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**A Thesis for Master of Arts in Sociology**

**The Adaptation of Filipino Migrants in  
Jeju Society: the Overseas Filipino Workers, the  
Entertainers, and the Marriage Migrants**

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Graduate School  
Jeju National University**

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**February 2012**



**The Adaptation of Filipino Migrants in Jeju Society:  
The Overseas Filipino Workers, the Entertainers, and the Marriage Migrants**

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# **The Adaptation of Filipino Migrants in Jeju Society:**

## **The Overseas Filipino Workers, the Entertainers, and the Marriage Migrants**

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## Table of Contents

<Tables> .....	ii
<Pictures>.....	iii
<b>I. Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	
Aim of the Study .....	1-4
Scope and Limitation .....	4-7
<b>II. Chapter 2: About the Philippines and Korea</b>	
The Socioeconomic Conditions of the Philippines .....	8-14
The Labor Export Program of the Philippine Government .....	14-15
The Socioeconomic Conditions of South Korea .....	15-20
Trends of Cross-border Marriages in South Korea .....	20-28
<b>III. Chapter 3: Procedure of Data Collection</b>	
Design of the Study .....	29-33
Procedures in Data Gathering and Analysis Method .....	33-36
<b>IV. Chapter 4: Findings</b>	
Social Relation: Its characteristics and integral factors .....	37-55
The Impact of Racial Social Relation to the Social Role .....	55-56
The Effect of Prescribed Social Role to the Social Identity .....	56
Adaptation of Filipino Migrants to Sociocultural and Socioeconomic Activities .....	57-73
Language Competence Adaptation of Filipino Migrants	
<b>V. Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusion, Recommendations</b>	
Summary .....	85-93
Conclusion .....	93-96
Recommendations .....	96-98
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>98</b>

## TABLES

<b>Table 1: Manpower Shortage</b> .....	<b>16</b>
<b>Table 2: Numbers of Foreign Workers under Employment Permit System (EPS) by Industry</b> .....	<b>17</b>
<b>Table 3: Number of illegal Foreign Residents in Korea</b> .....	<b>19</b>
<b>Table 4: Common Problems of Filipino Workers under EPS</b> .....	<b>19</b>
<b>Table 5: Status of Marriage Migrants in Korea by Nationality</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>Table 6: Common Problems of Foreign Spouses living in Korea</b> .....	<b>25</b>
<b>Table 7: The Numbers of Marriage Women who Registered Marriage with Korean Men by Country</b> .....	<b>27</b>
<b>Table 8: Status of Marriage Migrants by Region</b> .....	<b>28</b>
<b>Table 9: Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 1 (Marriage Migrants in Jeju City)</b> .....	<b>31</b>
<b>Table 10: Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 2 (Marriage Migrants in Jeju City)</b> .....	<b>31</b>
<b>Table 11: Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 3 (Marriage Migrants in Seogwipo City)</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>Table 12: Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 4 (Entertainers in Jeju City)</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>Table 13: Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 5 (DFWs in Jeju City and Seogwipo City)</b> .....	<b>33</b>
<b>Table 14: Numbers of Divorce Foreign Wives by Nationality in Korea</b> .....	<b>46</b>

## PICTURES

Picture 1: Mass Wedding by the Unification Church .....	22
Picture 2: Filipino Juicy Bar Girls Flirting on Camera .....	69
Picture 3: Filipino Bar Girls Attracting Customers Outside the Bar .....	69
Picture 4: Filipino Workers with Korean Friends @ the Birthday Party .....	77
Picture 5: Circle of Friends : Filipinos, Koreans, and the American .....	77

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*“The survival of the fittest is the ageless law of nature, but the fittest are rarely the strong. The fittest are those endowed with the qualifications for adaptation, the ability to accept the inevitable and conform to the unavoidable, to harmonize with existing or changing conditions.”*

-Thomas Alva Edison, 1847-1931-

<http://thinkexist.com>

### 1. Aim of the Study

In sociology, the study of international immigrants has been done in two ways. One is their labor market participation in the host country (e.g. Martin, 1988; Light and Bonacich, 1988; Tuck *et al.*, 1990; Borjas and Freeman, 1992; Hollifield, 1992), and the other is their social adaptation to the host society. For the latter, the various circumstances of a host society are the social environments to which the immigrants should be adapted for their new and successful life.

In this sense, the social adaptation process of immigrants to new circumstances in a host society is a re-socialization. From the point of view of immigrants, successful adaptation to the host society achieves a successful life, while mal-adaptation produces the possibility of personality disorganization and deviant behaviour. This may mean that the adaptation is not merely an immigrant's personal issue, but is related to the emergence of social problems in the host society. Furthermore, the adaptation may be related to what policy of immigration to employ in relation to population redistribution in that the degree of adaptation may be a determinant of return-migration (Lee, H. I., 1991). Thus, the management of immigrants is another area related to the way immigrants adapt to their new country.

Behavioral and psychological aspects change as individuals adapt to their new milieu. This process is defined as cultural change resulting from intercultural contact between two or more cultural groups ( Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986 ; Phinney, 1990 ). Changes occur when there is systematic force



intervened through the process. The 'force' may be guided by extreme view that one's way of living, values, patterns and beliefs are superior and correct compared to those of others. The cultural change process involves two distinct dimensions ( Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Joy,1996). One dimension, acculturation, includes the learning of cultural standards of the host society. This may involve changes in behavioral patterns such as language spoken, food eaten, and good purchased (Wallendorf & Reilly,1983 ). The second dimension, ethnic identification, is the maintenance of the native-cultures' ethnic identity (Laroche, Kim, Hui,1997 ).

From such a point of view, even though the adaptation of migrants to host country can be analyzed in terms of wide range of categories, they can be examined in terms of social relation with the culture and people of host country. In this context, language acquisition of host country is the most important factor determining how successfully the immigrants being adapted to their host country in terms of social relation with the culture and people of host country.

Social relation must be examine in terms of racial social relationship, the factors influencing racial social relation, and the impact of racial social relation to social role. Meanwhile, language acquisition pattern will be examined in terms of reason for learning, attitude of teaching-learning in racial relation, quality of language competence, and the effect of prescribed social role to social identity.

With such implications, it is very academically and practically valuable to study the adaptation of Filipino migrants in Jeju in terms of their social relation and language acquisition with a special reference to the following research questions.

*(a) What is the characteristic of social relation of Korean nationals towards Filipino immigrants in Jeju society?*

(b) *What factors are influential to the characteristic of social relation?*

(c) *What are the impacts of social relation characteristic to the role and identity of Filipino immigrants?*

The above research questions enable us to draw the following some important hypotheses.

(a) ***The level of fluency in Korean language will determine significantly how to adapt to Korean society as the host country:*** host language treated as the core of the problem as well as the solution of the problem. Problem varies to the interpretation to both the language learners and the language gatekeepers (example, social institution offering Korean language study). It may include the role of host language to the lives of learners in the host society, and the role of learners' language acquisition to the people of the language extended to the social structure that learners are actively participating. Finding solution of the problem includes the purpose of acquiring the language, the degree of its importance, and the appropriate learning context. These are considerable factors generating ideas of acquisition method that learners and language gatekeepers tend to determine its efficiency by considering the value of 'attitude' should have to deal with through the process in learning. For *language learner*, attitude is the 'quality of effort to learning the language', and for *language gatekeepers*, attitude is the 'quality of effort to design availability for linguistic competence'. The effort is however, dependent to the feelings of individuals towards social relation of the language learner and the people who are in the language.

(b) ***The level of the openness of Korean society to international migrants will determine how successfully the migrants to adapt to Korean society:*** Korean nationals are relating to people outside their ethnic group and the impact of that relational orientation to the lives of migrants into sociocultural and socioeconomic activities. The existing migration policy and the cultural value of host society in

terms of subjugation to foreign migrants that has developed collective social consciousness for role and identity of migrants causal for violence and human exploitation. This would mean that negative or positive adaptation to the host society is largely dependent to the host social system.

With such research questions and hypotheses described above, the purpose of this study is to provide quality findings about the ***“Adaptation of Filipino Immigrants motivated by social relation with Korean nationals in Jeju society in terms of role and identity as stimulating factors to the pattern of their language acquisition.”***

In order to achieve the aim described, the scope and limitation of the study has described in this Chapter. Chapter 2 will review some aspects of the Philippines and South Korea in terms of the issues related to this study. Chapter 2 is for the reader to have a better understanding of the findings in this study. Chapter 3 is the method of data collection. Chapter 4 is the findings drawn from the method of data collection. Finally, Chapter 5 will summarize and conclude the findings, and extend recommendation based on the findings. The recommendation includes further academic research and practical issues in relation to the adaptation of international migrants to host society.

## **2. Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The observable growing population of Filipinos in Jeju Island encouraged the researcher to do academic research that would interpret adaptation to the mainstream social structure. One major concern is to establish a level of understanding on how Filipino adaptation in Jeju society developed in terms of their social role and identity through social relation. Identity findings was investigated through support programs of the government along with multicultural centers and migration policy concerning visa application and acquisition of Korean citizenship as significant factors relating to how Filipinos are identified in the society. Role includes the contribution of Filipino immigrants to the socioeconomic and

sociocultural activities in Jeju society. In this way, characteristic of social relation is objectively determined, and with that characteristic, the pattern of language acquisition treated as dependent onto it. The importance of this concept is to project that adaptation is not dependent to individual's choice, but rather the host society plays important role to the create adaptation. The central idea of this argument is to emphasize the power of host society to motivate what sort of adaptation is ideal to be follow by the acculturating individuals or groups. This means to say that every facet of immigrants lives is affected by and dependent on it, directly or indirectly.

This study will serve as the basic source of understanding Filipino migration and adaptation to Korean society down to its local setting – in Jeju Island. The *practical benefits* are, for Korean government, to understand the existing sociocultural and socioeconomic adaptation of Filipino immigrants, thus implement policies and develop support programs to improve quality of life. For Filipinos in Jeju, this study also offer interpretation pertaining to their migration experiences, thus generate common understanding about Korean society objectively.

However, this research investigated the three categories of migration statuses: The Entertainers, The Overseas Filipino Workers, and the Marriage Migrants. The study was a qualitative involving interviews using focus group discussion and in-depth with a convenience sample of Filipinos. Although there are considerable amount of research carried out about multicultural family and current adaptation in culture and language, there is still no study of Filipinos related to social roles and identity influencing language competence.

The flow of the study began with the migration experiences in terms of language acquisition, peer and family interpersonal relationship, and social interaction. Language acquisition is a dependent variable of social relation between Filipino immigrants and Korean nationals. Social relation focused on

defining the existing characteristic in dealing with foreign migrants and/or immigrants in Jeju society. In defining characteristic, factors such as 'cultural orientation' and 'political principle of the Korean state' treated important to produce 'objective' definition. Cultural orientation only discussed basic aspects (such as gender orientation; concept of daughter-in-law), and migration policy for political principle. It is through this concept, Filipino immigrants' sociocultural and socioeconomic roles acculturation to Jeju society is used to find specific role of categorized informants in order to define their ascribed social identity acting as the core that stimulate adaptation observable to Filipino pattern of social interaction with Koreans; with other nationalities; and with fellow Filipinos, that are helping factors operating to produce the quality of Korean Language competence.

Technically, the lack of available academic references and fund are major limitations of this research study. Fund in data collection (such as interview, observation) limit to access some useful data.

The definition of academic terms is also a category where each study is facing the scope or limitation. This is because academic terms are liable to imply different meaning according to how to define them. In this sense, the basic terms used in this study were defined as below.

**Adaptation** is the current condition of Filipino immigrants in sociocultural and socioeconomic activities manifested by the mainstream social relation orientation in Jeju society.

**Social Relation** is the interaction between Filipino immigrants and Korean nationals directly regulated by the political principle of the state derived from the value of national ideology, and/or indirect manifestation of the mainstream culture.

**Prescribed Role** is a constructed role to adopt within sociocultural and socioeconomic activities subjectively defined through the essence of social interaction in a given social relation.

**Ascribed Identity** is a kind of collective social identity the way people consider of others' social existence.

## CHAPTER 2: About the Philippines and South Korea

### 1. The Socio-Economic Conditions of the Philippines

From a short review of Philippine history, we learn that what prompted Filipinos to migrate to other places is the question of survival. More importantly, we learn that this question is connected to the socio-economic level of development of the country.

For instance, in the pre-colonial period, migration occurred because of the tribal search for good hunting ground and fertile land. During the Spanish colonial period, it was to escape the land grabbing, as well as the tributes and *corvee*<sup>1</sup> labor imposed by the rulers. During the American colonial period, it was in search of land to till in the frontier areas and of jobs in the plantations of big landlords during the harvest and planting seasons. Today as before, the impulse to migrate comes from the need to survive - to find work in order to live and support one's family.

If only the Philippine economy can employ everyone, there would not be any need for Filipinos to migrate overseas to work. But it cannot. Yet, the Philippines is rich in mineral resources, with a fertile land and good climate, and has an industrious people that can transform it into an industrialized, just and prosperous country.

Why is not possible for the economy to absorb its labor force? Why do Filipinos have to go overseas to find work? The answers to these questions can be traced in an analysis of Philippine society today.

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<sup>1</sup> Teodoro A. Agoncillo. *History of the Filipino People* (Eighth ed.)1990, University of the Philippines, pp.83

The Philippines is a semi-colonial semi-feudal<sup>2</sup> country. It is under the joint rule of the big landlords and comprador bourgeoisie that serve foreign monopoly capitalists, principally the U.S. For this reason, it has remained backward, agrarian and without basic industries.

These ruling classes directly benefit from such a social order. It does not matter to them that the majority of the people are mired in poverty, disease and ignorance. What is important is that they continue to extract profits from the labor of the people and the natural resources of the nation.

The foreign monopoly capitalists extract super profits from the Philippines. For every dollar that they invest, they earn more than ten dollars in return. They come to the country for the cheap labor and raw materials, as well as market for their finished products. They even use local savings to finance their investments. They lease mining areas to extract mineral resources. While paying cheap for our labor and resources, they sell their expensive industrial and consumer goods to our people.

The big landlords own huge tracts of agricultural and pasture lands in the country. Through lease and contract growing agreements with foreign monopoly capitalists, they earn rental payments for their land. They also earn directly by planting export crops to supply foreign companies and industries, while exploiting the peasants and agricultural workers.

The comprador bourgeoisie earn mainly by selling the products of foreign monopoly capitalists. They either manage the subsidiary plants that assemble the products of foreign monopoly capitalists or engage in the production of semi-processed goods that depend on capital, technology, supply and

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<sup>2</sup> As Reihana Mohideen argued that "'Semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism" is not a distinct mode of production. It refers to specific relations of production characteristic of the old feudal mode still persisting within the emerging capitalist mode (tenancy and sharecropping for instance). Lenin describes its persistence as a product of a historical situation wherein "capitalist economy could not emerge at once, and corvee economy could not disappear at once". Hence, for Lenin, it becomes impossible to say where "feudalism" ends and where "capitalism" begins." *The 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal mode of production. The Uninterrupted Revolution in the Philippines*. LINKS International Journal of Socialist Renewal. <http://links.org.au/node/169> Retrieved September 21, 2011.



market from foreign monopoly capitalists. They also earn by providing services to foreign monopoly capitalists in selling their products.

