integrate into the marital families during the first few post-migration years stagnates marriage migrants' further integration into the host societies and affects their wellbeing trajectories in the long run.

6.2 Overall Implications

This dissertation illustrates the East Asia-specific form of ethnic intermarriage involving transnational migration in the contexts of demographic shifts and social change within Asia. On the one hand, it offers marriage migrants the opportunity for upward social and spatial mobility; on the other hand, it offers the marital families a "solution" to continue their family line. The specific findings in three empirical chapters and the integrated conclusions inform social policy and welfare programs in several ways.

First of all, the early stage of post-migration----when marriage migrants' double transition take place---is critical in shaping marriage migrants' patterns of social integration as well as their life trajectories. Migrant integration policy in the receiving countries should involve husbands and members of the marital family; policy makers should design compulsory courses that can inform marital families on marriage migrants' human rights, increase marital families' cultural sensitivities, and should make relevant resources available in the community centers. Courses targeting marital families should be incorporated as part of marriage policy and ideally should be completed before marriage migrants' arrive. Similarly, marriage migrants' social integration courses should start before they migrate. Pre-migration workshops held in the sending countries should include laws in the receiving countries that protect marriage migrants and welfare resources that they can utilize after they migrate. The processes of spouse visa application and

ways and timing to apply for citizenship should also be made clear at marriage migrants' pre-migration stage.

Second, targeting marriage migrants who did not have the opportunity to receive secondary education (for example, many marriage migrants from Vietnam and Cambodia), governments in the receiving countries should make extra efforts to encourage them to continue their education in the adult education system through providing subsides. Marital families should be educated to know that marriage migrants' literacy level will influence their children's development as well. In addition to the education received, the adult education system provides an opportunity for marriage migrants and the native population to interact and establish social relationships. After secondary education, local governments can provide subsequent vocational training through special programs that will meet the needs of the receiving societies. For example, as Taiwanese and Korean governments are on their way to design long-term care systems for the elderly, they can recruit marriage migrants as part of the long-term care workforce.

Third, as illustrated in chapter 3, marriage migrants' health deteriorates as they stay longer in South Korea after controlling for other factors. Considering that most marriage migrants come from less-developed countries or poorer regions in the transitional economics, they may have different experiences of adequate dietary nutritional and views on the effects of under-the-table medicine. Social integration programs in their early post-migration stage should include courses that can increase their health literacy and ensure they know how to access to the healthcare systems. Healthcare systems in receiving societies should not only increase the cultural competency of health practitioners but also should address the health concerns of marriage migrants who arrived earlier than the majority such as Korean-Chinese in Korea and some VMMs in Taiwan who are entering their mid-life stage. Last but not least, promoting more

flexible gender role ideologies and family-friendly (women-friendly) social policies in East Asia will increase the wellbeing of native women and especially marriage migrants.

6.3 Future Research Directions

According to the immigrant integration literature, the three major aspects of integration are social integration, cultural integration, and economic integration. For marriage migrants who are "inserted" into marital families in the host societies, they have plenty of opportunity to expose to local culture and customs for cultural integration. However, as their children grew up, many of them are eager to enter the domestic labor markets for economic integration, what kind of paid work could they find in the already gendered segregated labor markets? How can the receiving societies accommodate the employment needs of marriage migrants from different countries of origin? Would they achieve economic integration through informal sector and ethnic economies? What are the social and health consequences of their economic integration? One important theoretical question would be whether marriage migrants' labor market participation trajectories will converge to those of native Taiwanese/Korean women if they have similar levels of education or vocational training, or they will be further segregated by their ethnicities and foreign-born status?

The second interesting research direction should focus on the second generations of these bi-ethnic/transnational families. Issues worth of further investigation include their education achievement, employment trajectories, transnational connections with their mothers' country of origin, and most interestingly, the gender differences in their marital prospect in East Asian societies where sex ratios at birth are considerably skewed since mid- 1990s.