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ARTICLES

Intermarriage Migration and Transnationalism: Filipina Wives in South Korea*

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Ⅰ. Introduction

This study aims to explain the causes of the transnational behaviors of Philippine women who married Korean men to settle down in Korea from the institutional aspects of society, market and state in the era of globalization. It attempts to focus on one aspect of the 'Southeast Asian Phenomenon'[1] that appear as intermarriage migration in Korea. This has a meaning to consider the long-term effects of Southeast Asian immigrant women through intermarriage and their families on Korean society. Immigrants' arrival and the context of the early stage of integration have a decisive effect on their own future and their child's life (Portes and Macleod 1996). Therefore, it is necessary to establish proper policies through a study more detailed than the present, with regard to the early stage of the immigration phenomenon

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1) 'Southeast Asian Phenomenon' is not a concept clearly defined from an academic perspective. It refers to Southeast Asian social and cultural influence which becomes visualized in Korean society.

in Korea.

The main focus of this study is Philippine immigrant women who married Korean men to settle down in Korea. They started to marry Korean men to settle down in Korea through religious connections since the 1980s. They have increasingly immigrated through intermarriages in the 2000s. According to statistics presented by the Korean Immigration Service, the number of Philippine immigrant women who lived in Korea through intermarriage at the end of 2009 was 6,157, taking the third place following China (55,874) and Vietnam (30,014). In the case of Japanese, Mongolian and Chinese spouses (including Korean Chinese) who make up the majority of intermarriages in Korea, the issue of intermarriage does not seriously stand out because of the similarity in outward appearance between Koreans and them. On the other hand, in the case of Southeast Asian women from Vietnam or the Philippines, intermarriages are highly magnified because of a slight difference in outward appearance between Koreans and them. There is a long tradition of and many different routes to intermarriage in the Philippines. A study on Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage has an important function from a theoretical perspective as a comparative case study because it can examine the differences between the previous trends of intermarriages with Westerners and the recent trends of intermarriages with East Asians.

The intermarriage migration of Southeast Asian women who consider Japan, Taiwan, and Korea to be their destination countries is an unusual type of immigration which appears in East Asia. In particular, it has attracted theoretical and political attention in that it has a great deal of influence on social transformation in the destination countries. There are many different studies on intermarriage migration in progress which is in itself a reflection of this interest. Many studies are under way in many different fields in the Korean academic world. There are some studies which introduced intermarriage cases that

Japan and Taiwan had previously experienced, similar to the intermarriage phenomenon now being experienced by Korea (Hwang, DG 1993, 2006; Kim, YT & Seol, DH 2005; Park, DS 2008), There are also studies on the causes and ways to immigrate to Korea through intermarriage (Kim, HJ 2007; Kim, HM et al. 2008) and on the awareness and responses of Korean society to intermarriages between Southeast Asian women and Korean men (Im, HB 2007; Kim, JR 2008; Kim, SJ & Kim, EI 2008; Kim, GS & Jang, YJ 2009). However, mainstream research on intermarriage migration in the Korean academic world are studies that identified many different problems which appeared in the process that immigrant women through intermarriage adapting to Korean society and presented policy implications based on that process (Yun, HS 2005; Kim, MJ et al. 2006; Kim, ON 2006; Kim, IS et al. 2006; Chae, OH & Hong, DG 2006; Han, GS 2006; Kim, MJ 2007; Kim, HJ & Eun, SK 2007; Park, JH & Jung, JK 2007; Seol, DH & Yun, HS 2008; and Nam, IS & Jang, HS 2009). As second-generation of intermarriage couple reach school-age and their school and society adaptation problems started to become a social issue, there are a number of studies in progress (Jeong, EH 2004; Kim, GS 2006; Kim, MJ 2008; Lee, CH 2008; Choi, HS 2009). A large number of theses and dissertations on intermarriage have been published. All the things reflect the size and the scope of interest in this field and much more studies are expected to be pursued in the future.

The studies mentioned above, however, did not deal directly with the transnational behaviors of immigrant women through intermarriage in a macroscopic perspective, which is a topic of this study. However, it is possible to find out the transnational behaviors of immigrant women through intermarriage, by the cases dealt in most of these studies. Even if it was in a microscopic perspective, the study conducted by Lee, Yong-gyun (2007) analyzed the characteristics of

social and cultural networks organized by immigrant women through intermarriage, based on two communities such as Boeun and Yangpyeong, to deal with the problems regarding the integration into Korean society through transnational networks.

There is a variety of foreign literature on intermarriage migration and many different cases have been introduced in terms of the ideal and the reality in intermarriage and from a gender-sensitive perspective (Mullan 1984; Constable 2005; Romano 2008). In particular, Cahil presented meaningful data with comprehensive analysis based on the cases of Philippine immigrant women marrying Australian, Japanese, or Swiss men (Cahil 1990). The journal published by the Scalabrini Migration Center located in Manila has dealt with the problems related to East Asian immigration in earnest even though the problems are not specialized in intermarriage.[2] Piper and Roces cover Asian women's immigration problems in relation to globalization from different perspectives (Piper & Roces 2003). Women in Action, a magazine published by the International Women's Human Rights Organization collected and introduced many cases of women's human rights violations related to intermarriage in many Asian countries (Women in Action 2007, No. 3). There are also various writings in which the transnationalism related to immigration and settlement is theoretically dealt with (Gordon 1964; Portes and Walton 1981; Portes 1994, 2000, 2003; Hannerz 1996; Portes and Zhou 1993; Robinson 2001; Kivisto 2001; Pasco 2002; Guarnizo et al. 2003). In particular, the two books co-edited by Portes and Rumbaut (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001) deal with second generation immigrants in earnest as a study on the transnational phenomenon to attract many scholars' attention. However, most of the theoretical discussions on immigration and settlement had taken place to largely deal with the difficulties of

[2] The name of the journal published by this center is *The Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* (APMJ).

assimilation, which were created due to racial differences in the destination countries such as the USA, Canada, or Australia.

If the existing studies are classified by academic discipline, it is shown that the issue of intermarriage migration has largely been dealt with from anthropological or sociological perspectives. The individual case study mainly dealt with in existing studies has some significance in that it emphasizes many different problems and brings about policy implications. However, it has certain limitations in understanding and explaining phenomenon comprehensively. Therefore, it is required to have much more systematic understanding and explanation for the causes and the flow of immigration and many different phenomena in the destination country, which were revealed in many case studies. This will provide many important implications to theoretical discussions on immigration and adaptation, on which much progress has previously been made. In particular, intermarriage migration which appear in East Asia and the resultant problems of social adaptation have an important influence in expanding the existing theoretical category in that the discussion on immigration and adaptation have largely been dealt with based on the context of destination countries. Today's issue of immigration and adaptation can be approached from a new viewpoint under discussion on transnationalism which appears from the background called globalization.