The big compradors and landlords, together with the foreign monopoly capitalists, connive to prevent the Philippines from industrializing. They do not want the country to develop basic industries. If the Philippines were to industrialize, they would lose their income. Their foreign monopoly capitalist masters would also have new competitors for the cheap labor, market and resources of the country.

The foreign monopoly capitalists have other means to control the economies of backward countries. Through international institutions such as the IMF-WB and the GATT-WTO, they impose stringent controls over the finances and trade of these countries. At the moment, they are implementing the neo-liberal program of liberalization in trade and investments, deregulation in tariffs and laws, and privatization of government-owned or controlled companies, to ensure their unlimited access to the market and ownership of domestic companies. On top of these, they have promoted anti-labor policies such as contractualization and flexibilization that lead to the destruction of trade unions, lowering of wages and denial of social benefits.

The big compradors and landlords also act as political agents of the foreign monopoly capitalists. They put up political parties that compete in so-called elections for control of the government. Through bribery and corruption, they keep the bureaucrats in line. They encourage some bureaucrats to engage in business themselves. However, other bureaucrats take the opportunity to dig into the national coffers to make their selves rich. To maintain their rule, the big compradors and landlords keep a tight rein on the police, military, judicial and civil servants. They wield these instruments to keep the people from demanding their democratic rights and seeking basic social change.

Under this social order, the Philippines has remained a supplier of cheap agricultural and mineral resources and labor, as well as an assembler of consumer and semi-processed goods, and a buyer of expensive finished products from the foreign monopoly capitalists. Since what people buy is more expensive than what they sell, the country's balance of trade and payments deficits continues to worsen yearly. The neocolonial pattern of trade locks the country into a cycle of debt and underdevelopment.

The government must keep on borrowing from abroad and local sources to offset the trade and payments deficits and even for its budgetary needs. The more debts the country incurs, the less is it able to pay. This leads to a continuing cycle of peso devaluation, increases in the price of basic commodities, budget deficits, tax increases, and widespread corruption in the allocation of contracts and pork barrel from the national coffers. The situation has reached a point where the government is now borrowing only to pay for the interests on its debts.

The perpetuation of the system has led to the ever-widening gap between the few rich and the numerous poor. It has also led to the deterioration of living standards. There are the failure of social services, decline in the people's health and literacy level, proliferation of so-called squatter colonies, growth in the number of street children, and the spread of crime and mindless violence. At the same time, the unemployment situation continues to worsen every year.

Without land reform and national industrialization, the economy cannot develop further. It cannot have the capability to manufacture its raw materials into finished or semi-finished industrial and durable consumer goods for local consumption and export. It cannot generate nor accumulate the capital necessary for comprehensive industrial development. At most, it could only have the few packaging and semi-processing industries.

In such a situation, employment opportunities remain scarce. With a vast army of unemployed, labor remains cheap. Moreover, there is a limited market for consumer goods because the majority of the people are either without any income or do not receive enough to live adequately. This situation does not provide any incentive to enterprising Filipino capitalists to go into industrial production, especially in the face of fierce competition from foreign monopoly capitalists for the limited market.

The vast majority of the unemployed is in the countryside. Under semi-feudal conditions, the big landlords and foreign agribusiness and mining corporations own or control most of the land. They displace millions of peasants from the land, rendering the latter without any means of survival. Only a limited number of peasants are employed in the haciendas, plantations and mining camps of the big landlords and foreign corporations.

Previously, the displaced landless peasants left their areas to settle new lands. Some resorted to kaingin<sup>3</sup> in order to survive. Others engaged in odd jobs, such as hired hands for fishing companies, while waiting for the planting and harvest season in the haciendas and plantations of the big landlords and foreign corporations, like the *sacadas*<sup>4</sup> of Negros and Central Luzon. When the government opened resettlement areas in response to social unrest, they migrated to these places. With the exhaustion of the land frontier towards the late 60s, the cities became their natural destination in search of jobs.

Without national industrialization, the country cannot generate the jobs necessary to absorb its labor force, much less it trained or skilled ones. Since the fifties, thousands of graduates from colleges

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<sup>3</sup> Kaingin is the Filipino term for 'slash and burn farming method'. Tress will be burned for cultivation purposes. Kaingeros ( people who use the kaingin method) cultivate the area until such time that the soil is no longer good for planting, then transfer to another.

<sup>4</sup> Sacadas are people who work for their landlord from generation to generation. See the story of sacada people by Jaime Espina entitled *Negros 'sacadas': Slaves through the years*. ABS -CBN, Today. April 7, 2004 at <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/54a/217.html>

and universities in the medical, dental, engineering, teaching and other professions have sought employment abroad, especially in the U.S. This was called the brain drain.

With the unemployment problem growing each year, the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords have been under extreme pressure to find a solution to the problem. They developed the Labor Export Program (LEP) as a scheme to send unemployed Filipino workers abroad. At the same time, they turn the LEP into an industry for its own purposes.

External factors play a secondary role in the migration of Filipinos overseas. The law of uneven development of capitalism has divided the world into a few industrialized capitalist countries and the many dependent ones, majority of which are countries like the Philippines that are backward, agrarian and without basic industries. The standard of living and income of the people in these countries vary.

The relatively high wage (in peso terms) of workers in the industrialized capitalist countries has been a source of subjective attraction for Filipino workers. This attraction becomes more enticing precisely because there are not enough jobs in the Philippines. This is true even for skilled workers and trained professionals. Moreover, the foreign monopoly capitalists have rode on this subjective factor to import workers to their country.

In the 1920s, U.S. monopoly capitalists imported Filipino peasants for the agricultural plantations of Hawaii and California to save on labor costs. With contractualization and flexibilization, this practice has become more rampant. In Japan, the Middle East, South Korea, Taiwan and Brunei, Filipino workers are hired as so-called trainees in labor intensive industries - garments, electronics, logging and mining - and in the service sector - heavy construction, seafaring, as helpers in hospitals, hotels, and nursing homes. Worst of all, some are recruited as so-called entertainers for the host peoples.

In other countries, such as Hongkong, Singapore and Malaysia, Filipino workers are hired generally as domestic helpers. These countries have undergone a relatively accelerated pace of development in the last decade that drew their women into industries and services, such as banks, trading, insurance and the like. There has arisen a need for domestic helpers to take care of the children and parents of couples who are both employed in factories and offices. In Europe and North America, families are encouraged to hire domestic helpers as a way to cut back on social services, such as day care centers and nursing homes.

The monopoly capitalists have always tried to use migrant workers against their own workers in their persistent effort to destroy the ranks of the working class and trade union movement in their country. They use migrant workers as scapegoats in attacking the rights and welfare of local workers. Then, when a severe crisis occurs in their countries, they accuse migrants of grabbing the jobs of local workers, denounce them as a heavy social burden, and whip up racism against them to divert the attention of their people away from their misery. After exploiting the migrants, the monopoly capitalists send them for slaughter to save their skin.

## **2. The Labor Export Program (LEP) of the Philippine Government**

The Philippine government has never officially acknowledged the existence of its labor export program (LEP). It claims that Filipino overseas leave the country voluntarily because of higher wages abroad in peso terms.

This has been its standard reply, especially to overseas Filipinos who complain of abuses by foreign employers or recruitment agencies in dismissing their complaint and urging them to go home voluntarily

or face deportation by the receiving government. It does not want to endanger the LEP because of these complaints.

The Philippine government wants to conceal the LEP behind the peoples own decision to seek employment abroad for their family survival. It wants to escape responsibility for people's plight by throwing the blame on them. Since there appears to be a grain of truth to its claim, it manages to hide the real causes of Filipino migration overseas.

It must be understood that migration is a human right, especially in a situation where conditions for living are difficult, with no jobs available for all, and there is oppression. In this situation, it is but natural for people to seek employment overseas in order to survive and to escape oppression. It is a decision dictated by necessity.

### 3. The Socioeconomic Condition of South Korea

Once known as the Hermit Kingdom<sup>5</sup>, South Korea has postured itself to become a full-fledge member of the international economy. In three decades, the country has transformed itself from a destitute, war-torn, agricultural economy to a modern, industrialized nation as the threshold of joining the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

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<sup>5</sup> Hermit kingdom is a [pejorative](#) term applied to any [country](#) or [society](#) which willfully walls itself off (metaphorically or physically) from the rest of the world. The [Joseon Dynasty](#) of [Korea](#) was frequently described as a hermit kingdom during the latter part of the dynasty.

Hermit kingdom is also a term used to describe the Political system of North Korea until these days. North Korea is politically identified as the nation of 'axis to evil' or the 'evil empire' that brings its people into starvation, determined to isolate himself from the outside world, and aggressively initiates war in the region. As media's exaggerative stories about North Korea, it influenced peoples' thinking about the country. It created bad impression about the North Korean people and the entire sociopolitical system of the country. However, one interesting article disclosed and exposed the real life of North Korean people, and its diplomatic relations with other countries opposite to the propaganda of the country's enemy such as the US and others. See the story of Eric Sirotkin of his journey to North Korea entitled *Myths of the Hermit Kingdom: A Sojourn of Truth to North Korea* at [http://www.nlg.org/korea/myths\\_of\\_the\\_hermit.html](http://www.nlg.org/korea/myths_of_the_hermit.html)

In 1994, the average worker in South Korea earned only US\$100 per year, less than the average Indian laborer. But Korea’s per capita GNP of US\$8,485 in 1994 is 30 times more than that of India. With growth rate of 8.4% in the same year made the country’s economy continue to expand and grow in importance in the areas of global trade and manufacturing. Until these days, Korea is the biggest manufacturer of DRAMS (Direct Random Access Memory Chips), the world’s second largest ship builder, and the fourth largest electronics maker.

In absence of natural resources, South Korea’s strong labor force has served as the foundation of its modern economic development. In 1994, the country’s civilian labor force is totaled 20.4 million. The labor force is growing at an annual rate of 2.7% three times as fast as the country’s population growth rate of 0.9%. Unemployment in previous years has been as low as 2% with some labor shortages in the manufacturing sector. Its labor force has maintained the high quality, productivity, and high level of education reputation. Such reputation made the country as an ideal location for labor-intensive businesses. However, labor-intensive jobs are now moving offshore, particularly to Southeast Asia as the economy continues to grow. The fact that Koreans tend to avoid the 3D ( dirty, dangerous, difficult ) jobs, the economy has experienced labor shortages in manufacturing industries.

Table 1 Manpower Shortage

< Manpower Survey at SMEs by Small and Medium Business Administration, 2007 >

Classification	Total	Management	Professional	Production Labor			Service Worker	Sales and Marketing
				Engineers & Quasi Professionals	Skilled Production Labor	Un skilled Labor		
Current	2,208,312	522,994	63,001	251,122	494,619	77,9409	26,425	70,742
Shortage	90,444	9,228	3,298	9,888	39,505	25,459	421	2,585
Rate	3.93%	1.74%	4.97%	3.79%	7.40%	3.16%	1.57%	3.53%

Table 2 Number of Foreign Workers under Employment Permit System (EPS) by Industry

	Before 2005	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Jan.-Jun. 2011
<b>Total</b>	7,095	0,473	79,199	118,772	180,669	100,668	63,714	50,775
<i>Sub-total</i>	3,167	31,659	28,976	33,687	75,024	63,323	40,457	32,256
<i>Manufacturing</i>	3,124	31,115	28,182	30,181	65,871	55,351	33,545	25,638
<i>Construction</i>	-	84	42	740	3,326	4,296	2,498	1,624
<b>General EPS</b>								
<i>Agriculture &amp; Livestock Industry</i>	43	419	700	2,298	4,482	2,324	3,153	3,480
<i>Service</i>	-	41	52	48	48	54	53	61
<i>Fishery</i>	-	-	-	420	1,297	1,298	1,208	1,453
<i>Sub-total</i>	3,928	28,814	50,223	85,085	105,645	37,345	23,257	18,519
<i>Manufacturing</i>	-	-	9,426	16,040	18,419	11,483	12,321	10,137
<i>Construction</i>	2,514	18,072	20,894	11,943	16,371	2,546	107	1,752
<b>Special EPS</b>								
<i>Agriculture &amp; Livestock Industry</i>	-	-	559	905	1,438	312	223	363
<i>Service</i>	1,414	10,742	19,422	55,882	69,048	22,942	10,536	6,179
<i>Fishery</i>	-	-	<b>12</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>88</b>

<Korean Employment Information Service>

To help alleviate this problem, the government introduced a program in 1994 to allow foreigners into the country to work for one to two years. The flows of labor migration are from the lower-income countries such as Indonesia, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and more. Foreign residents accounted for 1.7% of South Korea’s population in 2009 respectively. However, the country remains strict on migration policy due to its emphasis on the importance of ethnic homogeneity. Migrant workers play the important role in South Korea’s economy. Rising labor migration improve the country’s labor market and facilitate the flow of remittances, trade and investment between different countries, thus having positive impact on consumption and economic growth.



In the Philippines, the largest labor exporter of the region, remittances inflows accounted for 12.2% of GDP in 2009. According to the National Statistic Office, 10% of the total populations are working abroad as of 2009. Filipinos in South Korea contributed to this statistical data. Emigration, however, created a “brain drain”<sup>6</sup> problem of the country since it is now facing major shortages of skilled workers. Filipinos take up not only unskilled jobs such as domestic helpers but also semi-skilled and high-skilled work such as nurse and engineers because of the higher wage opportunity offers from the economic stable countries. Due to ineffective management of labor migration, illegal migration has increased in South Korea.

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<sup>6</sup> Human capital flight, more commonly referred to as "brain drain", is the large-scale emigration of a large group of individuals with [technical skills or knowledge](#). The reasons usually include two aspects which respectively come from countries and individuals. In terms of countries, the reasons may be social environment (in source countries: lack of opportunities, political instability, economic depression, health risks; in host countries: rich opportunities, political stability and freedom, developed economy, better living conditions). In terms of individual reasons, there are family influenced (overseas relatives), and personal preference: preference for exploring, ambition for an improved career, etc. Although the term originally referred to technology workers leaving a nation, the meaning has broadened into: "the departure of educated or professional people from one country, economic sector, or field for another, usually for better pay or living conditions". " *Brain drain - Definition and More*", *Free Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2010*, web: [MW-b](#)

Philippine professionals commonly seek better income opportunities in countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Qatar, China, Thailand, and Dubai, even if employment is available in their home country. University graduates also sometimes decline work at home to work as caregivers, nannies or menial servants in Europe and North America. David L Llorito in his report stated that the Philippine Airline Company, between 2003 and 2005 lost more than 80 pilots, or 20% of the airline's total number. Airlines in Hong Kong, South Korea, the Middle East and even Sri Lanka have all poached their highest-flying pilots - particularly ones trained on wide-body aircraft such as the Boeing 747 and the Airbus A340. At least 15 ON more pilots have departed PAL so far this year, most lured by the prospect of receiving salaries two to three times the amount PAL offers. The PAL vice president Captain John Andrews asked the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency to the country's labor-export program, to impose a moratorium deploying Filipino pilots abroad. But the Philippine government only replied in an interrogative form of answer which was "Why just don't you train more pilots?". *Brain drain saps the Philippine economy*. Southeast Asia: Online Asia Times. June 20, 2006 at [http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast\\_Asia/HF20Ae04.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/HF20Ae04.html)

Table 3 Numbers of Illegal Foreign Residents By Nationality

Numbers of Illegal Foreign Residents in Korea	
Year/Nationality	Total
2005	96,373
2006	103,835
2007	114,295
2008	106,486
Chinese	54,526
Thai	9,721
Mongolian	8,583
Uzbekistan	5,382
Filipino	4,411
Bangladesh	4,196
Vietnamese	2,677
American	1,776
Pakistan	1,741
Indian	1,546
Russian	1,452
Kyrgyzstan	1,231
Others	9,244

< Ministry of Immigration, 2008 >

The lack of legal protections for migrant workers is associated to human trafficking, labor exploitation, and the violation to human rights.

Table 4 Common Labor Related Issues Faced by Filipino Workers under EPS

Common Problems of Filipino Workers Under EPS
Conflict with employer or fellow workers
Workers finds work load too heavy with long hours and forced overtime even on Sundays.
Delayed or unpaid salary, discrepancies on computation of overtime and night differential pay.
Released by the employer because of financial difficulties ( such bankruptcy, minimizing labor costs )
Employer is too strict, would sometimes resort to verbal and physical abuse.
Contract irregularities ( different companies, job description, salary stated on the contract sent and signed in the Philippines ).
Failure of the employer to register the worker ( as officially employed EPS ) to local job agency.
Poor working conditions

Source: Philippine Embassy in Seoul

Labor migration in South Korea expected to intensify as the result of globalization and the raising labor shortages caused by ageing and the falling of birth rate. The share of population aged over 65 years old estimated to rise from 10.7% of the total population in 2009 to 15.6% by 2020.

While the migration flows within South Korea is temporary (as the existing migration policy is), the trend towards long-term stay has been evident. Yet, South Korean government is not well prepared to deal with the long-term migration issues including permanent resident policy that includes migrant workers in 3Ds job, cultural diversity and social integration.

#### 4. Trends of Cross-border Marriages in Korea

The phenomenon of marriage migrants came about when South Korea became an industrialized country more than two decades ago. Major reasons gender imbalance rooted from the gender preferences which male was highly preferred for the continuation of the bloodline. This traditional mental pattern highly impacted the current national problem such as low fertility rate or the declining population making the country became an aging society, and the shortage of labor forces in the economic activities. One reason is this national problem is the improving gender equality encouraging women to actively participate in the economy, thus makes them independent and economically competitive resulted to the idea that 'marriage is an option' not a responsibility. A phenomenon called 'Gold Miss'<sup>7</sup> describing woman favoring work outside home over child-rearing. Such clear evidence that

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<sup>7</sup> Park Eun-jung and An Ka-yeong explained that in English-speaking countries, they are called "Alpha Girls." In Japan, they are called "Hanakosan." In Korea, they are called "Gold Miss" -- a term created from the Konglish "Old Miss." Both of the Korean terms refer to a single woman in her thirties or over. The difference between the two is that the former simply "failed" to get married, but the latter chose not to. A Gold Miss has an impressive academic background and enough financial power to possess a Volkswagen and even a luxurious apartment of her own. She also has attractive looks, of course. You name it! She is the whole package and luckily -- though some might say "sadly" -- without a husband. *'Gold Miss': To Be or Not to Be. Oh My News*, International Korea, July 13, 2008. [http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article\\_view.asp?menu=c10400&no=383109&rel\\_no=1](http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?menu=c10400&no=383109&rel_no=1)

as the country becoming modernized or industrialized, cultural values got along with it. As women started to found shelter for their economic survival, it affected to their preferences when getting married. Women became particular in selecting their 'husband-to-be'. The basic qualification is the social economic status of men that includes good education, stable job, and high salary. Such qualifications made single men especially from rural areas left behind the line and women are reluctantly marry them.

As part of resolving the problem, the Korean government promoted international marriage targeted women from China due the commonness of bloodline. This quality of Chinese women made them attractive to Korean men and the adaptive identity to the Korean language. The increase of marriage between Korean men and Chinese women started when South Korea and the Peoples Republic of China officially established its diplomatic relation on 1992. Since then, the influx of Chinese immigrants rapidly increased. Many of them rushed to Korea then overstayed and become undocumented workers and peddlers. The government limit the age limit for those relatives intending to visit in 1992 (Lee 2005), and stopped the issuing of visa for Josunjok (Lee 2002). Although the Korean government is said to be anxious to limit the return of Josunjok, it encouraged cross-border marriages between Korean farmers and Josunjok women. Therefore, the cross-border marriages have become an important channel for Josunjok women, and some of them eager to come to Korean even through fake marriages (Lee et al 2006).

The second increased of Korean men married with foreign brides started to flourish due to the commercialization of international marriages by agencies since 1999 because agencies/brokers were allowed to operate business without license from the local government. It was the beginning of rapid increased of commercialization of marriages in the country. Nationalities of foreign brides did not limit to only Chinese women but diversified further to include Filipinos, Thais, Vietnamese, Mongols,

Cambodians, Russians, and more. The cost depends on which country a man want to seek for his 'bride-to-be'. The sudden increased can be also explained when the government changes its migration policy to upgrade the 'Industrial Trainee Program' to 'Employment Permit System' in 2004. Many were encouraged to come to Korea for work using international marriage. Some numbers of Filipino brides in the country are married with foreign teachers or industrial skilled workers that online dating believed to be the bridge of their marriages.

Picture 5 Mass Wedding by the Unification Church



(Thousands of International Couple from Asia Pacific received Blessed Wedding from Rev. Moon, from online network

BBC,1999)

One contributor of Filipino brides for Korean men is the Unification Church or popularly known as Mooness in the Philippines. For Filipino women who desire to go abroad for some personal and economic reasons, the matching of the Unification Church is the gateway to enter South Korea, find instant husband without spending a little penny from the personal pocket because all expenses in connection for the preparation of migration is shouldered by the 'husband-to-be' even before the meet up. It means to say that Korean men paid in advance for his 'bride-to-be' prior to personal meeting. This is the reason why the Unification Church has to recruit many foreign brides as many as possible. Filipino

brides bound to Korean through the mediation of the church were/are given basic orientation of Korean culture emphasizing the submissive role of a wife to the husband. This kind of orientation does not only serve for cultural awareness to the traditional concept of man and woman but also a way of imparting the religious belief of the church pertaining to the specific role of husband who primarily dominates power within the family and that the wife is set for a submissive or devoted role to the husband.

Table 6 Status of Marriage Migrants in Korea by Nationality

Nationality	Total	Male	Female	Male Percentage	Female Percentage	National Percentage
Chinese	67,787	9,257	58,530	13.7%	86.3%	53.3%
Korean	35,707	6,189	29,518	17.3%	82.7%	29.1%
Descendants						
Vietnamese	27,092	141	26,951	0.5%	99.5%	22.1%
Filipino	5,819	162	5,657	2.8%	97.2%	4.7%
Japanese	5,223	515	4,708	9.9%	90.1%	4.3%
Mongolian	2,325	37	2,288	1.6%	98.4%	1.9%
Thai	2,041	40	2,001	2.0%	98.0%	1.7%
American	1,558	1,053	505	67.6%	32.4%	1.3%
Uzbekistan	1,384	45	1,339	3.3%	96.7%	1.1%
Russian	956	44	912	4.6%	95.4%	0.8%
Canadian	817	719	98	88.0%	12.0%	0.7%
Others	4,867	2,731	2,136	56.1%	43.9%	4.0%

<Annual Statistical Report for Foreigners Policy, Ministry of Immigration, 2008 >

From 1990 to 2007, “The Korea National Statistic Office recorded about 6,216 Filipino women married with Koreans. This means some 388 Filipino women were married to Korean every year on the 16 years record” (cited from Opiniano 2007) despite of the Philippine Anti-Mail-Order Bride law (RA 6955) clear policy that it is illegal for a person, natural or individual organization, club or any other entity to establish or carry on business which has for its purpose the matching of Filipino women for marriage to foreign nationals either on a mail-order basis through personal introduction. While international marriage broker is legal in Korea, they cannot legally operate in the Philippines because it violates the RA 6955.

In a survey done last September 2007 involving 443 spouses of Korean of various nationalities, the 73 Filipino women among the respondents said that 'love' was the primary reason for acceding to marriage (Opiniano 2007). Traditionally, marriage in the Philippines is the union of two through the passion of love that began from courtship ended up the decision to go for a lifetime commitment in marriage since the country does not allowed divorce. The traditional concept continue to influence peoples' mind even if someone is on the modern process of getting married such as mail-order bride, online dating, mediated marriage, and arranged marriage. This is the reason why some Filipino women claims 'love' is the reason for getting into international marriage because conservatism of the traditional concept still prevail. People will identify someone as opportunist, gold digger or any synonymous terms of these adjectives if they hear 'money' is the reason of marriage because it will affect the typical identity of Filipino woman as "Maria Clara"<sup>8</sup> or the woman in the influential literature of Noli Me Tangere who possess internal qualities as warm, loving, caring, and docile image. But most of the respondents in this research pointed out that 'practicality' brought them to Korea. Filipinos by nature are romantic and loving the reason why they are articulate the importance of love within the marriage but are not close to the idea that marriage involves personal and economic reasons.

When I was at the small kimbab house own by Filipino marriage migrant, the girls who were there to buy some Filipino foods talked about marriage life experiences in Korea. There was this 19 years old girl married with Korean man in mid 40s. I asked her the reason of coming to Korea for marriage at a very young age. Her replied was " I am just being practical ate ( ate, refers to a Filipino term for older sister but overly use to extended families, friends, neighbors ). If he won't treat me well, I will not waste my life being with him." And the other girl screamed saying "of course I love my husband but the main

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<sup>8</sup> Maria Clara is a fictional characterization of womanhood from the work of the Philippine National Hero Dr. Jose P. Rizal entitled Noli Me Tangere. The character described as beautiful, demure, modest, patient, devoutly religious, cultured, submissive, and virginal.



reason why I am here is for practical reason.” These answers are all similar to the respondents I have interviewed in the Focus Group Discussion. “Love and Money” I would say is what Filipino women are trying to describe as their personal motivation in coming to Korea.

Table 7 Common Problems of Foreign Spouses Living in Korea

	Loneliness	Cultural Differences	Child-Related Problems	Economic Problems	Language Problem	Family Disputes	Perception From Others	Food and Weather
<b>1,044 Respondents</b>	23.2%	15%	14 %	11.4%	11.8%	3.7%	2.6%	3%

<Ministry of Gender Equality, Fact-Finding Survey on Marriage Immigrants, cited from the Ministry of Immigration 2008>

But a study of Hye Kyung Lee of Pai Chai University noted “lower class Korean men seek more submissive, obedient, and traditional foreign wives to serve them and take care of their parents. These are traits they often see in Filipino and Vietnamese women. 91 of the respondents ranked as submissive and obedience to parents are their primary reason of marrying Filipino women (cited from Opiniano 2007).

Literatures above simply showed different motivational bases in engaging into the international marriage. For Filipino women, practicality describe as ‘economic advantage’ is the prime motivator along with ‘emotional attachment’ that they often interpreted as love, is obviously in the category of personal reason. But for Korean men, fundamental basis of their motivation originally derived from pushing the traditional way of life depicting the culturally base motivation. Since motivational base are considerably different, it is very challenging for a married couple to live with harmony the fact that



cultural issue is involved as well as the differences of personal aspirations anticipated to be materialized through the process of marriage.

The observable outcome of motivational difference is the present migration condition of these migrant women. According to the Ministry of immigration (2008), “these women find themselves suffering from domestic violence, racial and gender discrimination and other forms of human rights violation.

Until at present, Filipino brides continuously come to Korea even ‘negative image’ of Korean men is becoming a hot topic in talks due to the increasing rate of divorce between foreign wives and Korean men. Most often Korean men are viewed as dominant in the marriage relationship and the mother-in-law treating her daughter-in-law in a very traditional way are factors that makes foreign wives hard to cope up and survive. The Hallyu drama showing heroic story, love story, and family story that are popular in the Philippines depicted to both traditional and modern lifestyle of Korean people. Although Filipino viewers severely patronized the Korean drama (to the point that it occupied primetime slots to the TV broadcasting network) due to the quality of presentation by actors/actresses, Filipino people began to be inquisitive about Korean culture.

Table 8 The Number of Migrant Women who Registered Marriage with Korean Men by Country

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
China	3,566	6,977	7,023	13,347	18,489	20,582	14,566	14,484	13,203
%	51.3	72.0	65.6	71.2	73.6	67.0	49.1	50.7	46.9
Viet Nam	77	134	474	1,402	2,461	5,822	10,128	6,610	8,282
%	1.1	1.4	4.4	7.5	9.8	19.0	34.1	23.1	29.4
Philippines	1,174	502	838	928	947	980	1,117	1,497	1,857
%	16.9	5.2	7.8	4.9	3.8	3.2	3.8	5.2	6.6
Japan	819	701	690	844	809	883	1,045	1,206	1,162
%	11.8	7.2	6.4	4.5	3.2	2.9	3.5	4.2	4.1
Cambodia				19	72	157	394	1,804	659
%				0.1	0.3	0.5	1.3	6.3	2.3
Thailand	240	182	327	345	324	266	271	524	633
%	3.5	1.9	3.1	1.8	1.3	0.9	0.9	1.8	2.2
Mongolia	64	118	194	320	504	561	594	745	521
%	0.9	1.2	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.6	1.8
Uzbekistan	43	66	183	328	247	332	314	351	492
%	0.6	0.7	1.7	1.7	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.7
USA	231	262	267	322	341	285	331	376	344
%	3.3	2.7	2.5	1.7	1.4	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.2
Others	731	742	702	896	911	851	905	983	1,010
%	10.5	7.7	6.6	4.8	3.6	2.8	3.1	3.4	3.6
Total	6,945	9,684	10,698	18,751	25,105	30,719	29,665	28,580	28,163
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Korea Statistical Information Service or KOSIS 2009)

As I have regular online networking with friends back home, school mates and classmates, and my family, one of my University friends asked me this way “Are Korean men good?” instead of answering my personal point of view, I answered her through a question “Why do you asked?” and she replied “I just want to know your opinion because I have many Korean friends here and I found them good but I heard negative comments about them especially in treating their wives.” At the end of the conversation online, she ended up asking me to introduce Korean guy to her because she wants to come by Korea, again, for practical reasons. This is very ironic because despite of information pertaining to the negative image of Korean men that I presume not in the Philippines but also in the other sending countries of

foreign brides, many are still aspiring to come by Korea. What makes South Korea a very attractive destination that others are willing to take the risk of mediated and instant marriages? I have seen few factors for these, first, is the increasing power of South Korean economy in the region. Second, the influence of Hallyu drama (and K-Pop music) that has been showing good sceneries of the country, clothing fashion, and the charismatic image of Korean actors and actresses creating subjective perception about the good life in South Korea. The last one is, the desire to seek economic comfort zone. These are the reasons why Nicole Constable described Filipino wives or workers in the other countries as people who “motivated primarily by material, pragmatic, or practical consideration” (Constable 1997).

Marriage Migrants are widely dispersed in different regions of the country. Gyeonggido accounts 25.9% followed by Seoul of 24.1%. Jeju has only 0.9% of regional percentage.