This study seeks to answer the following questions: first, what are the background factors which cause Philippine women to immigrate to Korea through intermarriage?; second, what types of transnational behaviors appear in the process that they settle down in Korean society?; third, what are the causes which lead to their transnational behaviors?; lastly, what types of meanings does transnationalism give to them and their families? There are the behavioral approaches which observe doers' behaviors and the institutional approach which focuses on the systems influencing doers' behaviors as research methods of

immigration and settlement. The institutional approach is a viewpoint that the system exerts a strong influence on doers' thoughts, emotions, and behaviors. It is understood that "human behaviors are usually made within the institutional framework socially allowed and individuals' motives are not intuitively given, but socially obtained." (Ahn, CS 2000, 107). It is necessary to note the institutional changes in the originating and destination country which give cause for immigration to analyze intermarriage migration from this institutional perspective. In particular, the intermarriage migration phenomenon in East Asia coincides with the flow of globalization in time. The direction of this flow changes the correlations among market, society, and state in individual nation-states will give important implications in understanding the intermarriage migration phenomenon in East Asia.

This study conducts a field survey in the Philippines. It focuses on the awareness of Filipinos/Filipinas about intermarriage migration to verify and supplement the perspectives presented in the existing case studies. It visits civil organizations and national institutions and investigates their perspectives and attitudes to intermarriage migration to examine institutional aspects. As for an investigation into Korean society, in this case the destination country, it attempts to make use of a lot of literature and policy data rather than a field research because many scholars have already conducted many such case studies. This study is composed of five chapters. Chapter 1 briefly covers the topic, purposes, importance of the study, research trends, and methodological problems. Chapter 2 introduces the research framework which presents the logical flow of the study with conceptual discussions. Chapter 3 introduces the real conditions and the transnational behaviors of Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage. Chapter 4 presents analytical discussions on the causes of their transnational behaviors. Chapter 5 discusses policy implications, study limitations, the necessity of future research with the summary of the study.

Ⅱ. Concepts and Theoretical Discussion

2.1 Intermarriage, Immigration, and Transnationalism

The role sharing between men and women in a modern concept of marriage makes women depend on their husbands' economic capital.[3] Thus, marriage is related to the sharing and distribution of economic resources. This was one of the reasons that a law against interracial marriage existed in the USA until 1967 (Pasco 1991). Marriage is not only included in culture in a broad sense but also contains an aspect called a social institution under the control of law as a 'complex whole of life'. In other words, it can be viewed as a social behavior made by a personal decision. 'Intermarriage' is a concept built based upon the premises of nationality, however 'immigration' bases its background on weakening of national identity, in other word, the globalization.

As for interracial marriage representing a general image of intermarriage, there is Kalmijin's exchange hypothesis that "a man or a woman who holds a socially prominent position marries a person who is thought to be racially, but not socially, prominent position, thus exchanging their resources through marriage." (Jeon, KS et al 2008, 23 re-quoted) But, this hypothesis does not fully explain all the

[3] Women's motives and expectations in marriage in modern society are based on the gender division of labor which a man takes responsibility for family support and a woman takes charge of housework and family relationships after marriage. 'Romantic love' has an ideological meaning which make a woman accept her roles voluntarily (Sarsby 1985; Kim, MJ et al. 2006: 169 re-quoted). According to a survey related to intermarriage, Hawaii women tend to regard men as "people who provide them with materials needed in life" and express racial and class hierarchy in the limits of choice in their propensity of marrying men of other races except Hawaii men (Pasco 1991: 9). There is no big difference in the standards for the selection of foreign men between Korean and Hawaii women. Considering the order of foreign men who Korean women married the most in 2007, Japan (39.4%) takes the first place, followed by China (26.6%), the United States (14.4%), Canada (4.0%), Australia (1.7%), Pakistan (1.4%), England (1.3%), and France (1.2%). The number of marriages with Chinese had rapidly risen since 2003. Japan and the United States overwhelmingly formed about 80% up to 2000 (Jeon, NP 2008: 16). This point presents an important implication to the rationality of the individual who decides intermarriage.

phenomena of intermarriage. It is not easy to establish a comprehensive theory because marriage is related to complicated problems such as a union between a man and a woman and family formation. Cheon, Kyung-soo et al. state that it is hard to explain interracial marriage from a perspective at the economic, educational, religious or cultural level (Jeon, KS et al 2008). They also point out that it is necessary to consider how capitalism meets distinctive regional cultures and simultaneously creates new regional cultures.

Immigration can be viewed as "a way that immigrants, objects of labor exploitation contribute to the continuance of economic governance structure and the behaviors by which they overcome their limits" (Zolberg 1983, 1058). Portes and Borocz (1989) see that labor migration phenomena results from changes in consumption patterns in a peripheral society as a voluntary behavior. They state that the consumption patterns are spread from the center and increasing transnational connections realize this through immigration because there are insufficient conditions in a peripheral society. It is considered in economic sociology that "economic behaviors are socially oriented (Woolcock 1997, 212)." In other words, social norms, values, and relations, structures determine not only the types of the purposes which people pursue but also strategies and resources needed to realize the purposes.

Immigration is considered to be one of the important causes which transform a society. The causes of immigration can be explained in many different ways. When the market and the state drive the flow of immigration due to demographical imbalance, individual rationality about economic expectations, strategies for family and community survival, and institutional causes, the causes of immigration are explained based on social capital (Castles 2002). The Push-Pull model of immigration focuses on the causes and the flow of immigration through an analysis of the internal factors of the two countries. In

addition, the Center-Periphery theory aims to identify the immigration process as a system and discover many different variables, affecting the formation and the maintenance of the system. In general, all of the existing immigration theories are based on the world view with the scope (territory) of the country which has isolated political areas as the center. It is assumed that immigrants' origin countries which suffer indiscriminately from poverty tend to go into high-wage areas. The assimilation process has also a limit which does not consider the differences in originating countries (Portes and Borocz 1989). These limitations brought about a new trend of research by which immigration problems were covered from a new perspective, namely a transnational perspective.

Glick Schiller defines transnationalism as a process by which immigrants construct a social area connecting their originating country and destination country (Schiller 1997). Kivisto explains the appearance of transnationalism as the process that racial fusion occurs and the immigrant community is formed when human resources move from a non-industrialized country to a country which is stable politically and successful industrialized (Kivisto 2001). The main causes to revitalize transnationalism are the global spread of capitalism, the growth of transnational non-governmental organizations (NGO), the appearance of post-national citizens, and the fusion of popular cultures. Transnationalism appears as a form of social composition crossing the boundaries as a personal position functions as a point of contact at a transnational social circuit.

Portes describes one of transmigrants' characteristics as being that transmigrants cross national boundaries to form a density network in order to pursue economic achievements and social and political stability (Portes 1997). More people have gradually lived a dual life through this network. They are easily acculturated to accepting other cultures without difficulty with bilingual skills. They have mutual

residences in the two countries, pursue political, economic, and cultural understanding in their two residences, and actively participate in the improvement of problems in their originating countries. On the other hand, Castles states that the members of the transnational community have a contradictory or fluid identity in contrast to the long-held national identity (Castles 2002). Transnational individuals and groups attempt to discover creative ways to change or adapt to their social environments. He has observed that they mainly pursue strategies for everyday life, not political or social behaviors and the survival factors which occur in a national and transnational social space work together.

Transnational behaviors can be divided into political, economic, and social-economic activity. These transnational behaviors appear in a private or a public area. The transnational behaviors in a private area are mainly made in the economic field and appear as the form of maintaining organic relations with families and relatives in the originating country for the purpose of remittance or business. There are also activities to revitalize personal networks between the originating and the destination country through exchange visits and introductions. The transnational behaviors in a public area are shown as the activities that an individual or a group performs to improve the political or the economic environment in the originating country. On the other hand, social and cultural transnationalism is shown in many communal activities to maintain the social and cultural identity of their country of origin.