Table 9 Status of Marriage Migrants by Region

Region	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female %	Regional %
Gyeonggido	31,722	4,652	27,070	14.7%	85.3%	25.9%
Seoul	29,560	5,958	23,602	20.2%	79.8%	24.1%
Gyeongsangnamdo	7,308	389	6,919	5.3%	94.7%	6.0%
Incheon	7,201	1,030	6,171	14.3%	85.7%	5.9%
Gyeongsangbukdo	6,261	249	6,012	4.0%	96.0%	5.1%
Chungcheongnamdo	5,714	278	5,436	4.9%	95.1%	4.7%
Busan	5,476	517	4,959	9.4%	90.6%	4.5%
Jeollanamdo	5,453	123	5,330	2.3%	97.7%	4.4%
Jeollanbukdo	4,930	178	4,752	3.6%	96.4%	4.0%
Chungheongbukdo	3,795	234	3,561	6.2%	93.8%	3.1%
Daegu	3,692	347	3,345	9.4%	90.6%	3.0%
Gangwondo	2,976	151	2,825	5.1%	94.9%	2.4%
Daejeon	2,731	258	2,473	9.4%	90.6%	2.2%
Gwangju	2,413	171	2,242	7.1%	92.9%	2.0%
Ulsan	2,273	142	2,131	6.2%	93.8%	1.9%
Jejudo	1,047	76	971	7.3%	92.7%	0.9%
Total	122,552	14,753	107,799	12.0%	88.0%	100%

< Status of Marriage Migrants Classified By Region, Statistic 2008, Ministry of Immigration >

## CHAPTER 3: Procedures of Data Collection

### 1. Design of the Study

**Methodology:** This study evolved from the concept of qualitative research to understand people's interpretation involved in the study to gain 'rich' and 'deep' data that are useful to develop analysis. The data gathering methodologies used for this research are focus group discussion (FGD) guided by semi-structured questions related to the problem of this study. A case study as the methodology also used in this research project to analyze variables relevant to adaptation of Filipinos in Jeju Island. In-depth interview to some respondents who refused to join the focus group discussion considered as one of tools in gathering data, and the online discussions/forums/comments of Filipinos in Jeju utilized to gather support information and some considered as useful data.

**Tools in Data Gathering:** To gather information, the researcher used interview (focus and In-depth), and participant observation. To ensure all collected data, voice recorder widely used throughout all Focus Group Discussion. Data through observation added after a thorough discussion with identified Filipino leaders in Jeju to avoid bias interpretation and analysis. Participant observation was through attending social gatherings such as birthday parties; group meetings; and bar hopping. To protect the privacy, the researcher used pseudonym to appear in this paper, and the target informants were informed prior to the proceedings of group interview and in-depth interview because it was anticipated that by doing so, the informant(s) will be motivated to be more open and expressive during the course of the interview.

Other useful data and supporting information are gathered from the popular online social networking (Facebook) where substantial numbers of Filipinos in Jeju are active. Online forum and thread of comments discussing particular issue related to migration experiences through the "Filipino

Community Hotline-Jeju “ group home page is considered to be a contributor of some useful information for this research study.

**Sample:** A sample of 42 respondents were invited to take part in the study from three sub-groups of Filipino immigrants such as marriage migrants, entertainers, and the overseas contract workers from different location within Jeju Island. Marriage Migrants were interview in three groups through focus group discussion. First group was in Hallim participated by 10 Filipino women and are all members of Filipino meeting in Hallim. Second group was in Seogwipo participated by 6 active leaders of Filipino marriage migrants organization, and the third group was in Jeju City participated by 6 Filipino women who belong to the same circle of friends. The fourth focus group discussion held at Migrants Center of Jung-Ang Catholic Church with 6 participants from Entertainers sub-group that their working description is group performer at the hotel. The fifth focus group discussion held at Pyeoson with 9 participants of Overseas Contract Workers from 2 categories such as workers in Agricultural industry and workers at the Small scale manufacturing industry. Selection of participants has no particular requirements as long as they belong to the particular sub-group of Filipino immigrants under studied. The focus group discussions organized through the help of participants who had direct access to the target respondents. Schedule of the interview was set according to the availability of participants. The course of the interview lasted from the maximum of one hour and the minimum of 45 minutes.

In-depth interview with one Entertainer working at the bar/room salon turned out as Marriage Migrant is considerably accounted in this study. Informal interview is done to 6 Entertainers working at the bar/room salon in Sinjeju area.

Table 10 Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 1 ( Marriage Migrants in Jeju City )

Respondent	Age	No. of years living in Korea	Current Marital Status	Children		
				Numbers	Type	No. of Years
1	36	12	M	2	others	2
2	31	4	M	2	n/a	n/a
3	33	4	M	1	others	2
4	30	4	M	1	E.T	2
5	31	4	M	1	n/a	n/a
6	31	4	M	1	Others	2

Table 11 Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 2 (Marriage Migrants in Jeju City )

Respondents	Age	No. of years living in Korea	Current Marital Status	Children		
				Numbers	Type	No. of Years
1	50	11	M	1	n/a	n/a
2	32	8	S	2	E.T	4
3	34	11	S	2	n/a	n/a
4	30	6	M	3	n/a	n/a
5	46	10	S	2	n/a	n/a
6	21	3	M	2	n/a	n/a
7	27	2	M	1	n/a	n/a
8	34	5	M	0	n/a	n/a
9	32	12	M	2	Others	2
10	40	7	M	0	n/a	n/a

Table 12

Respondent	Age	No. of years living in Korea	Current Marital Status	Children		Employment	
				Numbers	Type	No. of Years	
1	37	15	M	3	others	4	
2	36	5	M	0	n/a	n/a	
3	36	12	M	2	E.T	5	
4	36	12	M	2	E.T	5	
5	28	3	M	1	n/a	n/a	
6	33	5	M	0	E.T	3	

Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 3 (Marriage Migrants in Seogwipo City )

Age	No. of years living	Current Marital	Children	Employment
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Note : Current  
M-  
Divorced , S-

Marital Status :  
Married , D-  
Separated

Employment: Others – Serving, Cleaning or any related part time job; E.T – English Teacher  
n/a – Not Applicable (not employed)

Table 13

Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 4 (Entertainers in Jeju City )

	in Korea	Status	Numbers	Type	No. of Years
44	3	M	4	G.D	3
45	3	M	3	G.D	3
46	3	M	2	G.D	3

  

Respondents	Age	No. of years living in Korea	Current Marital Status	Children			Employment	
				Numbers	Type	No. of Years		
1	34	3	S	0	C.A	3		
2	38	3	M	2	C.B	3		
3	27	2	M	1	C.B	2		
4	40	5	M	2	C.A	5		
5	34	3	S	0	C.A	3		
6	35	3	M	0	C.A	3		
7	29	4	S	0	C.A	4		
8	25	3	S	0	C.A	3		
9	40	5	M	2	C.A	5		

Note : Type of work G.D = Group Band      D = Duet

Table 14 . Profile of Respondents in Focus Group Discussion 5 (OFW in Jeju & Seogwipo City)



; Employment : C.A – workers that are permitted to work to any industrial companies  
C.B – workers that are bound to work for agricultural activity and fishery and are not allowed to work to any industrial companies

## 2. Procedures in Data Gathering and Analysis Method

**Data Gathering:** In focus group discussion, semi-structured questions were outline according to the main interest of the researcher, to guide the facilitator during the course. There were five questions on the line, for a targeted time limit of group discussion. First question is connected to immediate adjustment right after arrival; second, their difficulties in the new social environment; third, their interpersonal relation with Koreans; fourth, their impersonal relation with their Korean counterparts; and the last one, their hopes and/or aspirations within Korean society. These five concepts appeared in the guide questions were purposely design to gather wide range of information concerning migration experiences. These questions were used to the first group consisting 10 marriage migrants participants that are all settlers of Hallim, in the year of 2007. After all recorded data transformed into transcripts and properly categorized according to its relatedness to the major variables, the same questions were used to the second and third; fourth; and fifth group to verify the authenticity of gathered data from the first group. Data that are related to the listed the categories were added, and the remained ones added to the no categories data. No categories data considered as supporting data of the categorized ones. The categorized data are Korean language, Korean cultural values, and work. Some follow up questions done through informal settings (organizational meetings, and social gatherings) to maximize the time

and opportunities. Other anticipated relevant questions channeled through online discussion using facebook group page (Filipino Community Hotline-Jeju), and facebook group chat room.

In-depth interviews of 2 respondents is regarded as useful tool for more detailed and deeper response to the questions. Both of them are marriage migrants, but one was once an Entertainer at the club/bar/room salon. The entertainer turned out as marriage immigrant is one of the informants about the human trafficking business scheme of Entertainer' brokers and/or agencies operating in the Philippines while the other one, also a marriage immigrant, told the story of violence (both mental and physical) she is suffering because of her abusive husband. In such case, it came out to the assumption that *"violence is a dependent variable of identity and that identity is also dependent to the role."*

Participant observation in a 'balanced participation' was the method to gather information or data for Overseas Contract Workers from December of 2009 to December of 2010. Social interaction of these respondents is determined through participating to some of their personal-social gatherings (example, Night Life activities around City Hall and Sinjeju) with Korean friends, with other nationalities, and with only Filipinos. However, structural-social interaction (interaction at the workplace) data gathered through focus group interview.

The second assumption focused on *"host society as the agent of immigrants' adaptation"* to draw out the framework of analysis that Jeju society is a motivating external force to create adaptation. In this concept, support programs of the government and the migration policy are included as resourceful factors. The focus of investigation is the 'impact' of these factors to the respondents at the personal level and social level.

The third assumption is *"attitude in learning Korean language is dependent to the existing characteristic of social relation of host nationals towards foreign migrants or immigrants"* due to the

attempt of analyzing language acquisition pattern of Filipinos affected by the 'effort' of learning the language.

**Data Analysis Method:** All data stored in the voice recorder carefully changed into transcripts by playing the recorder several times to make sure all inputs properly noted according to the original statements. Transcripts has properly read and marked symbols (such as L- language; PF- peer and family; S- social interaction) for categorizing. After categorizing, all data transferred to different documents in line with its category. Social relation defined through electronic source about cultural orientation of Jeju society and political principle of Korean state as followed principle of Jeju Island to determine its characteristic. After determining the characteristic of social relation, the second stage of analysis is from cited factors of cultural orientation (such as, gender orientation; concept of daughter-in-law) and the political principle of the state (through migration policy). The purpose of analyzing the characteristic of social relation and its influential factors is to identify sociocultural and socioeconomic role acculturation of Filipino immigrants assumed to have relationship of the current social identities in Jeju society, with the operationalized term for this study as 'ascribed social identity.' The ascribed social identity is the basic ground for this research to explain the attitude of Filipinos in learning Korean language by identifying the quality of effort to study focusing on inner feelings towards the people of the language (Korean people) as their language acquisition pattern. On the other hand, for language gatekeepers, the ascribed social identity of Filipinos is the ground to design methods of language acquisition for linguistic competence depicting attitude towards the learners. In this study, it attempts to explain the function of attitude in dialectic perspective (between learners and language gatekeepers). Attitudes are contradicting each other, however, united to produce quality of adaptation in Korean language.



## CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

### 1. Social Relation: Characteristic and its integral factors

#### 1.1 Racial Social Relationship

In studying social relation, sociology's perspective "interpret the meaning of social action and thereby give causal explanation of the way in which the action proceeds and the effects which it produces" (Weber 1991). In order to determine certain characteristics of social relation, it is

fundamental to consider factors such as fairness or equality, justice, power, and subjugation. From these factors, we can be able to analyze social interaction in a particular setting.

In this study, social interaction treated as the system that Korean nationals and Filipino migrants are relating to each other according to the relational orientation characterized by the social system. From this perspective, 'subjugation' is considerably the prime mover of the analysis since the study is dealing with social relation between nationals of the host society and the outsiders who are trying to gain recognition from the mainstream society. Subjugation literally means a system to implement control over others. This concept emphasize the exercise of dominion of relation by means of the abusive power entails the subjugation of one part to the will of the other. The own characterization of relations marked by the subjugation is slavery. The trick of psychological dominion of the propaganda and publicity, the upsetting to the conscience objection, represents forms of slavery of the modern world.

In homogeneous society such as Korea, subjugation to foreign migrants is due to national interest by preserving Korea's national identity in the midst of the emerging multicultural families and foreign workers. The only way to preserve national identity is to use race as strictly a social relation. In sociology, race as social relation employs dominion-subordination relationship that most often others used the term slavery as its essence. Dreiser (1960) explained "Cox has traced the development of race relation from the origin of chattel slavery. The preservation of Korea's national identity is to subjugate other culture in the social interaction with others outside from ethnicity based on racism observable both in cultural orientation that outsiders are socially expected to follow Korean ways of life in order establish social connection, and the through migration policy. According to Youngkok Kim , a professor of Ewha Woman's University " government recognized foreign migrant women as wives or mothers of some nationals, but not as nationals themselves with equal rights and duties, nor as active members of the

society” and as Timothy Lim stated that “immigrants workers are entitled to basic labor rights but are given no rights to permanent settlement, health care, or education of their children.”

In cultural relational orientation, subjugation to women entails the concept that women are object of men through subserviency and men’s sexual related entertainment. This orientation has brought Filipino women entertainers as “comfort women” for U.S soldiers in South Korea.

From these forms of subjugation, fairly enough to describe the existing social relation is define by concept of “race” which encourages hostilities of host nationals against foreign migrants.

## 1.2: Factors Influencing Racial Social Relation

Hostility of host nationals in social relation with foreign individuals or groups is the behavioral effect of cultural mindset. Homogeneity of Korean society influences its people to think Korean ways of life must be the central theme in socialization. This is the reason why host nationals are very specific in relating with foreigners, in most cases always requiring foreign individuals or groups to follow what is morally accepted and culturally practiced in Korean society. In this study, factors that motivate hostility of host national towards foreign migrants focused on the difference of cultural orientation, and the principle of the state.

### 1) Cultural Orientation

#### ➤ *Gender Relation*

Since Korea considered a patriarchal, the system is observable to the entire political, cultural and economic practices. There has been a huge difference in sexuality. In Korea, culturally, male is said to be the Haneul (heaven) while female is dang (earth). This mentality derived from the ancient civilization

during Cheosun dynasty (1392-1910), which adopted Confucianism as a ruling ideology of the era. Confucian patriarchy was characterized by the Rule of Three Obedience, which emphasized women's subordination to men: A woman should obey her father before her marriage, her husband after marriage, and her son(s) after her husband's death. Therefore, women's assertiveness and disobedience were discouraged. A wife could be divorced if she was talkative or rebellious toward her parents-in-law, which included talking back to them. Since the principle of Distinction between Man and Woman was emphasized, even children over six years old were not expected to mix with the other gender. The principle of Distinction between Wife and Husband also demanded separate living and work spheres and accentuated the gendered power difference. Under these circumstances, a man ran the risk of losing face by participating in family work since the female work was regarded as degrading to men's prestige and dignity. These notions and principles were more strongly emphasized and more frequently practiced among the ruling class of the time. It is highly emphasize that, politically, male is the dominant while female is subordinate. Economically, male enjoy the benefit to economic activities outside home, while female is set to do house chores at home. But due to rapid economic growth because of the massive national industrialization, this mental pattern is gradually changed. Women these days are visible and competitive in all aspects of economic sphere. There is already the emergence of female icon of one of the leading political party called Han Nara Dang (The Grand National Party) in the person of Geun-hee Park. But the seed of traditional thinking between male and female is still observable especially to the county areas where huge concentration of immigrants lived.