These transnational behaviors are closely related to the purpose and the background of immigration which immigrants experience individually, and the level of human and physical capital which they own when they immigrate. When they immigrate with lots of human and physical capital, they have a high possibility of being involved in transnational activities in a public area. On the contrary, when they

immigrate with less capital, they tend to focus on transnational activities in a private area. In addition to immigrants' personal environment, the living environment in the destination country has also a large effect on the types of transnational behaviors. Portes (2003) maintains that there is no transnational behavior when immigrants are free from discrimination due to the fact they are scattered and do not socially stand out. He states that transnational behaviors increase when they are discriminated and concentrated in one area in the destination country. Transnational cultural activities or citizens' coalitions are not only places to find comfort against outside discrimination but also a resource of resistance to protect human dignity from outside threats.

One of the reasons why immigrant women through intermarriage take on aspects of transnationalism is that they maintain constant relationships with their families and relatives in the country of origin after immigration. However, it is doubted whether their relationships with families in their country of origin can last after they put down the roots of a new life in the destination country after intermarriage migration and to second or third generation immigrants. As mentioned above, intermarriage and transnationalism are considered to have both of those aspects. Transnational behavior is a constructive phenomenon to pursue social responsibility, affiliation, and changes in the origin country as overseas citizens living at a long distance. At the same time, these behaviors inculcate new efficacy and pride in immigrants to contribute to the integration into the political system in the destination country (Guarnizo et al 2003). In particular, Portes imparts a new meaning to transnationalism as a solution for the class which is not properly integrated in the mainstream society and thus at risk of downward assimilation.

2.2 Conceptual Framework for Transnational Behaviors: Market, Society, and State

Transnational behavior originates from the context related to immigrants' immigration and settlement. The context of immigration, namely the discussion at the institutional level which influences the causes of immigration and the settlement process can provide the macroscopic viewpoint useful in understanding individual immigrants' transnational behaviors. Today in the era of globalization, a nation-state still plays an important role in immigration. However, many private actors are included in the complicated system such as a company or a family. Unofficial efforts are shown by the fact that immigration behavior cannot properly be controlled by the state. Therefore, it is necessary to change viewpoint from the internal causes of a nation-state to the internal factors of the international system. It is required to have a macroscopic approach to international political economy, which focuses on the relations with other international movements such as capital, technology, institutions, and cultural innovation rather than immigrants' immigration and adaptation to change viewpoints (Portes and Borocz 1989).

Intermarriage migration which has appeared in East Asia in the era of globalization can be understood and explained in the framework of the roles of market, society, and state and their related agencies, which is presented by Polanyi[4]. Polanyi argues that the market, society, and state maintain a cooperation-tension-contradiction relationship among them. He defines the most preferential entity is the society among them

4) According to Polanyi, the market continuously guarantees consumer freedom, directs changes in demand, influences producers' income, and plays a role of an accounting means in many different ways. The society is a place of new civilization including state and market and the system which decides which is much fairer and reproduce. The state plays a role in changing the economy more socially friendly as it guarantees the free market activities with its autonomy and does many social and legislative activities at the same time to protect the society (Ahn, CS 2000).

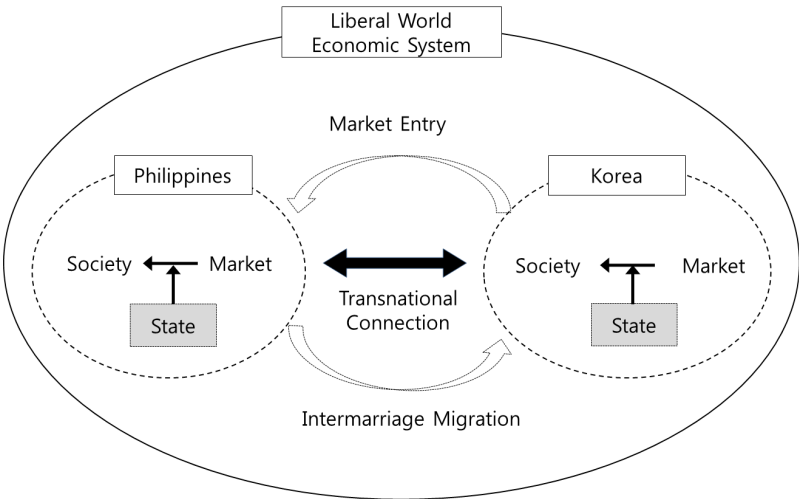
and the rest can be adjusted and reformed by social integration or ultimately destroyed by society. Even though it guarantees freedom, society throws humans at the front of the natural law of the jungle when there is no proper control. Even though state intervention and interference are needed, the principles of freedom are denied and humans are tied up with the chains of control when they are excessive. Polanyi does not see the market and state as being in confrontation with each other. He defines the state as a self-regulating entity which plays a role in adjusting a contradiction, a tension, or a conflict which occurs between the market and society at a neutral and middle position, an opposition axis in relation to the relationship between the two (Ahn, CH 2000).

Polanyi diagnoses that the market removed itself as one of the entities controlled by society to become an independent economic system in the liberal market economy in the 19th century and additionally came to have the power to regulate and control all of the other social institutions[5] (Ahn, CS 2000). Of course, it cannot be said that today's circumstances completely coincide with the liberalism of the 19th century, as diagnosed by Polanyi. However, there are some aspects that the flow of globalization representing neoliberalism has something in common with the liberalism in the 19th century. Globalization is a phenomenon by which the world is integrated into a single mode of production and individual countries and areas are integrated into the global economy. The market-dominant trend is magnified in the relations among market, society, and state in an individual nation-state amid the wave of globalization. Globalization changes the inclination of a state to a more liberal bias and enables it to function in the direction in which the logic of the market economy is

[5] The market was hidden as a part of society without an independent economic system itself. Its function was just some peripheral parts in a variety of economic life. Instead, the production and distribution activity of important goods were made by non-market principles such as customs, religion, and violence, not through the market (Polanyi 1994).

maximized. Even though members' freedom is expanded in a society, state protection and controls are left more weakened than before. The market is no longer under social control and functions according to an independent logic that captures market and state in the logic. The capacity of control becomes weakened at the borders, the boundary lines of individual nation states and exchanges that transcend the borders of the market and society are made more freely. These changes rapidly change the cultural environment of an individual nation-state and weaken existing social bonds and integration.

<Figure 1> Conceptualization: Intermarriage Migration and Transnationalism



This study relates the phenomenon of Philippine women immigrating to Korea through intermarriage to the effect of globalization. It understands the main cause of intermarriage migration as a pattern of regular immigration behavior by which immigrants choose immigration as a strategy to achieve an expected increase in the level of consumption, resulting from the expansion of the liberal market economy. However, immigration is chosen in the direction that a close contact between specific markets occurs in the globalized economic

system and its way is made in the form of meeting the mutual needs of the markets. Even though the state controls the realization of immigration, the role of the state is limited in the liberal market economy. The study considers that the circumstances of the origin country and the policies and the social and economic context of the destination country exert important influences on immigrants' adaptation process and transnational behaviors appear as a means to overcome this. The discussion mentioned above is schematized in [Figure 1].