The constitution stipulates equality of all citizens before the law, but the norms and values that guide gender relation in daily life continue to be influenced by an ideology of male superiority. The interplay between these gender role ideologies complicates the patterns and processes of social change in the area of gender role performance and the relative status of women and men. This is because the

patriarchal ideology tends to guide peoples' behavior at group level in public informal situations as well as private formal situations. Democratic egalitarianism is more readily practiced at the societal level. Women can and did run for the presidency, but women are expected to behave in a submissive manner in public and in informal settings.

In the Philippines, though Filipino believes the teaching from the Bible emphasized the role and rules between husband and wife – that is the teaching where husband is the pillar of the house and the wife must have to support or obey him. This is the teaching from Christian belief written by Saint Paul can be found the bible through the book of second Corinthians. It is indeed a command that wife must be submissive to her husband and the husband must love his wife unconditionally. That is why women regarded as the second citizen until the Spanish colonization of the country.

But when the Philippine Government revised the Philippine Constitution that includes the elation of female gender, the concept of gender inequality gradually appears that made women assertive to their equal rights. In 1987, the government of the Philippines introduced a Constitution that affirms equality for all citizens, regardless of gender. The Family Code gives the importance of a relatively high degree of protection within the family context. Their situation improved with the promulgation of the 1997 Family Code, which removed several discriminatory provisions under the Civil Code.

Within the Constitution, men and women granted equal parental authority and shared responsibility for raising their children. In cases of marriage annulment, illegitimacy or divorce in another country, the Family Code provides that children under the age of seven placed with the mother, unless there is a court order to the contrary.

Even though there is some kind of conservatism (the belief of Christianity) when it regards to the third sex such as gays and lesbians, they are recognized and enjoy the same benefits. The partition of



inheritance is not directly mandated by sexuality, unlike in Korea that culturally only the male has the privilege to receive the economic abundance of his family. This would only mean that women is culturally highly degraded even if the modern politics of the state recognizes gender equality.

Many Koreans believed that the rising divorce rate reflect to the declining traditional values founded on Confucianism along with the impact of western lifestyles and pressures of modern urban life. But in foreign wives perspective, the traditional values of marriage is emphasizing that the life of a wife as a “matter of course”, that is to sacrifice herself for the sake of the children and endure even the violence and adultery of the husband is very oppressive and unjust. The difference of cultural orientation related to gender is one of the cited reasons for a feeling of alienation for Filipinos in Korean society.

*Anne (M.M) : I could not understand why my gender is considerably different in here.*

*Liway (M.M): I love Korea and eventually think of it as my second home because I have my family here. But what drives me crazy is the thought that woman has to sacrifice to prosper her life. When a man do something wrong, it is accepted because he is male. But if a woman does wrong, it is like a mistake that cannot be forgiven. Ironically, it is the wife to be blamed for her husband's wrong doings. Oh my God, I hate this and don't want to live with this kind of mentality.*

*Mylz (M.M) : My husband is like a king of himself...he can't have his meal without me serving him. I don't know if he could ever live without me.*

These statements are significantly related to the issue concerning the gender inequality which leads to alienation of Filipino immigrants here in Korea because they grown up practicing the equality of gender as provided by the Philippine Constitution under the Family Code, and also the influenced of the American culture that until these days is highly recognized.

Recently, the negative image of Korean men in dealing with their wives is increasing due to documented reports related to violence as the major reason of unsuccessful marriage. The Department of Foreign Affairs in the Philippines warns the applicant for Korean spouse of fiancée visa that life in

Korea is not easy as expected. Documentary video for Filipino wives in Korea is required to show to the applicants to make them aware about the reality of life being with Korean husband and in-laws. Despite of the government's effort, many Filipino women chose to gamble the security of life just to pursue the realization of dream anticipated through coming to South Korea. However, one Filipino immigrant openly expressed her disappointment towards the system of marriage between Korean men and Filipino women. She asserted that the effort of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Philippine government to open up awareness for Filipino women bound to Korea for marriage migration is not effective at all. Her statement in my facebook wall says.....

*Lene (M.M) : Showing the documentary video of Filipino women married with Korean men is a way to give awareness for us.....but in my case, it was too late because I was already married before I saw that video. Only when I worked out my papers to the Department of Foreign Affairs so I can come to Korea. If I was able to see that video before I got married, I will never marry Korean. But at that time, what shall I do? I am already married that's why I had no choice but to come here and live with my husband. Now, I have two children and even though I don't like my life here, I must fight the hardship for the sake of my children. I even complained why the video showed to the applicants after gotten married, and they (referring to the DFA) replied that the Korean government (Embassy) is not cooperating to solve the issue. Maybe because they are worried that no one will marry Korean men if they'll show the documentary video prior to the application of marriage.*

This case usually happened to the brides from the marriage agencies or brokers. As I already mentioned, that marriage agency is illegal business in the Philippines but still many are operating until these days that's why Filipino wives from the agencies are increasing. The Philippine government prohibits this illegal activities but the law enforcement is too loose to have its efficacy.

➤ *The Concept of Daughter-in-law*

Its concept is the main issue for marriage migrants that hard to adapt. From the Filipino concept, marriage is a union of two interested parties, is only the husband and the wife. In Korean concept, marriage is the union of two families. Marriage in Korea considered a tool for solidarity of two families

with systematic norms and values to follow. The concept of “ownership” is somewhat tricky to the lives of any daughter-in-laws that until these days even Korean women are complaining. When a woman sets to live with a man by means of marriage, she is then automatically considered out from her original home, therefore, her in-law’s home is her new home and automatically acquired huge responsibilities from it like a biological daughter have, this is the concept of Shi Jib ( 시집 ) or new home. However, in the Philippines, the concept of daughter-in-law does not have a huge impact to the lives of the women. Marriage is just a legal tie of the husband and the wife and culturally, does not incorporate “ownership” even though the wife is legally required to bring her husband’s family name after the marriage. The daughter-in-law is not expected to devote herself to her husband’s family. The issue of daughter-in-law that makes foreign daughter-in-law hard to adapt is not just from the experienced of foreign wives like Filipino. It crosses to other foreign brides from different countries. One example of this is, is the experienced of a foreign wife married with Korean man residing in the United States of America who preferred to ask help through online. Here is her story....

*However, the problems began when my in-laws were complaining that I was not "fulfilling my duties as a Korean daughter-in-law" by calling them on a regular basis or sending them a birthday card, mother's day card, etc. I sort of understood what they were saying, but it really seemed to be too overboard for me. I am naturally not a person who likes to talk with people or put on a false face of politeness, but they were saying that Korean daughters in laws must always talk and become one of the in-laws families. I can understand that if I were living in Korea, but I gave up my career and left my own family behind in Taiwan to come to America where I don't know anyone and where my husband is actually living abroad for most of his time (he is a consultant and is constantly on the road living in the UK, Europe, Asia while coming home for only maybe 1 week out of a month). Last year, my father passed away so I went back for his funeral and this year I went back for the 1 year anniversary of his death. I also went back to Taiwan several times and to Japan for both business and personal reasons (my mother is a diabetic and is in the hospital). My mother in law asked me to get some green tea in Japan which she really is fond of and which I have given to her before. However, this time, I was too stressed out from my work and had such a busy schedule that I didn't bother to get it for her. I remember my husband reminded me about this as I am sure he was feeling a lot of pressure and heat from his parents who were probably complaining about me non-stop. When I didn't get it, my husband probably heard the complaint from his mother and told me to call my mother in law to apologize. However, when I did so, she just exploded and cursed me out screaming that I was a selfish person who cares only about my own family and does not pay attention to my husband. It really hurt to hear this...but it seems as though they spoil their son who is in his mid 30's as if he is still a baby. Is that normal for Korean parents to do? (kikupeach @ Jun 9 2008, 11:29 AM)*

**Reply:**

Even though you are not in Korea, you are still a daughter-in-law to these Korean in-laws, so they expect you to act like one according to the Korean culture. Since you are not Korean, the in-laws should be understanding and compromise a bit, but you will have to work it out with your husband as the mediator. You're just gonna have to explain why you went back and forth to visit your family because I can see why your in-laws would think you only care about your own family, if they don't know the reasons behind it. If you do not behave like a traditional Korean wife, I can see why they would say you are not attentive to your husband. It's normal for Korean parents to give a lot of attention to their oldest or only son, whether they spoil him or not.

[snapback]3745940[/snapback]

( Asia Finest Discussion Forum . 2008)

These two contradicting concept of daughter-in-law pushes the feeling of alienation for marriage migrants. They understood their role and embraced it as possible as they can but deep inside are complaining about it. Here are some statements of the respondents related to this issue:

Owen (M.M) : *My husband and even my in-laws are expecting me to act in Korean way.....I should not think about my responsibilities to my family in the Philippines, which is very unfair.*

Debby (M.M) : *It is really difficult living with the in-laws. I don't know how to interact with them. They always tell me what to do and what not to. I should watch out my moves inside the house because I feel like they are all watching over me.....*

Madland (M.M) : *I think we are like a rug for them....they are going to use us whenever they want to.*

Jessica : *Setting into the Korean lifestyle is really difficult....but I have to fit in myself because I am living here, if I will not, it will only be more difficult for me.*

Ara (M.M) : *I'm wishing for a fair treatment when it comes to this. (referred to the role of the daughter-in-law in Korea )*

These are the most common statements addressing to the concept of daughter-in-law that Filipino women married to Korean men are struggling that eventually leads to separation or divorce.

*The case of Marie (34) depicted the negative outcome of the traditional concept of daughter-in-law in Korea. She's been married with her Korean husband for seven years. Her husband's inability to support the family needs urged her to work at the factory. She knows that her mother-in-law is indifferent to her and openly shows disapproval for her as foreign daughter-in-law. One day, Marie phoned me telling that she was already in Seoul. To*

*my surprised, no other words came out from my mouth but only “why “. She quickly replied “My husband doesn’t want to live with me anymore. “ I asked again why. Her teary voice echoed to my ear while she answered my question. She is send out home by a very simple reason, her husband could not stand to live with her anymore because her mother-in-law does not like her. She is now forbidden to see her son even talking to him on the phone without any legal arrangement because the divorce is not yet processed.*

*Marie is not the only one I have known having similar story. There are significant numbers of marriage migrants in Jeju alone, struggling for their mother-in-law’s treatment to them. The worst case is the young Filipino woman in Hallim. She came here at the age of 19 and married with a Korean man in his early 40’s. At the very young age, she is trying to survive the difficulties in adjusting of her mother-in-law’s treating her in traditional way<sup>9</sup>. She has no one to talk to about her experiences inside home, the reason she openly posted her angst and disappointment to the popular social networking site. Majority of Filipino wives here in Jeju shaken one day upon reading her message on the site. Her message implied the possibility of suicidal if her mother-in-law would not stop nagging, shouting, and insulting her. She said, she cannot just go away because of her 2 babies.*

They belong to Filipino women here in Jeju who preferred not to seek counseling from the centers working for multicultural family because they anticipated irrelevant outcome. One run-away Filipino wife in Jeju expressed her discontentment the way her case handled by the counselors from the center that I prefer not to mention here. She chose to flew back to the Philippines with her one year old daughter and come back Korea but not in Jeju anymore. Her anguish about her case started when she found out later that her husband is mentally ill. She experienced physical and sexual assault of his sister-in-law’s husband. She was extremely disappointed upon knowing that mental illness is a hereditary

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<sup>9</sup> Lee Eun-pyo, an English professor of Eulji University explained that the conflict between daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law is the “delicate, die-hard conflict may be one of the oldest problems in human relationships.” She added that “devotion and sacrifice for children might lead to a mother’s strong voice in her children’s marriage and over daughter-in-laws.” *Monster-in-law*. The Korea Times Opinion , April 21 2009. [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2009/04/137\\_43552.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2009/04/137_43552.html)

problem in the family and she could not survive interacting or mingling with those mentally ill people around her.

Table 15 Number of Divorce of Foreign Wives by Nationality in Korea

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Percentage %
China	180	274	835	1,425	2,538	3,654	5,398	67.8%
Viet Nam	7	28	147	289	610	895	1,078	13.5%
Philippines	28	43	108	140	165	213	268	3.4%
Japan	78	89	114	116	147	157	205	2.6%
Mongolia	10	6	83	116	132	173	213	2.7%
Uzbekistan	3	16	67	75	105	112	160	2.0%
Cambodia	0	0	4	6	19	99	178	2.2%
Others	74	91	209	215	217	404	462	7.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>547</b>	<b>1,567</b>	<b>2,382</b>	<b>3,933</b>	<b>5,707</b>	<b>7,962</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

(KOSIS 2009)

Data in the table shows relevant percentage to contribute the increasing divorce rate in Korea. Not only marriage migrants women is in the frontline of the rising divorce cases, many Korean families who ended up filing divorce are also increasing. Chinese women appeared to be in the top list among foreign wives who are divorced with Korean husband followed by Vietnamese and Filipino. When I had a favorable moment during the tour in Jeju with Chinese women, I threw one simple question to them as we had lunch together. I asked them this way “What is your most difficult experienced in Korea?”, three women in their late 20s replied one word only “ discrimination” they uttered. My follow up question was “What is in Korean culture that you don’t like most?” To my surprised, all of them chorally exclaimed the word ‘Chuisa’ or memorial ancestral rites. Chinese women who are complaining about ‘Chuisa’ is directly related to the concept that daughter-in-law is culturally expected for the preparation of the rites or ceremony.

Chuisa , for women, signifies their important role in the kitchen to cook special foods for the ancestral ceremony.

The concept of daughter-in-law in South Korea emphasize the role of a woman in domestic course, and the responsibility to take care of her parents-in-law the way biological daughter does to her parents. For foreign daughter-in-laws' who has different orientation in this regard find it 'labor demanding' and yet a duty that must be fulfilled to avoid identity discourse.

## 2) Political Principle of the State

### ➤ *Korean Ethnicity and Migration Policy for Visa Application and Citizenship*

Citizenship in South Korea is highly restricted. There is a series of procedure before the citizenship awarded to the applicants. Citizenship is much easier for migrant women who are married with Korean men. Accordingly, having children is advantageous in applying the citizenship. Many Filipino migrants are aspiring to convert from Filipino citizen to Korean citizen. The reason underlies the security of settlement manifested by the personal aspirations. For Filipino married women, their concern for acquiring Korean citizenship is to have the assurance that they could be able to legally stay in Korea no matter what may happened of the marriage. One vital reason is the fear that they might not be able to see their children when the marriage is broken because normally it is the husband who will be granted the children custody since he has the economic capability to raise the children than the wife, especially if the wife is foreigner. However, restriction to citizenship is not only limited from the law level but also within the sphere of multicultural families. Many Korean husbands are hesitant to process the document for their wives citizenship application for the fear that the wives might run away after having the citizenship, which is very common issue to all multicultural families. Unfortunately, most of Filipino



ran-away wives/mothers/bride here in Jeju does not have Korean citizenship. They only have spouse visa which will expire after a certain period and that will turn them out to be the illegal migrants in the future. This is because they are not allowed to renew their visa not unless with the presence of the husband or any of the Korean family members.

Many of the Overseas Contract Workers and the Entertainers complained about the high level of restriction to citizenship. Many of the respondents from these categories have the desire to live Korea for good because they are well adjusted here when it comes to economic activities ( for example, many manufacturing industries offering job placement ) and safe ( refers to the low criminal rate ) to live in. Filipino migrant men desire to obtain citizenship but the restriction hinders them to do so. Permanent residency is the only possible highest term of residence status but with the condition that the applicant must have a certain amount of money in the bank at least 30,000 000 won to assure that s/he has the capability to support his/her needs living in the country; and the need to pass the Korean language examination to ensure their fluency in communicating the majority of Korean society. Since there is economic measurement even to the permanent residency for non-Korean married Filipinos, there is no permanent residents from OFWs and the entertainers here in Jeju.

*Josh (OFW) : I can't feel that I belong here for in the first place they don't allow me to feel that belongingness. I wanted to obtain citizenship but they offer only the permanent residency which is very hard to comply all the requirements because I cannot saved such huge amount because my salary is just good enough sending to the Philippines.*

*Dudah (OFW) : If they ( Korean society ) won't allow us to be Korean, then why forcing them.....after all I don't have the plan to grow older here. Still, it is very nice to live in our country.*

*Owen (M.M) : My in-laws and my husband kept telling me to act like Korean but the odd thing is they don't want me to convert my citizenship into Korean....so weird isn't it? If they want me to do so, then why they are not processing my citizenship for me to feel that I am already Korean.*

*Tin (M.M) : I don't even have the permanent residency until now. My length of stay qualifies me to apply and I already have son, my husband has properties which is one of the requirement for Korean spouse. I asked my husband to prepare the documents required for my application but he always tells me he is busy. I think he just don't like the idea of converting my citizenship. I tried to apply by myself but the immigration officer told me to come with my husband.*



Statements above only proved that the rules and policies of citizenship or residency is also a one factor affecting the process of adaptation here in Korea for it clearly specified that marriage migrants are entitled to Residential Status ( F2-1 ) in accordance to Article 12 of Immigration Control Act and Enforcement Decree of Immigration Control Act. Those who have this status may freely work in Korea without special permission.

First, if a migrant intends to stay in Korea for a long time, he or she must acquire alien registration from the immigration authority within 90 days of arrival in the country. Those with resident visa are entitled to one-year stay per application, which is renewable before expiration. If one fails to apply for the extension of stay within the period, the person may fall into the status of so-called “illegal” sojourner and face the risk of arrest and deportation.

Migrants who stay longer than two years are entitled to a permanent residence status (F-5) or for naturalization as Korean citizen. The Korean government recently introduced Subparagraph 3 and 4 of Paragraph 2 of Article 6 of Nationality Act in 2004 to accept humanitarian requests. These new provisions grant the opportunity of acquiring nationality for those who cannot keep the marriage going through unforeseeable reason that is not the fault of the foreigner in question. Such reasons would include death or disappearance of the Korean spouse to look after, and who were in marital situation with Korean spouse and have address in Korea. Therefore if marriage migrants can legally prove the break-up of the marriage or divorce is not his or her fault, he or she may stay and apply for naturalization.

The basic document required for the application of simplifies naturalization as the as follows:

- ◆ Naturalization Application Form
- ◆ Photocopy of Passport
- ◆ Statement of Citizenship Application
- ◆ Statement of Identity
- ◆ Family Registration, Basic Registration, Marriage Certificate and Resident Registration  
Transcript of the Korean spouse
- ◆ Financial Registration (to verify the ability of the applicants, or their family) Any one of the following documents also needs to be submitted
  - (1) Bank Balance containing more than KRW 30 million in the name of the applicant of the family
  - (2) Lease Contract or Estate Registry equivalent to KRW 30 million
  - (3) Certificate of Incumbency ( Attached the copy of Employer's Business Registration Certificate )
  - (4) Certificate for the Employment expected
  - (5) Other materials to prove the fact that the marriage status is maintained
  - (6) Photos, Statement of People around. Letters exchanged before the marriage and etc.

The support of a Korean spouse is essential for marriage migrant living with the status of "foreigner", for the application to extend the sojourn period or for naturalization. In the name of examining the validity of marriage, immigration authorities require the marriage migrants to be accompanied by their Korean spouses to attest to the veracity of marriage.

Moreover, the visa of a marriage migrant continues to be valid only when references are submitted by the Korean spouse. With such consent and reference, there is a greater chance of marriage migrants to prolong their stay in the country. If a Korean spouse refuses to accompany the marriage migrants or

withdraws the reference, the marriage migrants could not legally stay in Korea or acquire nationality. In reality, marriage migrants are often found to have failed to apply for Permanent Residency or simplified naturalization even after having a married relation for more than five or six years because Korean spouse did not support them.

Consequently, the perpetual stay in Korea and the acquisition of nationality of marriage migrants totally rely on their Korean spouses. As long as the status of marriage migrants depends on the Korean spouse, they will have to endure human rights violations such as domestic violence. Others who suffered physical abuse opted not to report to the authority, rather, endure the violation against women until they acquired the permanent residency or citizenship.

*One of the evidences of this scenario is the case of Owen (33) in Nohyeong Dong. She experienced physical violation immediately after three months of arrival. Accordingly, the marriage is manipulated by the mother-in-law who aspires to do business in the Philippines with the help of Filipino daughter-in-law. Since the marriage appears to be a "forced marriage" for her husband's side, he seems to be unhappy resulting to easily commit violence each time he is drunk from partying outside. Owen has been enduring both physical and emotional violence for seven years because she had no choice but to hold on for the sake of her son. Her mother-in-law did not allow her to apply even for permanent residency. Husband collected half of the salary she got from part-time job. She provided everything for her personal needs. When hopes and dreams for the marriage to prosper are all gone, Owen finally decided to move on and start a new life. Now, she is in the battle for a visitation rights to her son.*

➤ *Social Support Program*

Korean government is too focused on teaching Korean language and culture to marriage migrants through the help of sky-rocketting increased of NGOs for multicultural family. Eight years ago when I came Jeju, I only knew one center offered services to all migrants where I studied Korean Language. These days, multicultural family centers are everywhere and they are the ones who will find immigrants to come over to their centers opposite to the scenario eight years ago where Filipino immigrants in Hallim had to come over Jeju City to avail social services from the foreign center. I even wondered why the foreign migrant center I have known for half a decade changed into multicultural family center. Are

these multicultural centers only centering for multicultural families? How about foreign migrant workers, are their existence is less priority or not a priority at all? These questions lead me to investigate further about social support programs of the government implemented through subsidized NGOs. The first question relates to the observable priority of the government to make foreign marriage migrants assimilated to Korean culture. There is no way for marriage migrants to let significant others understand their ethnic culture that must be nurture by multicultural centers if they are really pushing multiculturalism. As I have been to different multicultural centers, I observed the same concept of education for marriage migrants – that is assimilation to Korean culture. In psychosocial perspective, the concept of education is the institutionalized external force shaping social and cultural consciousness in Korean context, thus making more immigrants to consider social distance. This is the reason why one of the respondents asked me why Filipinos are becoming reluctant to participate in multicultural centers' activities and others even opted to seek counseling to their peer groups instead of seeking counseling to the centers. The answer found through one respondent statement this way,

*"I'm losing interest. ....nothing I can get from there aside from explaining that my problem is lack of understanding to Korean culture.....and that the solution of my marital problem relies on understanding my husband because Koreans are typically like that" (Mylz, M.M).*

From this comments, the objective interest of multicultural centers became subjective to the marriage migrants, and is gradually losing influence. One social worker for social welfare center at Hallim commented that Filipinos show little interest of pursuing Korean language education. For beginners, they are active to study in the beginning but once equipped with little facility to the language are becoming less interested to study further. Obviously, Korean government is more concern for assimilation of foreign marriage migrants and is giving huge budget for their educational programs because they are 'mothers' who will educate and nurture biracial children in Korean way which is the

reason why foreign wives brought into Korea. For one obvious reason, marriage migrants are biological base to produce generations for Korea's cultural continuation as national problem of ageing and manpower shortages seen to be get worse in the near future. This social problem made the role of marriage migrants in to spotlight catching attention of the national government after all, subsidy for multicultural families will surely benefit national interest. This is why NGOs in Jeju Island are paying less attention to promote social security for foreign workers with the fact that migrant workers considered outsiders of Korean society. Due to restriction to citizenship, workers left no choice but to go back to their home country when working visa is finished which means their role to Korean economy also end. There are cases of violence inside the workplaces of foreign workers but are hardly given attention. Respondents from Overseas Filipino workers category were complaining about physical abuse done by their counterparts at work or even managers are directly involved. They were saying....

*Den (OFW) : One day, I was bewildered when one of my Korean co-worker hit me. I don't know what wrong I have done to him neither nor to my work because I am working hard. I tried to stay calm but he was too assaultive....Out of control, I fought him back....I showed him my anger as if I could kill him if he won't stop hitting me....then he stayed away right then.*

*Jess (OFW) : I could not stand my manager's treatment to us ( with Filipino co-worker). He was always bullying that manipulates to ordinary Korean workers do the same thing. He even hit us which I considered a violation to human rights. I reported the incident to the migrant center hoping for immediate action for our safety at work.*

*Emie (OFW) : I have encountered too much violation of my previous company. The owner/manager demanded too much work with no overtime payment. They even asked me to clean their house.*

*Celyn (OFW) : What I hate the most is when they shouted at me. It is so irritating because we are both ordinary workers and yet they acted like superiors.*

These are common complaints but hardly given attention to the support programs of the government and even entertainers are facing the same problem. One new male entertainer, a vocalist turned out waiter of the café in Sinjeju expressed his huge resentment upon working in Jeju. He said.....

*Yanyan (Ent): I am enjoying the life in Jeju but I am disappointed with the things going on at the workplace. I have been in Ulsan and it is different compare to Jeju. In Ulsan, I know where to run for if I encounter problems. Filipino community there will help through the process. In here, it's so hard to find comfort.*

There are undocumented violence experienced by Filipino women entertainers at the bar/room salon that most offenders were managers. One time, early in the morning I received call from one of the entertainers under observation for my study. She was asking help because her manager beat her when she refused to entertain sexually assaultive customer. It is the same club where the second complaint was also against the abusive manager. If foreign workers technically deprived to access social support program of the government due to no existence of labor migration NGOs, the condition of entertainers is worse. They are excluded as beneficiaries of the support program but prone to violence. When problem at the workplace is encountered they have nowhere to go for assistance because they could not find social institution in Jeju protecting their right. Two of the six club entertainers under observation for this study became illegal migrants. They said, it's better to ran away and find jobs at the factory than enduring psυχical and mental abuse perpetuated by managers

Historically, Filipino women entertainers brought to Korea as 'comfort women' for American soldiers in the US military base. The influx of Filipino entertainers started when Japan prohibited Filipino entertainers essentially were prostitutes. Since then, the interest of restricted entertainers and even aspiring entertainers diverted into Korea causing large population of Filipino dancers and singers working within the vicinity of US military base.

## 2. The Impact of 'Racial Social Relation' to the Social Role

Due to homogeneous characteristic of Korean society, naturally, the programs and policies pertaining to the immigrants were design for assimilation to preserve cultural homogeneity and national

identity. It requires immigrants to embody the Korean cultural norms and values to prevent social isolation and public discourse. With this principle, the government created programs promoting cultural assimilation in the form of Korean language education and Korean cultural education available at the multicultural centers, foreign migrant centers, and social welfare centers. The government allocates huge budget for assimilation program with the cooperation of these centers. This is the basic ground why I came up to a premise that adaptation pattern for foreign residents, and foreign marriage migrants women is 'forced assimilation' in the process since there is internal force at the support program level affecting the social relation and networking activities. However, in the case of short-term sojourners such as entertainers and foreign workers, adaptation pattern is more liberal at the interpersonal level but migration policy systematically regulated their social adaptation. Social conformity varies to the social role primarily based from the concept subjugation in social relation. Since subjugation is the key concept, social role became 'prescribed'. Prescribed role is a constructed role to adapt within sociocultural and socioeconomic activities subjectively defined through the essence of social interaction in a given social relation.

### **3. The Effect of Prescribed Social Role to Social Identity**

The social identity theory suggested that if an out-group threatens the identification of an in-group, conflict and ethnocentrism increase (Grant & Brown 1995). Ethnocentrism maximized the law as it increased in-group feelings of superiority, but also victimization, and therefore their hostility towards out-group.

The reason why foreign wives, foreign workers, and foreign entertainers brought into South Korea is what I argued as prescribed role. The body of literatures related to Filipino migration to Korea clearly shows the evidence of the purpose of the state in importing labor forces and international brides. Foreign labor forces brought in to fill the labor shortages in the economic industries, and foreign brides for biological reproduction due to aging condition of the state. These 'prescribed roles' serve as the basic ground in analyzing why marriage migrants women, overseas contract workers, and entertainers/singers are experiencing social inequality resulted to violence and exploitation. The existence of inequality is the expression how these immigrants collectively identified by the mainstream society based on the specific prescribed role. In this concept, social identity of Filipino immigrants characterized as 'ascribed'. Ascribed identity is a collective identification of Filipinos in Jeju set by Korean nationals.

#### 4. Adaptation of Filipino Migrants to Sociocultural and Socioeconomic Activities

##### 4.1 The Marriage Migrants

➤ *Biological Base for Cultural Continuation as Prescribed Sociocultural Role*

As have mentioned earlier, literatures relating to the Filipino migration in Korea clearly shows the evidence of the purpose of the State in importing labor force and international brides. Foreign labor forces brought into Korea to fill in the labor shortages in the economic industries, and foreign brides for biological reproduction due to ageing condition of the society. Foreign brides imported by Korean grooms to maintain traditional and cultural roles that their domestic counterparts seen as being unable or unwilling to fulfill. They are also views as being more likely to reproduce, thus serve as a biological



site for the continuation of national and cultural identity. For example, why would an unskilled, low-income, and a man in early 50s think of getting married to a woman almost double of his age, someone he has never met, someone from strange country he has never been to? The truth stems from traditional family ideology that having children is a way to continue the family line and indeed a mandatory responsibility for Korean people.

Since international brides views as having such important role in cultural continuation, they are directed and/or expected to be submissive to that role which may lead to resentment and misunderstanding.

➤ *Subservient to the Sociocultural Role as Ascribed Sociocultural Identity*

The pressure to be subservient is to push the realization of the prescribed role (biological base for cultural continuation). Failure to reproduce is a possible threat for broken marriage. One respondent said,

*“My mother-in-law said she will find a daughter-in-law who could bear a child even she knows that it is her son who is not able to produce because he is sterile. Before my husband was diagnosed, it was me who undergo series of medication even if the doctor said there is no problem in me.” (Yet, M.M)*

Reproducing the family bloodline is a cultural value and the option to child adoption is the last thing to consider when there is no other means. The statement of the respondent saying.....

*“My husband cannot give me a child that’s why I am desperate because I am running out of time....in few years after, I cannot give birth anymore because I am old. I suggested for adoption but he disagreed. He preferred the in-vitro fertilization using the sperm of his brother. He said, at least the baby is a real family by blood. But the idea is strange to me. I cannot imagine that the biological father of my child is his uncle. I am worried about the psychological effect to the child once the truth will be uncovered.” (Mylz, M.M)*

Biological reproduction is the idea originated from the concept of cultural continuation. Since Korean culture is concern, foreign mothers of biracial children are under pressure to assimilate. Most Korean husbands dislike the idea of foreign wives communicating children through their native languages. Discriminating the native language of foreign mothers make biracial children enable to understand their mother's culture and too focus on Korean identity. This is the reason why biracial children do not describe themselves as biracial or bicultural because there is no way for children to learn their mothers' culture at home and develop alienation of children to their biological mothers, thus, foreign mothers encountered difficulties how to establish good communication with their children. Maybe not all but majority of foreign mothers speak only Korean to children to conform the social rule in communication, aside from English language there is no other foreign language is socially accepted.