Ⅲ. Transnational Behaviors of Philippine Immigrant Women through Intermarriage

3.1 Current Status of Intermarriage migration

According to statistics released by Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), the number of Philippine people who married Korean men or women was 809 in 2008 and the fifth largest number, following the United States (8,333), Japan (4,142), Australia (1,348), and Canada (1,011).[6] The number of Philippine people who marry Koreans has gradually increased since 1997. This trend is in contrast to the case in other countries where inter-marriage with Koreans is decreasing. In the other hand, according to the statistics published by Korea National Statistics Office (KNSO), the number of Philippine women who married Korean men was a total of 1,174 up to 2000, exceeded 1,000 every year since 2006, and amounted to 1,857 in 2008. In the early stages, Philippine women married Korean men and immigrated to Korea through a marriage arrangement program which a religious

6) There may be some differences with practice and with the statistical figures released in Korea because this means only the registered number.

organization started in the 1980s.The 'Project to Marry off Single Farmers' started to attract public attention after the late 1990s. As popular advertisements in which the nationalities of prospective international brides were indicated, intermarriage with Philippine women started to emerge in Korean society.

The propensity of Philippine immigrant women for intermarriage is shown differently according to their partners' nationalities. As shown in [Table 1], Philippine women who immigrated to Korea through intermarriage show a similar propensity with women who immigrated to Japan and Taiwan, but some differences from women who immigrated to Western countries. The age range and the education level of Philippine women who marry East Asian men including Korean men is relatively low by comparison to Philippine women marrying westerners. Most women got married for the first time. It is assumed that Philippine women's intermarriage migration is not limited to a specific class or category and becomes a potential source of various intermarriages.

[Table 1] The Propensity of Philippine Immigrant Women through Intermarriage by their Partners' Nationalities

Spouse's Nationality	Woman's Average Age	Man's Average Age	College Graduation (%)	First Marriage (%)
America	32.9	44.3	67.1	84.2
Canada	32.0	39.2	78.2	83.6
Australia	30.1	44.9	66.3	79.8
Japan	27.7	43.4	33.0	91.8
Taiwan	28.9	33.6	59.0	97.0
Korea	27.2	37.6	50.0	97.6

Source: (Kim, Jeong-suk 2009, 10), Reorganized

As shown in Kim's case study (intensively interviewing 7 Philippine women who married Korean men and were awaiting departure to Korea), the younger a marriage immigrant is, the more her intermarriage

is driven by other external factors, not by her own decision (Kim, JS 2009). It can be assumed that intermarriage migration in East Asia tends to be decided by economic reasons of surrounding people, not by personal preferences. The choice of a marriage partner seems to be much closer to a vague pursuit of an ideal through limited information.

[Table 2] Home Environment Comparison of Immigrant Women through Intermarriage by Nationality in Korea (as of 2004)

	Nationalities of Immigrant Women through Intermarriage			
	China	Vietnam	Philippine	Japan
Age Difference between a husband and wife	7.4	17.1	12.1	1.8
Spouse's First Marriage (%)				
- Her first marriage and her husband's second marriage	6.9	26.6	28.8	6.8
- Her second marriage and her husband's second marriage	46.2	1.2	0.5	5.7
Immigrant Woman's Education Level (%)				
- Below Middle School Graduation	48.0	50.1	6.7	4.3
- High School Graduation	45.3	45.3	49.8	36.3
- Above College Graduation	6.7	4.6	43.5	59.4
Husband's Occupation (%)				
- Professional/Management/Clerical Work	23.7	20.0	21.9	46.2
- Service/Sales	32.2	21.8	20.2	18.6
- Competence/Skills	25.0	24.7	27.1	13.3
- Agricultural & Fishery/Simple Labor	13.9	30.2	26.4	3.7
- Others	5.2	3.3	4.4	18.2
Residential Area after Marriage (%)				
- Seoul and Gyeongi Area	60.9	22.2	31.9	31.2
- Metropolitan City	14.6	17.6	14.3	7.0
- Other places in Korea	24.2	50.2	51.6	15.9
- Abroad	0.3	0.1	2.3	45.8

Source: (Kim, 2006) [Table 1~5] Reorganized

As shown in [Table 2], there are certain differences in the living environment between Philippine women who immigrated to Korea through intermarriage and Chinese or Japanese counterparts, but there are similarities with their Vietnamese counterparts who also come from Southeast Asia in that the average age gap between spouses is relatively wide and most women marrying were getting married for the

first time. Conversely, Philippine women have a relatively high level of education compared with Vietnamese women. In addition, their husbands engage in farming and live in areas outside of the capital and main metropolitan areas.

In most cases, the causes of Philippine women's intermarriage migration are simply explained as 'the product of colonial history', 'a means to escape from economic poverty', and 'a measure of family support'. However, many other factors such as 'fortuitous factors', 'religious factors', and 'expectations in and illusion of marriage' work to get married in multiple ways (Amante 2009; Yun, HS 2005). In particular, it is a reality that the diversity of intermarriage has increased more and more in that dating opportunities between men and women has increased through the development of material civilization and the expansion of exchanges. The excessive simplification of the causes of Philippine women's intermarriage migration has the risk of distorting their nature. It can be said that a useful approach is to draw a macroscopic view within the limit that the diversity of individual cases is accepted and to apply it within a limited extent.

3.2 Transnational Behaviors

The transnational behaviors of Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage appear in various aspects. The most general transnational behaviors are the activities to build relationships with their families in a private area and maintain a constant relationship through regular or irregular remittances, contact by telephone, or through the internet. There are exchanges through reciprocal visits between family members and extended visits for baby birth or patient care. The transnational behaviors in a private area make up a very important part of Philippine women's transnational behaviors. They tend to participate in communal activities to achieve personal goals. In

particular, they participate in communal activities to adapt to Korean society or find economic activity. It is a general tendency that they build a community through religious activities or the activities of civil organizations. They also build a community through internet sites or blogs.

There are many different cases by which immigrant women's communities are connected into transnational activities in the economic area in Korea. Kim, Min-jeong et al's analysis concludes that Philippine immigrant women participate in social labor because they have difficulties in approaching their husbands' economic resources and need to send money to their families in the Philippines (Kim, MJ et al 2006).The social activities that they participate in because of economic necessity are made through churches or informal meetings due to the limits of their assimilation into Korean society and shortly connected to transnational behaviors. There is no denying that Philippine immigrant women's communities exist for many purposes such as emotional exchanges including cultural sharing and the formation of emotional sympathy and mutual information exchanges. However, it is also to be considered that their meetings are used as practical channels to do business, look for work, or exchange information about Korean life rather than to merely pursue pastimes or kill time. However, Philippine immigrant women's living environment in Korea prevents them from doing their transnational communal activities. In other words, they are subject to restrictions due to many different causes such as the large distances between their residences, living in a rural environment, and the relationship with their husbands' families (Kim, HJ & Eum, SK 2007).