Since subservient identity is ascribed, foreign wives are prone to violence. In most cases, it is their inability to fulfill subservient behavior to the prescribed role are the most cited factors when marriage problem occur.

➤ *Commodity as Ascribed Socioeconomic Identity*

The concept of commodity by Marx in his book 'Capital' says that "Commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing by its properties satisfies wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference. Neither are we have concerned to know the object satisfies these wants, whether as means of subsistence, or indirectly as means of production....." ([www.marxist.org](http://www.marxist.org)).

In this perspective, commodity is something that is produced for a purpose to exchange for something else, and in as such, is the material form given to a social relation in exchanging labor. Private property is the very essence of commodity in a social unequitable society.

Commodity of women is best to find in sociological perspective through the works of Jean Kilbourne, Sut Jhally, and Erving Goffman. Their work has focused on ways which women showed in subordinate, subservient and male pleasing roles, and how media representation reflects and reinforces sexism in the society. One form of the commodification of women is the frequent advertisement of foreign brides anywhere as marketing strategy of marriage brokers. The impact of this in psychosocial identity is that, woman is a thing or commodity and by having this identity woman's humanity and subjectivity is denied.

The commercialization of international marriage in Korea where the government itself acted as an agent along with the marriage brokers as intermediaries is a form of commodifying foreign brides. Matched-makers enlisted nationalities of foreign brides with particular price- the essential example of commercialization for foreign brides. Another example of foreign brides' identity as commodity featured in one of the Korean drama on TV. The leading actor is a bachelor and is so desperate to marry foreign woman because he cannot find Korean woman to marry. He travelled to different countries to find and buy his 'bride-to-be'. Although the drama appeared to be entertaining, the storyline is trying to inject viewers' mind that the foreign bride is an option for unmarried bachelor and the market is free for purchasing.

One respondent in Hallim expressed huge disappointment about the existence of tarpaulins anywhere on the street advertising international marriage of women from the Philippines, Vietnam and Cambodia. The impact of international marriage in the economic sphere of Korean brokers are foreign bride serve as a site for *'trade in and commodification'*, and serve as a *'means for guaranteeing household labor and production.'* There is clear evidence that the international marriage trade is done to promote commodification of brides through the work of scholars explaining the process of commodification such as Gates (1989) and Lu (2005). In contrast, Wang and Chang offered the most detailed study on how the commodification process occurs. They argued that well developed networks

of international marriage brokers have led to a point where “the process of international marriage is gradually being transformed to enhance profits to various intermediaries” (2002).

One respondent in Hagwi narrated her life story with her abusive husband. She is suffering all forms of violence (mental, emotional, and physical). Most of the police officers around Hagwi area knew her case because she often called the police hotline each time her husband beat her. When I asked ‘*Why does he treated you that way?*’ and her replied goes like this,

*“..... because he said I’ve been here for more than 10 years and yet I could not follow the Korean style and he spent too much money to get me” (Gracia, M.M).*

Her case is a concrete example of commodification addressing to Marx theory of ‘use-value and labor-value’ of a commodity. For the point of view of this respondent’s husband, *her use-value* is to live a life the way typical Korean women in the traditional concept does , and her labor value is the amount he spent to get her from the Philippines.

This is the psychosocial identity of foreign brides in Korean society promoting dehumanization<sup>10</sup> and violence. This commodification made more difficult for foreign brides to assimilate and apparently would lead to resentment between immigrant bride and people in the community.

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<sup>10</sup> “Once certain groups are stigmatized as evil, morally inferior, and not fully human, the persecution of those groups becomes more psychologically acceptable. Restraints against aggression and violence begin to disappear. Not surprisingly, dehumanization increases the likelihood of violence and may cause a conflict to escalate out of control. Once [violence](#) break over has occurred, it may seem even more acceptable for people to do things that they would have regarded as morally unthinkable before”. Maiese, Michelle. “Dehumanization.” *Beyond Intractability*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: July 2003. <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/dehumanization/>

One indicator of dehumanization is the ‘moral exclusion and disengagement’ that According to Kelman, dehumanization involves denying a person “identity”—a perception of the person “as an individual, independent and distinguishable from others, capable of making choices” (p. 301)—and “community”—a perception of the other as “part of an interconnected network of individuals who care for each other” (p. 301). Related arguments were made in Opatow’s (1990) work on “moral exclusion,” the process by which people are placed “outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply” (p. 1). cited from the work of Nick Haslam, *Dehumanization: An Integrative Review*. Department of Psychology, University of Melbourne. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 2006, Vol. 10, No. 3, 252–264.

## 4.2 The Overseas Filipino Workers

### ➤ *Fillers of Dirty, Dangerous, and Difficult Jobs as the Prescribed Socioeconomic Role*

According to the report of *the Dong-A Ilbo*, one of the major newspapers in South Korea, it was in 1987 that foreign workers came into Korean society for the first time as domestic helpers in the wealthiest area of Seoul. After that, the numbers of migrant workers have sharply increased. Although the number decreased temporarily in 1998 due to the Asian Financial Crisis, the flow of migrant workers increased again since the fall of 1999. According to a 2002 report published by the Office of the Prime Minister, there were an estimated 337,000 foreign workers in South Korea. Those migrant workers filled the empty holes of so-called 3Ds jobs (difficult, dangerous or dirty jobs) such as small factories, construction sites, heat-treat, fishery, dyeing, restaurants, farms and so on. Thus, they are essential parts of the Korean economy, especially, unskilled production, at which native Koreans no longer want to work.

To solve the labor shortages in small and mid-sized firms the government had to import limited number of foreign labor forces in the name of trainees, yet at the same time the government attempted to control numbers of foreign workers on a short-term basis. According to Hwa-Seo Park, one of the principles for the migrant workers in South Korea is to prevent them from settling down in a long term, and to force them to work only within a restricted period.

### ➤ *Outsiders of Korean Society as the Ascribed Socioeconomic Identity*

South Korea is too focused to solve the problem of insufficient labor force due to low birth rate by taking of the consideration of foreign workers as one of the resourceful means. On the contrary, the State remains generally hesitant to foreign influences and a changing South Korean identity.

At present, there are no government programs to educate native Koreans on accepting different cultures and there is no path to citizenship for workers under the Employment Permit System ( EPS ) program. Permanent residency offered only to those skilled workers with strict compliance to pass the high standard of requirements. According to the Ministry of Immigration (2007), “the current system is not attracting skilled workers, as it requires the experience of working as unskilled worker to be recognized as skilled labor.” That’s why the government needs to attract sufficient skilled labor, therefore the F-2 visa (residence) will be granted to unskilled workers who have developed into skilled workers in place. Prior to this, are the requirements such as : 1) Employed at Korean companies as unskilled worker for five years or longer, 2) Obtained certificate of skilled designated by the Justice of Minister after consultation with other heads of central administrative agencies or earn wages above a predetermined amount, 3) Possess assets to support livelihood, 4) Equipped with basic knowledge of Korean culture and language, 5) Has decency. The F-5 visa (legal permanent residence) will be also granted for those who have lived in Korea for five years.

#### 4.3 The Entertainers

➤ *Consumption for Leisure as the Prescribed Sociocultural Role*

In 2006, there was online BBC News entitled “South Koreans offered cash for no sex”. The ‘South Koreans’ in the title referred to Korean people who were white or blue collar men. This title is very eye

catching since it was the Ministry of Gender and Equality initiated the *money-no sex* activities for male employees of any firms or companies. According to the official, the purpose was “to put an end to a culture in which men get drunk at parties and go on to buy sex” (cited from the BBC News 2006).

‘John School’ in Korea is an alternative psychological therapy for those convicted of buying sex when the anti-prostitution law was implemented last 2004. In a report submitted to the National Assembly, a total of 99,958 were sent to the John School program as an alternative to criminal prosecution from 2005 to August of 2010 (Ministry of Justice, cited from Korea Herald 2010). According to this report, by profession, it was office workers took up the large portion of those who took part in the rehabilitation program while doctors and lawyers from 13% of 2006 to 29.5% in 2008. The sky-rocketted increase of percentage from intellectual sectors (such as doctors and lawyers) supported the premise that places like room salon and so the like where sex workers are usually found is a ‘status quo’ place. Men from the lower class could hardly enter to such places because the economic boundaries for target consumers prevented them . However, room salon is not the only entertaining place promoting prostitution activities (yet culturally accepted) in Jeju. In Yeondong (Sinjeju) alone, massage parlors mostly active at night is intriguing. The business title is obviously telling professional service of body massage but business operation at night where workers are women and target consumers are men is somehow emphasizing the differentiated role of gender in cultural value. Entertaining places where sex workers are set to entertain costumers (men) in exchange for money hiding through massage parlor, barber shops, room salon, and karaoke bars is a socioeconomic activity engaged by individuals in their 60s, 40s, 30s and 20s of widowed, unmarried, and married women (house wives). This means to say that drinking and buying sex is normal and socially accepted to Korean men’s modern cultural orientation because ‘sex as leisure’ is their typical concept of ‘sex buying’ activities. According to the middle age Korean man, drinking and ‘sex buying’ is a leisure activity after stressful events encountered. This typical ‘sex leisure’

lifestyle is extended outside the country through 'sex tourism' scheme of sex tours agencies in Korea who has international network with brokers from underdeveloped and developing countries producing women as sex workers.

The anti-prostitution law of buying sex abroad is the national government immediate response to prevent worse damage of country's image greatly affected by the purchased of sex in overseas countries (The Sydney Morning Herald 2007). The enforcement of this law is to crack down brokers and travel agents helping sex travelers as part of controlling the trending culture of sex business in South Korea. However, 'sex as leisure' mental pattern of men in the entertaining industry is one source of the country's Gross National Product. Therefore, consumption of sex as leisure is acceptable economic activity and becoming a cultural trait making women directly or indirectly identified as object of men's sexual activities. The "women as men's sexual object" is undeniable when someone has to observe people's nightlife activities within the busy streets of Yeondong in Sinjeju. The 'messy look' massage parlor opens only at night and sex agents outside negotiating prospective consumers that even taxi drivers are engaged to this kind of sex business networks appears to be normal in a night life scenario. Formal dressed up women within the age bracket of 20-30 looks like professional sex workers coming in and out with men though not always but most often are drunk. I asked to a known Korean man if some of those sex workers are married and he replied this way *"They can't, even if they would like to. No men in a normal mental state would marry women selling sex.....those women will be single forever. After all they are making money good enough to support their selves."* My follow up inquiry is to know the work system of these women. The informant (Korean man) explained that these women have no permanent or regular working place. They just roam around to sex business establishments each time they receive calls asking sex service in exchange for 100,000 Korean won or more in two hours.



The sex leisure culture greatly influenced human trafficking for Filipino entertainers brought in to South Korea as sex workers. Recruiters tempted them with luxury life and high wages, and as soon as these women agreed to work for them, they became slaves and victims of human traffic. In Jeju, human trafficking to produce Filipino sex workers is hard to prove. There are two factors of such difficulty such as Filipino entertainers are reluctant to give details about sexual activities related to work to protect personal privacy. Second, the verification of Filipino sex workers in Jeju is limited because managers do not allow them to explore outside the working place therefore, no one knows where they are working at what they are doing at work. Human trafficking of Filipino women entertainers in Jeju is not through brokers or agencies in Jeju. All of these women working at the bar are sent either by brokers in Daegu and Daejeon and have been complaining about physical violence and violations of women's right. The need to drink as much as possible to get more commissions is a standard working value, and the need to meet the imposed regulation of tracking body weight is highly important. Gaining weight more than the standard weight required by club/bar managers means minus the rate of monthly salary. This is to say that in order to be consumable, workers must have to display attractive physical appearance and skillful to entertain consumers with high satisfaction. One respondent said,

*"If the manager noticed we gained weight, we will be reminded the regulation. We can't refuse to entertain disrespectful customers because the manager will be angry and always telling us that this is our job and we are here to do the job" (Laden, Ent.)*

The impact of sex leisure culture is the emergence of foreign sex workers at the club/bar. Business operators grab the opportunity of making money through bar fines when consumers are taking out women for sex purposes. Sex workers is likely to receive 20% of the bar fines and the remaining 80% goes to the club/bar owner, profitable enough compare to employ Korean women sex workers. To gain more profit is the business interest resulting to human trafficking of vulnerable women struggling for economic resources and when offered good salary and work description as singer is very attractive and

perfect opportunity for them. This is a common concept of persuasion to bring in many women to work as entertainers.

Since the concept of Entertainer/Singer is not far different, women singers at the hotel are not an exemption of “Entertainers/Singers are sex workers” perception. One respondent of Jeju Grand Hotel said,

*“I was really disappointed when one of our guests asked me to go out with him and will pay for my service. I told him my job is different from those singers/entertainers in the club or bars.....” (Rose, Ent.)*

The migration policy has the impact of the perception of the local consumers that entertainers/singers are bound for sex workers because they are obtaining the same type of visa (E-6). The issuance of visa for singers and dancers at the clubs or bars is not on the service anymore, however, continuous hiring of the same working description is still operating through E-6 visa.

In cultural orientation perspective, the impact of racial social relation to the leisure entertaining industry is the observable dominant population of Russian women working at clubs or strip bars in Jeju. It proved that local consumers of sex leisure are more preferable to white skin than fairly-brown complexion of Filipino. Culturally, skin color is an important indicator of beauty and femininity in South Korea. This is an old-age method of evaluating social prestige that white skin colors are people who enjoy abundance and resources while black, brown (for Filipinos) are people doing laborious activity outside. White skin color as cultural value of beauty in Korea is the reason of massive emergence of beauty products on the market. Old women whose activity is farming cannot work under the sun without putting on sun block, wearing big-rounded hat and long sleeve shirt. It is only here in Jeju (or maybe some part of Korea) where women have to wear long sleeve shirt and sun protector hat when swimming at the beach. These are some evidence how white skin plays important role to femininity and

beauty in Korea. To trace the standard of beauty among Korean women in modern times,” is the number of Asians looking to remake themselves to look more Caucasians” (Time Asia 2002). It became usual for Korean women to undergo surgery to improve physical appearance to meet the global standard of beauty. Movie stars and media personalities started to admit on public that they experienced some facial surgery to enhance something or eliminate something. It is affordable to make pointed nose and big-rounded eyes that even college students are enjoying the benefits. This is to say that Korean women are struggling to improve their beauty to cease the inferiority complex dominated by westerners.