One of the transnational activities in which some purposes of the private area are included is exchange activity on the internet. They deal with many comprehensive topics from personal stories to Korean society and culture, and current events while using these exchanges

online. Philippine immigrant women who express themselves and make mutual exchange of opinions with others on these sites are judged to be people who have lots of human capital such as computer skills and an adequate level of English competency to write. They can do this kind of activity because they have husbands with specialized jobs and better living environments in a large city. Their activities are viewed to be those to introduce Korea, their destination country and share many different experiences and emotions in a foreign country rather than economic activities.

The transnationality of immigrant women through intermarriage influences even the families in Korea. The transnational behaviors through intermarriage migration are expanded to the family members in Korea in the following forms: a husband can immigrate to settle down in the Philippines, using the network of his wife's relatives; children are sent to the Philippines or abroad to study English; a retirement plan is made to enjoy an old age comfortably at lower expense (Yun, HS 2005; Kim, MJ et al 2006). Immigrants' transnational propensity produces the results of spreading transnational behaviors to not only themselves but also people around them. In other words, the transnationality of immigrant women through intermarriage provides them with an opportunity that their partners in the destination country overcome their economic limits instead of themselves. This phenomenon can be seen as a transnational behavior in an extended sense not covered in the existing transnationalism. It also shows many more dynamic aspects in terms of social change. In particular, the aspect which heavily influences changes in the destination society is magnified. It is necessary to examine the political, economic, and institutional causes inherent in this phenomenon.

Ⅳ. Institutional Background of Intermarriage Migration and Transnational Behaviors

4.1 The Roles of the Market

Many existing studies point out economic causes as the main reason of intermarriage. Kim, Min-jeong et al explain, "The reason that immigration becomes the main motive, excluding love, of marriage is because of the big difference in economic status between Korea and the originating country in the global economic order." This argument results from the application of the unilateral immigration pattern from underdeveloped to developed country without distinguishing between marriage and labor immigration. Even though a medium called marriage is involved in intermarriage migration, there is a tendency to understand its meaning as a subordinate element of immigration. It is necessary to examine the market activities in the interrelations between market, society, and state, which are contextual elements around intermarriage migration, in particular the roles of the market which influence the outflow and inflow factors to understand intermarriage migration in a comprehensive way. This study attempts to explain the reasons why intermarriage migration to a specific country among many countries with different economic statuses has increased significantly.

There is a high unemployment rate, high employment portions in agriculture and services, and relatively low employment rates in the manufacturing and mining industry in the market structure of the Philippines.[7] It can easily be assumed that the consumption industry

[7] The employment rate by industry in 2007 was 36.1% in the agriculture industry, 9.5% in the manufacturing and mining industry, and 48.8% in the service industry. GDP by sector was 14.1% in the agriculture sector, 23.6% in the manufacturing and mining industry, 3.5% in the electrical/gas/water sector, 4.6% in the construction sector, 14.8% in the trade sector, 7.2% in the transportation/ communication sector, 5.4% in the finance sector,, 7.1% in the administration sector, and 19.7% in the other sectors (Asian-Korean Centre 2009: 22, 28). As shown in the above statistics, there is significant labor in the agriculture field with low

has developed in the Philippines without the need to use statistical figures, considering the size of shopping malls and the number of customers in large cities. The Philippines depends on the remittance sent from overseas Filipinos for a significant portion of finance which supports the nation's consumption industry during a time when there are not many sources of income which can be earned through good-quality jobs inside the country.[8] In other words, a market environment characterized by high unemployment rates, low-income, and high-price provides people with a motivation to go to a foreign country where a higher income can be more certain than in the Philippines. According to a survey conducted by a civil organization, most Filipino women who immigrated to Japan, Taiwan, and Korea through marriage were unemployed before immigration. A large number of Philippine women who immigrated to Korea through marriage responded overwhelmingly about the motivation for intermarriage migration with the answer, 'to get out of poverty' (Malibiran 2007, 26-27). This becomes a basis of the existing arguments that many of intermarriage migration are decided by economic causes. Moreover, it is guessed that Philippine women, in significant numbers, choose an intermarriage as the main motivation of immigration as a route away from the market situation in the Philippines.

On the other hand, overseas expansion has expanded in the Korean market since globalization policies were initiated in 1995.[9] The inflow

productivity and a low employment rate in the industrial field in proportion to its production scale.

8) As of the end of 2007, about 8.27 million Filipinos are resident abroad. Overseas Filipinos are divided into three categories, 3.69 million people are permanent residents, 4.13 million are temporary residents, and 0.9 million are irregularly resident. According to the statistics released by the Central Bank of the Philippines, The remittance sent from overseas Filipinos increased from 6 billion in 2000 to 16.4 billion dollars (Songco, 2009). That figure amounts to about 10% of the total 167.5 billion dollar GDP in 2008.

9) The total direct investment amount of Korean companies into the Philippines increased from 19.2 billion USD in 2004 to 40.7 billion USD in 2005, 60.9 billion in 2006, 108.3 billion in 2007, and 182.1 billion USD. The number of Koreans who visited the Philippines had also increased from 63,000 in 1998 to 204,000 in 2001, 481,000 in 2006, and 612,000 in 2008 (Asian-Korean Centre 2009, 72-73, 94).

of Korean capital and people into the Philippines has rapidly expanded since the 2000s. Korean people have taken first place in the number of foreigners who visit to the Philippines every year since 2006. Korean dramas which started to attract popularity in earnest since 2003 contributed to the improvement of familiarity with Korea among Filipinos along with the rapid increase in Korean products and people visiting the Philippines. Korean people who had visited the Philippines for overseas expansion of companies with their products, and many purposes and the popularity of Korean dramas broadcasted in the Philippines seem to provide Filipinos with the background which enables them to recall Korea as one of their destination countries of immigration. The entry of marriage agencies directly related to intermarriage seemed to result from the consideration of the potential supply available in the Philippines. The push factors of the Philippine market and the pull factors caused by the entry of Korean market forces into the Philippines seem to be the root causes of Philippine women's marriage with Koreans.

The roles of the market on Philippine women's motivations for intermarriage migration are shown in many existing studies and can be identified in a field survey conducted in this study. This study on intermarriage consisted of interviews with Philippine women belonging to three groups with different educational and economic levels.[10] The first group was composed of students who were very interested in Korean popular music (K-Pop).[11] They can be considered to belong to

[10] Socio-economic class in the Philippines is divided into four categories, AB class (the upper class), C class (the middle class), D class (the poor class), and E class (destitute poor class) according to many different standards such as level of income, ownership of a house, level of education, and ownership of amenities. According to the results of a survey conducted by a survey agency (Social Weather Station) in 1998, the top 2% of the whole population made up the AB class, the next 9% accounted for the C class, the following 73% for D class, and the last 17 % of the population made up the E class (Social Weather Report Survey, September 11 to 29, 1998). Since then, there have been no big changes in the social hierarchy in the Philippines though there is a phenomenon that D class is moving downwards toward E class during an economic crisis.

[11] This interview was held with 9 members of a K-Pop fan club at the University

the middle and upper class according to social and economic classification in the Philippines. They were cautiously questioned about marriage with foreigners, Koreans in particular, during conversations. They mainly answered the reason for marrying a foreigner would be for, “economic reasons, namely desires to get out of poverty and to support their family.” However, they had favorable impressions of Koreans and were interested in Korean language study and food to approach Korean culture actively. They also expressed their intentions to study in Korea when they got a chance. They answered “yes” to a question whether they had any intention to marry Korean men after they went to live in Korea and make dates with them. It is supposed that Korean culture that they encounter in dramas motivated them to want to immigrate to Korea. The ways to realize this aim vary according to each person’s situation. For example, students may choose Korea as the place to continue their studies.

The second group was composed of women belonging to the poor class according to the social and economic classification in the Philippines. The two women interviewed in this study were those who worked in a field where they can easily meet foreigners.[12] They actively desired to marry foreigners. They answered “It is the most important thing to love each other” to the question, “What is the most important thing to consider in intermarriage?” However, they avoided a clear answer to a question about the detailed explanation of love needed for intermarriage. They also expressed an intimate connection with material benefits, saying that their partner “is generous to my family.” When they responded to a question about nationality preferences

of the Philippines (Center for International Studies, UP, Diliman) on February 3, 2010. An interview with a student called A was held at a hotel coffee shop (Shangrila Hotel, Pasig City, MM) on February 6, 2010.

12) This interview was held with a 26 year old woman called Z and a 23 year old woman called F at a hotel (Seoul Condo, Makati City, MM) on February 13, 2010. Another interview was held with a 19 year old woman called A, who worked at a restaurant/bar Mindoro Island on February 14, 2010.

for intermarriage among the United States, Germany, Korea, and Japan, all of them preferred Americans to others. After the United States, Z answered in order: Germany, Korea, and Japan, while F answered in order: Japan, Korea, and Germany. They evaluated American men as people who loved and treated their partners very well and were generous with money. They answered to that they have heard that "Filipino women are treated as slaves if they marry Korean or Japanese men" to the question of whether or not they had ever heard of those who married Japanese or Korean men. They answered that they thought that they would not themselves get into such a situation when asked about the reason why they still wanted to marry Japanese or Korean men in spite of the horrible stories they had heard. They seemed to keep material compensation from intermarriages in mind. In this context, they seemed to think, "The reality that housework forced for nothing is no better than slavery." A who was interviewed in Mindoro Island honestly answered, "I want to marry a foreigner because I hope to change my life and expectations in order to support my family" to a question about the main reason for intermarriage.

The last group was composed of the poorest women who worked as maids at the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy in the Philippines.[13] They wanted to marry a foreigner if possible and preferentially preferred Westerners such as Americans and Germans to other nationalities.[14] They responded differently to Korea and Japan through other people's stories or their experiences. They tended to decide their preference between Koreans and Japanese based on their personal or indirect experiences. It is indirectly implied that the Korean Wave played a certain role in increasing their possibility of marrying Korean men. Even though they negatively responded to the impression

13) This interview was held with a 22 year old woman called C and a 21 year old woman called M at a hotel (Seoul Condo, Makati City, MM) on February 12, 2010.

14) Their racial preferences for white people seem to indirectly express their envy of mixed-race, especially white mixed race, people in the Philippines (Hall, 2000).

that ‘Women from the Philippines tended to marry foreigners because of money’, they partly admitted it, giving other people’s examples. Both of them answered they would choose Korean men to a question of who they might choose to marry between a 55 year old poor Korean man and a 25 year old middle-class Filipino man when they loved both equally. Their answer can be understood in view of their economic conditions. It can be interpreted that it is more realistic to meet old foreigners than to meet middle-class Filipino men in reality.

From all the interview content, the main reason for Filipino women’s intermarriage migration have been generally seen to result from ‘the economic motivations of the lower class’ as shown in the existing study cases.[15] However, it is difficult to simplify that the reason why Korean men are magnified as Philippine women’s partners, in contrast to previous preferences in the past for Western and Japanese men, is just economic difference. It needs to be considered that this phenomenon is supported by the complementary position of mutual markets and the increase in exchanges, which facilitate many types of contact. Immigration characterized by many types of complex activities such as love, marriage, and family formation cannot be simplified by economic reasons. In particular, it cannot be denied that the expansion of curiosity and interest, not simply economic reasons has brought about an increase in contacts and the opportunities of intermarriage has consequently expanded. It is viewed that the potential population for intermarriage exists in large numbers with a high preference for intermarriage in Philippine society where there is no aversion about intermarriage and the white skin color of children born through intermarriage becomes an object of envy.[16]

15) This perception appears more clearly in conversations with the family or surrounding people, not the potential person directly involved in an intermarriage. The author talked with many types of people about Filipino women’s intermarriage during the survey period and found out that an intermarriage was commonly recognized as ‘a choice made by economic necessity’ rather than ‘romantic aspect’.

4.2 The Choice of Society and the Roles of the State

There are some limitations in explaining intermarriage migration only with the roles of the market. Even though the expansion of mutual market exchanges between specific countries increases the possibility of marriage completion, intangible systems such as social customs and systems such as immigration law still play an important role in realizing this possibility. Therefore, it is necessary to closely examine how Korean and Philippine society recognize intermarriage and what type of policies they approach it with.

Low-income people tend to choose an intermarriage as a means for upward mobility in the Philippine social situation because a clear economic hierarchy exists within the Philippines that cannot be overcome within the existing environment. It is important how civil organizations that protect and represent neglected social groups approach the issue of intermarriage because they are the social spokesperson who can influence national policies on behalf of society. This study conducted a field survey for civil organizations that mainly dealt with the issues of foreign immigration in the Philippines to examine their perspectives on intermarriage. In general, they did not recommend intermarriage migration like labor immigration actively. On the other hand, they did not approach intermarriage migration from a negative perspective as in the case of human trafficking. J, executive director of the "Coalition Against Trafficking in Women", a female

16) The author had many opportunities to talk with Southeast Asians about their thoughts on intermarriage during a visit to Brunei via Malaysia (February 7 to 9, 2010). There was an opportunity to talk with a Chinese Malaysian mother accompanied by her 25 year old daughter who returned to her homeland after studying in England. She answered, "She will not oppose it" to a question about her intermarriage. The author felt that she kept an attitude to accept other cultures willingly during conversation. Moreover, he found out that many young college students who he met in Brunei did not have any aversion about an intermarriage. Even though more systematic studies would be needed in the future, he viewed that the Philippines was not a country that particularly preferred intermarriages to other countries and Southeast Asians had a considerably more liberal attitude to accept intermarriages willingly.

trafficking protection organization, said, “The issue of intermarriage migration to Asian countries like Japan, Taiwan, and Korea has not been dealt with in Philippine civil society. Some people are interested in conducting research into intermarriage migration.”[17] It was also identified that the issue of intermarriage migration was not dealt with in terms of human rights violations through an interview with a person who was involved in the Kanlungan Center Foundation Center for Migrant Workers, saying that he had never dealt with immigrant women through intermarriage. He said, “It is due to the fact there are not many cases reported.”[18] Skin color mixed through intermarriage has been recognized to represent higher social class in the Philippines which of course has a colonial history. Therefore, intermarriage seems to be connected to a kind of privilege and widely accepted in Philippine society. This social acceptability enables them to choose an intermarriage easily as a means to solve their economic problems.

It is understood that the Philippines carries out policies under the direct and indirect influences of the market controllers. It is one of the reasons that the Philippines is called ‘a weak state’ or ‘a state captured by capital’ (Hutchcroft 1998). An outflow of people is not a desirable phenomenon for the Philippine government. But, it is difficult to have a justification to control it because overseas expansion is one of the people’s survival strategies. In particular, it can easily be understood that the government has actively promoted people’s overseas expansion, considering the fact that the remittance sent from foreign countries has a profound effect on the Philippine market economy and connected to the interests of the Philippine market controllers. A dual citizenship law and ‘Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act’ were

17) This interview was held with Executive director Jean Enriquez in an office of a civil organization (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women-AP) located in Quezon City on February 5, 2010.

18) This interview was held with Aladin Daiega, a civic activist in an office of a civil organization (Kanlungan Center Foundation. Center for Migrant Workers) located in Quezon City on February 12, 2010.

passed in 2002 and 2003 respectively, to improve a sense of belonging to the Philippines for Filipinos who lived abroad. However, the policy to protect Filipinos who advance abroad still remains at the level of human rights protection. As there were many cases of intermarriage migration being connected to illegal acts such as human trafficking, the Philippine government planned the Anti-Mail-Order Bride Law, RA6955 in 1990 to stipulate that "an individual, corporation, alliance, or other different organizations which have or operate businesses for marriage arrangement are illegal". Filipinos perceive that an intermarriage broker business is not illegal in Korea because "Korean people are not the victims of intermarriage (Abante 2009)." Women who immigrate to foreign countries through intermarriage are supposed to have counseling for human rights protection at an institution designated by the state. Even though the counseling is conducted at a private organization, the counseling content is said to be provided by Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), a governmental institution.[19)]

On the other hand, the negative perception about intermarriage is dominant in Korea because of a social custom that much importance is placed on blood (Jeon, KS et al 2008). Nevertheless, intermarriage is regarded as one of the choices in modern Korean society because of its relation to the intensifying process of the liberal market economy. The intensification of the liberal market economy drew in parts of society, which had previously existed outside of the market, into the market area. Even though marriage had already been included in the market area a long time ago, it was not very long until the intermarriage market hit its stride. The intermarriage market which started to expand in earnest in the late 1990s increased explosively in the mid-2000s.

19) There are two counseling institutions designated by the government, St. Mary Euphrasia Foundation-Center for Overseas Workers (SMEF-COW) and People's Reform Initiative for Social Mobilization, Inc. (PRISM). The author visited the SMEF-COW in Quezon City to have interviews with Cristi, an administrative staff member, about the purpose, methods, and response to counseling provision on February 4, 2010.

People neglected in the Korean marriage market entered the intermarriage market with a higher possibility of marriage, in spite of social prejudices and costs, and the market expanded to meet this demand. Public interest in foreign brides who appeared in Korea society has radidly increased since 2005.[20] This social interest appeared through many different activities of civil organizations.

Many civil organizations approach intermarriage to minimize side effects, protect marriage immigrants' human rights, and support their settlement instead of opposing the solution of people neglected from marriage. Many civil organizations related to immigrant women have done activities independently or through networks. They do activities to let the reality and the values of multiculturalism become widely known because from their point of view immigrant women are exposed to sexual and racial discrimination and the main causes are based on Korean people's narrow-minded perceptions about intermarriage. Moreover, they are also involved in activities to change the law in order to prevent the commercialization of women and the high-handedness of marriage brokers, frequently shown in the intermarriage broker business. Civil organizations have conducted many different approaches to present policy directions so that the issue of intermarriage can be approached much more in term of human rights, criticizing national policies for immigrant women through intermarriage by insisting they are too simply focused on adaptation and assimilation into Korean society (Han 2007, 41-2).

It is viewed that national policy related to intermarriage migration in Korea lacks consistency. The marriage issue of people neglected from the marriage market, in particular single farmers, low-income people in urban areas, disabled people, or divorced men who failed in marriage life due to many different reasons became a serious social

[20] As a result of searching mass media articles related to intermarriage, the related cases had rapidly increased from a total of 1,067 up to 2000 to 1,546 in 2005 and 4,152 in 2006 (Lee, HY & Kim, WJ 2007: 19).

problem of Korean society beyond the individual level. The government tends to ignore this inflow of foreign spouses on the basis that this social problem cannot be solved internally.[21] It has made efforts to solve the problems related to the inflow of foreigners and social integration through institutional devices to give permanent resident status or citizenship. It took measures to prevent fraudulent marriages purely for the acquisition of citizenship. It amended the nationality act in 1997 so that immigrants can acquire citizenship when they have lived in Korea for more than two years after marriage or have lived more than one year in Korea since their marriage has been more than three years in foreign countries. The existing policies and programs are based on cultural integration and assimilation into Korean society. In particular, this prerequisite applies to foreign spouses from underdeveloped countries. They should acquire citizenship through naturalization in order not to have status-induced disadvantages and must give up their own citizenship within six months after they acquire Korean citizenship (Kim, DS 2006). As social interest in the discrimination of international spouses has recently been put under the spotlight due to the increasing number of foreign spouses, an act exceptionally allowing them to have dual citizenship was also passed.

4.3 Transnationalism as a Survival Strategy

Portes (1997, 814) maintains, "The formation of transnational

[21] According to "The Status of the Policy to Support Intermarriage Expenses For farmers and Fishermen" published by Choi, Sun-Yeong, a National Assembly member affiliated with the Democratic Labor Party, three provinces and about 60 cities and counties carried out marriage broker businesses which supported intermarriage expenses in 2007. 26 local governments enacted related ordinances. The support expense was between 2 and 8 million won per man. The budget appropriated amounted to a total of 2 billion 848 million won (Hankyoreh Daily, June 8, 2007; Kim, MJ 2007: 218 re-quoted). Choi pointed out that the activities of the local government, under the overall umbrella of the state, were done with the cooperation of the central government.

communities is induced by the power which intends to improve economic globalization. People who are locked into globalization and market strategies learn the ways of using new skills to form transnational communities." He mentions that the development of traffic and communication technologies, which facilitates remote network access, enables immigrants to do transnational activities. Marriage immigrants face a variety of problems in the adaptation process in the destination country after their bold decision to immigrate and the realization of immigration.

Even though they legally settle down, Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage become the targets of social prejudice for the reason that they come from a relatively undeveloped country in the hierarchical order of the globalized market economy. Most of them immigrated with insufficient initial human and physical capital, and networks, which are useful in integrating into mainstream Korean society. They generally expect to share their partners' economic capital to realize their intentions when they choose their intermarriage because of economic reasons. As seen in various cases, most Filipino women who immigrated to Korea with financial intentions tend to meet people neglected in Korean society. This fact is clearly revealed in a survey conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 2005. It showed that 52.9% of the international families in Korea live in absolute poverty. The economic resources and background which can be provided by their partners who live together in Korea are very limited. In particular, an impersonal and unequal relationship may be established within the family when a husband pays fees to an intermarriage broker for an arranged marriage. The linguistic, cultural, and living-environment barriers which they face in Korea, serve to marginalize them even more (Dureobang 2005).

The economic situation of Korea, the destination country, does not provide them with an environment conducive to the upward economic

mobility of the intermarriage family. Considering the occupational clusters that most Korean husbands who married Philippine women work in are farming or simple labor, the prospect for upward mobility is not bright. The reality of Korean society, with the intensification of social polarization and the intergenerational transmission of poverty have gradually been structured in the liberal market economy, casts a bleak outlook on the future of the intermarriage family. These familial and social conditions seem to force Philippine immigrant women to seek to realize their initial goals of intermarriage migration, in their own ways.

Portes states that transnational behaviors are not the exclusive property of poor and neglected classes and appear among people who have high human resources such as a high level of education, a long experience in the destination society, and a high job position (Portes, 2003). Their transnational behaviors usually appear in a public area. They display active political activities in both their origin and destination country. In particular, they actively participate in political, economic, and environmental improvement activities in their originating country. However, in most cases, Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage face the reality of a marginal and isolated life for them in Korea as they have tended to marry Koreans and immigrate to Korea on the basis of their own decisions or other people's advice. Most of them experience conflicts due to the reality that their hopes they wished to be fulfilled through their difficult decision called intermarriage fade away because of unexpected circumstances in Korea. As marriage means the start of a new life through family formation and the birth of children, they engage in economic activities as a survival strategy. In this situation, it is viewed that the structural limits in Korea and transnational identity lead them to find their activity areas in transnational connections.

In the case of intermarriage migration, as opposed to family

immigration through labor immigration, the destination country and society tend to force immigrants' social assimilation. Faist maintains that it is necessary to give constant attention to attract immigrants to adapt to the culture of the destination country themselves, considering the continuance of transnational cohesion over time (Kivisto 2001, 569, re-quoted). This is the aspect which should be considered in the application of assimilation and multi-cultural policies for marriage immigrants. It must be considered that the multi-cultural policy for second and third generation immigrants can trigger artificial otherness and lead to downward assimilation that can further hinder social integration much more, when we consider the reality of the Korean situation which doesn't have obvious racial or skin differences, compared to European countries or the United States that have a historical context of immigration. Therefore, the proper support policy based on assimilation policies can be seen to be more desirable. In other words, it is desirable to develop and present models to give prominence to the advantages of transnationality and strengthen and apply the potentials implicit in their transnational identity without emphasizing the differences.

It is considered that the transnational behaviors of Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage appear in the process that they overcome contradictions and barriers inherent in the life after immigration. This phenomenon can be seen as a transnational behavior in an extended sense not covered in the existing transnationalism. It also shows another dynamic in terms of social change, particularly in the destination country. While the existing discussion on transnationalism focused on immigrants' personal lives and changes in the originating country, this study focused on transnational behaviors related to intermarriage migration in view of the choices made as survival strategies and changes in the destination country. As the 'Southeast Asian Phenomenon' that appears in the form of intermarriage

migration in Korea has a strong tendency of downward assimilation in discriminative circumstances, 'transnationalism' has an important meaning as one of immigrants' survival strategies and national policies.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

This study contemplated the causes of the transnational behaviors shown in the process of Philippine women had adapted to Korean society. Their transnational behaviors were in sharp contrast to the behavior of so-called 'world citizens' who crossed national boundaries to have dignified jobs with multi-language skills and a deep understanding of different cultures in the era of globalization. On the contrary, their behaviors were regarded as one of survival strategies of people isolated from the liberal market economy. They overcame the fear of uncertainty to choose marriage immigration to Korea more developed than the Philippines with the expectation that they could enjoy material riches not available in the Philippines or have the opportunities for employment that could bring them wealth. On the other hand, Korean husbands usually chose intermarriage, enduring cultural differences, social prejudices, and costs in consideration of the situation that they had difficulties in finding suitable spouses in Korea. In general, an individual tends to marry a foreigner for many different reasons and purposes. The intermarriage between Philippine women and Korean men seems to be inherent in much more fundamental backgrounds such as social necessities that came out of the Philippine and Korean market structure and the institutional supports or cooperation of the government to realize intermarriage.

Theoretical discussions about immigration all the while had largely been developed based on labor immigration into Western society. Many theories such as assimilation, multiculturalism, and transnationalism

had been discussed in the context of an immigration country. The issue of intermarriage migration as a type of immigration can have a meaning of broadening the prospects in the theoretical discussion of immigration. Furthermore, it can give systematic understanding and policy implications regarding the problems of intermarriage families which appear as a new phenomenon in their destination countries.

This study has certain limitations from many different aspects. In particular, it can be pointed out that the study on immigrants' transnational behavior in Korea depends on some existing research and there were neither deeper investigations nor an in-house analysis in this study. More research on the cases of other countries as well as the Philippines is needed from a comparative perspective to understand transnational behaviors of immigrant women through intermarriage who settle down in Korea, more systematically and comprehensively.

According to Portes (2003), there are several reasons to pay attention to transnational behaviors even though they are a phenomenon caused by a minority. First, it can be an alternative for social, economic, and political adaptation of the immigrants who cannot be accounted for under the traditional assimilation model. Second, activities transcending borders are very important to the development of the origin country even though they are sporadic. Third, the results of this phenomenon and the types of behaviors shown in many different countries are not fully understood. In other words, he stated that continuous study was needed to decide whether immigrants' transnational behaviors might just be limited to first generation immigrants or passed down to their children and could be used a tool that enables second generation immigrants to integrate into the main society successfully.

Immigration issues tend to be basically identified as an economic decision caused by the law of supply and demand. However, Portes and Borocz (1989) paid attention to social characters of immigration.

The network established through the movement and contact of population is a structure which makes immigration last for a long time. They saw that the contact transcending space, family ties, and accumulated new information and benefits were as important as economic calculations in maintaining circular movement between nations. In this sense, it remains an important topic for future research, that is, the issue about what kinds of effects the continuance and maintenance of intermarriage migration currently happening in East Asia will have on the birth of a new regional identity, namely the birth of a new East Asian Community.

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<국문초록>

필리핀 국제결혼 이주여성의 초국가적 행태에 관한 연구

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본 연구는 필리핀 국제결혼 이주여성들이 한국사회에 적응하는 과정에서 나타나는 초국가적 행태의 원인을 국가, 시장, 사회의 상호작용을 중심으로 고찰하였다. 자본주의적 시장경제체제 하에서 시장의 역할은 확대되고, 국가의 시장통제와 사회보호는 약화되며, 사회는 이러한 환경에 적응하기 위한 선택을 하게 된다. 지구화의 영향으로 교류와 접촉의 기회가 증가함에 따라 국제결혼의 가능성이 다양한 수준으로 확대된 것은 사실이다. 그러나 국제결혼이주를 선택하는 많은 수의 필리핀 여성들은 시장경제체제의 소외계층에 속하며, 이들을 맞이하는 한국 남성들도 많은 경우 국내 결혼시장에서 소외된 계층에 속한다. 이들의 초국가적 행태는 지구화 시대에 국경을 넘나들며 다양한 외국어 능력을 갖추고, 타국 문화에 익숙하며, 품위 있는 직장을 가진 '세계시민'의 그것과는 대조적이다. 오히려 시장경제체제 하에서 소외된 사람들의 생존전략의 하나로 볼 수 있다. 기존의 초국가주의 논의가 이주자 개인의 삶과 출신지의 변화에 초점을 두었다면, 본 연구의 국제결혼이주와 연관된 초국가적 행태는 생존전략으로서의 선택이라는 측면과 정착지 사회의 변화에 초점을 두었다.

주제어 : 동남아현상, 국제결혼이주, 필리핀신부, 한국, 초국가주의, 하층동화