The idea of “Bringing the world to Korea” offers affordable prices fostering internationalization of cultures beneficial for those Koreans who cannot afford to travel overseas. This idea brought significant numbers of foreigners entering Korea reached out 5.75 million of whom some 73 percent are travelers or visitors (The Ministry of Justice 2005). This is one factor encouraged the wave of foreign women ended as sex workers in South Korea. The study funded by the Ministry of Gender and Equality in 2004 revealed that “the male-centered Korean society seeks to fulfill its need for women in sex industry, and the government’s approval of such practices has contributed to the proliferation of international trafficking of women into South Korea.” Jeffreys, 1999; Barry,1995; and Enloe, 1989 argued in their study that the role of the state and its failure to monitor and break the chain of trafficking is one cited factor of the continuous sex business participated by foreign women. One respondent revealed how the broker forced her to work with some sort of psychological intimidation. She said,

*“In the Philippines, I was negotiated to work here as a singer only because I was a singing performer of the band. When I arrived here, the broker could not find job for me so I suggested of sending me back to the Philippines but he insisted that I should work at the bar for a couple of months and refused to accept my suggestion. He said I should work for the meantime while waiting for vacant job at the hotel or restaurant so he can get back the money spent for all documents I needed to come to Korea” (Lyn, Ent.)*

The respondent's statement emphasized the collaboration of profit-seeking broker and the weak enforcement of migration policy specifically the E-6 visa supposedly for professional artist and performer to come to Korea to work at entertaining industry.

➤ *Object for Men's Sexual Related Consumption as the Ascribed Socioeconomic Identity*

"Prostitution in Korea is illegal, but according to the Korea Women's Development Institute, the sex trade was estimated the amount of 14 trillion South Korean won or \$US 13 billion in 2007, roughly 1.6% of the Nation's gross domestic product" (cited from Wikipedia). Based on the data from the Korean Embassy in Manila, 947 E-6 visas were issued to Filipinos in 2002. In 2003, after Korea stopped issuing E-6 visa to dancers, the number of E-6 visa recipients rose to 1,397. In 2004, it went up to 2,248, and in 2005 reached a new high of 2,350. It declined only in 2006 with 1,800 E6 visas" (cited from News Break).



Picture1 . Filipino Juicy Bar girl flirting on Camera.

< from Mabuhay.com: The Ultimate OFW Community >



Picture2 . Filipino Juicy Bar girls attracting customers outside the bar

< from Mabuhay.com: The Ultimate OFW Community >

Accordingly, prostitutes phenomenon disguised under the E-6 visa is increasing as Japan implemented law banning Filipino entertainers. This is the reason why brokers or agencies have diverted Korea as new destination. Almost a decade ago, Filipino prostitutes or known as “juicy bar girls” concentrated to areas where American soldiers are populated. This is because Filipino women can communicate in English and the supply of consumption from local women (Korean women) was decreasing. The identity as “juicy bar girls” came from the line of work which is to sell expensive drinks to customers and in return girls are expected to sit with the customers as long as they continue to buy drinks. This social problem is rampant in the metropolis, and recently, has reached out Jeju Island.

*“I met some of entertainers claiming themselves as singers, and when asked where they are performing, the answer is very unpleasant upon hearing words such as ‘club’ and ‘bar’. Eager to know*

about them, I asked what type of visa do they have for such kind of work and to my surprised, they also have E6 visa the way singers at the hotel are. Eventually, I suggested them to transfer into a more decent workplace like hotel or restaurant but according to them the broker does not allow them to do so and failure to comply the broker's rules and regulation is a ground for 'deportation'. Deportation is their term for someone who is sent back to the Philippines for not obeying the broker. I visited two bars/clubs (which I prefer not to mention the name of the establishments) in Sinjeju where these girls are working for to personally evaluate the condition of the workplace. It was my first time entering the room salon and kayobanju (karaoke bar with GRO<sup>11</sup>) and had no idea the activities in such kind of human entertaining place. When the girls saw me entering, their faces suddenly filled with mixed emotion ( sad, scared, shy ) because they were not wearing typical outfit of singer the way singers I have seen wearing gown and casual outfit at the Jeju Grand Hotel, KAL Hotel, and Hyatt Hotel. Obviously it is because of differences in ambiance, the concept of business, the purpose and type of people in those places. The girls were wearing only a very tiny piece of clothes covering just the private parts. Typically prostitutes at first glance. As I observed, singing is not a primary duty of their job but to entertain customers while drinking together, chitchatting, and etc. Customers could even execute intimate gestures such as touching, hugging, and kissing- such immoral job for the amount of \$US 400 a month (except tips from the customers). When I visited the officetel (as what they calls it) of these girls I am talking here, it made my inquiry flows easier. To describe their living condition, a small place good for 1-2 persons is occupied by six people with a bedroom size refrigerator, portable gas burner, no TV and air conditioner. Indeed, a poor living condition and poor salary for immoral job. I asked them if they were aware what they are supposed to work (or the exact job description) prior to arrival in Korea. Three out of five girls replied a big "NO". According to them, the job description they got from the broker did not match to what they

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<sup>11</sup> GRO or Guest Relation Officer is the term widely used in the Philippines to describe someone working at the karaoke to entertain guests or customers.



are working here. To verify their singing ability, I invited them to norebang (singing room) only to found out that out of six only two could sing very well. I am not a professional singer or a singing instructor but I have my own standard when to qualify someone having an excellent voice. I wonder how these four girls passed the qualification and obtain visa as entertainer (singer). Follow up inquiry was for the validity of visa the four girls who couldn't sing well on the basis of my standard. I interviewed a former singer (from the same bar/club or whatever it calls) turned out as marriage immigrant about the details of my inquiry. She said,

*"I, myself, was a victim due to falsified information from the broker. I worked at the calling center (telephone operator) on daytime and singer at the fine dining restaurant at nighttime. The manager asked me if I want to come to Korea as singer because she knows an agency for that. I auditioned and passed. There were several girls in the audition day and the broker said not to worry about the singing performance because everybody could passed. By then I had a doubt about the credibility of the broker and eventually asked him the possible consequences if the employer finds out that the hired singer could not sing well. He didn't answer me directly instead explained how they edited the videotape of applicants to be presented to the Regulatory Board. Those who have moderate voice were edited to make it sound excellent so they could get the visa. When I came here, I was very disappointed but what shall I do?" (Lyn, Ent.)*

*When I asked if they are allowed to go out with customer? She said 'NO' because the manager will not allow to, contradicting to Korean man's comment that "Filipino women is yummy". Such quotation that Filipino worker (clerk) often heard from her boss. It's hard to verify such kind of information since it is very private and personal information for respondents. One girl told me that the club has customers from higher social statuses including an officer from the immigration office. This information is quite disappointing knowing that the authority is tolerating such illegal activities of foreigners in Jeju.*

*Another heartbreaking story of human trafficking is the story of my hometown friend, an alumna of the high school where I graduated. She found me through online networking (facebook) created for all alumni of the school. She told me that she's been in Korea for almost a year already with*

*illegal alien status. The reason of her illegal status is when she escaped the workplace she could not bear to stay. She was recruited as a singer and entered Korea through E6 visa. She narrated that the workplace is like a hell because it pushed her to have sex with customers from different nationalities. She was imprisoned in the bedroom and the door only opens when customer is coming in. She was on the stage of suicidal when she found favorable moment to escape.*

*The story of my hometown friend is a concrete evidence of the weak enforcement in issuing visa for entertainers and is abused by brokers to traffic vulnerable women from the Philippines. If the E6 visa will not be tighten through implementing strict standard and reinforcement of tough precautionary measures of applicants' credibility in singing, there is no doubt there will be more victims of human trafficking as the result of brokers' direct involvement by falsifying information for their own business advantage.*

Originally the recruitment of Filipino women was for the consumption of English speaking people that is why clubs and bars filled with Filipinos are observable around the military bases of American soldiers but since it already reached out Jeju Island, the idea of consumption turned out to be localized- that is, "*Filipino women for Korean men*" consumption.

## 5. Language acquisition pattern of Filipino migrants

### 5.1 Reasons for learning

#### 1) In learners perspective

##### a. Marriage Migrants

- *To establish good communication between husband and wife.*



This motivation is generally the main concern of all marriage migrants since most of the marital problems occur due to communication gap. Both husband and wife experienced difficulties in communication adjustment in the early period of marriage that oftentimes leads to misunderstanding causing both emotional and psychological crisis. Some Filipino women who failed to surpass this critical stage opted to end the marriage legally or illegally. Some went through the legal proceedings of divorce and others were not. Others chose to live separately from their Korean husbands and went to the mainland to sustain their financial needs by working at the factory. This means to say that good communication relies heavily on the stability to communicate through Korean language because most of husbands are not able to use either Filipino or English language. Respondent said,

*"I have been living for 6 years with my husband but still we are not talking. I asked him to talk to me but he said it's useless because I can't understand even if he would."* (Weng, M.M)

➤ *Child Rearing*

Children who were born from the international marriages are experiencing sociolinguistic<sup>12</sup> alienation and identity discrimination resulting to lower self-esteem, affecting the poor scholastic achievements at school. Filipino-Korean children identified to be incompetent especially to the subject of Korean language that is because the nurturing mother is not articulate to the language. Helping children to do their home works is impossible because of the mother's huge limitation, therefore, inability of children to excel in scholastic performance is affected by the mother's inability to teach and rear as what typical Korean mother does. The low level of sociolinguistic competence is a common problem of biracial children. The inability to use and respond the language appropriately is directly

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<sup>12</sup> Sociolinguistics is the study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, on the way language is used, and the effects of language use on society. Sociolinguistics differs from sociology of language in that the focus of sociolinguistics is the effect of the society on the language, while the latter's focus is on the language's effect on the society.

affected by the nurturing environment. One of the consequences is if one of the parents is born in their country of origin, or in any places outside Korea. The child tend to be more negative due to inefficient parenting that does not fit to the nature of parenting in Korean society. This is the possible effect of multicultural family in the development of a child. Another nurturing environment is the school. Teachers at the school pay less attention to the limitation of biracial children in terms of their level of understanding in Korean language and some teachers show less affection to biracial children. The respondent expressed her complaint this way,

*“There was a time my son came home from school with huge bruise on his eyes. I asked him what happened and he said his classmate hit him. He’s been experiencing too often lately. I asked my Korean friend to accompany me when talking to the classroom teacher to avoid communication gap. The teacher seems to be careless about my son. She even defended the one who hit my son often. My son is like ‘wangta’ (Korean term for isolated or behind from the group).....he failed many subjects and the teacher is like passive of giving attention to him.....maybe because he is biracial.” (Victoria, M.M)*

Most foreign mothers have the same complaint when it comes to children scholastic performance and social relation with their classmates because some classroom teachers are inconsiderate that children from multicultural family has limited ability to grasp the language since the nurturing mothers has also limitation on it. As children started to go to elementary school, Filipino mothers feel the need to learn Korean language to teach children but situation goes opposite, it is the children teaches Korean language to their mothers. One respondent who had been living in Jeju for 9 years said,

*“It is my son who actually teaches me the Korean language. He translates Korean words into English if I could not understand or into my dialect in the Philippines. My son speak 3 languages....I taught him English and my dialect.....I think he is a big help to me.” (Wayne, M.M)*

b. The Overseas Contract Workers and the Entertainers

➤ *Social Acceptance to the Basic Structural Organization*

Filipinos by nature emphasize the importance of so called "Pakikisama"<sup>13</sup> (ability to get along with others or comradeship) cultural values. The present definition of pakikisama seems to derail the authentic significance of its social and behavioral intention. Without knowing the intended meaning and its social capabilities, it also conveys a vicious meaning in society. Filipinos also love to mix themselves in the symmetry of people and likely to be a part of a particular social group. This term is close to the individual collectivism in the United States. Generally, Filipino social relationship towards others is based on the idea of social membership or belongingness into a certain group or structure. Since there is communication gap, it is difficult for them to interact naturally to both Korean and other nationalities even though they belong to the same work place. This fact leads them to feel being alienated or the feeling of exclusion within the certain social group or structure at the workplace. The absence of "social belongingness" pushes Filipinos to go to the Jung-Ang Catholic Church on Sundays. For Filipinos, it is the only venue catering solid Filipino social interaction and offers the sense of cultural belongingness regardless of religious faith or denomination. Filipinos at Jung-Ang Catholic Church are not all Roman Catholic believers. Some of them are from different religious denomination but still they prefer to go at the church so they can mingle other Filipinos because to some extent it help to ease homesickness , sharing good and bad experiences at work, and avail the free medical service at the church's foreign center.

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<sup>13</sup> This core value refers to the one's desire to be treated as an equal. Pakikipagkapwa-tao ( relating to others) is task translated into acts of helping, sharing and cooperating with others. A Filipino would like to think that he lives and moved with his co-equals. He/She would also expect that the consideration he/she shows to others will be reciprocated. Filipinos are said to be loyal to their friends and fellowmen in order to ensure the peace in the group. This is manifested in their basic sense of justice and fairness and concern for other's well being. Filipinos recognize the essential humanity of all people and regard others with respect and empathy. With this orientation, Filipinos develop sensitivity to the nature and quality of interpersonal relationships, which are their principal source of security and happiness.

➤ *To Network with Koreans*

Respondent identifies Korean people as friendly and nice. Accordingly, the loyalty from a Korean friend is the most appreciated Korean cultural values. Friendship, for Korean terminology is attributed to a kind of relationship deeper than the general definition of the word in western culture. This is the reason why Filipinos desires to make friends with Korean people because of their loyalty. Interacting with Korean friends is considered the natural way of understanding each others'



Picture 3. Filipino Workers with Korean Friends @ the Birthday Party



Picture 4. Circle of Friends: Filipino, Korean, and the American

culture, help to maintain harmonious social relationship despite of cultural differences. But the communication boundaries play as the integral factor blocking the bridge of Filipino-Korean social interaction. Some respondents pointed out misunderstanding usually happen when both parties does not aware of each others' cultural practices. The Overseas Contract Workers and the Entertainers are far less articulate in Korean language compare to the Marriage Migrants although they have the same length scale of migration. This is because they have less personal and social interaction<sup>14</sup> with Koreans in their daily working activities.

## 2) Gatekeepers' Perspective

### ➤ *To Minimize Communication Barrier*

As already mentioned, the idea behind the government's support program implemented through NGOs (example, the multicultural family centers) is assimilation. Multicultural centers and any other social welfare centers are the leading social agencies for Korean language study. Assimilation to the national language means elimination of communication barrier between immigrants and the mainstream people. When someone could barely speak the language, the most comments/suggestions to be heard from Korean people is "Learn Korean fast!" and "suffocating!" Korean government is too concerned about immigrants to assimilate the language for two major reasons. First, the majority of Korean nationals cannot be able to use foreign language except some Japanese words as the evidence of Japan occupation in the country. Second, most of single bachelors married with foreign wives cannot

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<sup>14</sup> Vygotsky, a psychologist and social constructivist, laid the foundation for the interactionists view of language acquisition. According to Vygotsky, social interaction plays an important role in the learning process and proposed the zone of proximal development (ZPD), where learners construct the new language through socially mediated interaction. Krashen (2003) expanded this concept when he declared "...adults, given enough comprehensible input and a reasonably low anxiety environment, typically achieve very high levels of competency in second languages" (p. 3).

speak English, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino whom are top largest group of foreigners in Jeju.

From this argument, it is the teaching institutions ( could be peer, family, school ) held the significant power in designing the context of language to be taught serving as the reference in making the language learners' new social identity. For example is when a newcomer migrant taught to be in polite form when talking to elder people. In teacher's viewpoint, it is not a simple rule of getting into the language but a command emphasizing the hierarchical relation within the family, structured relation at the workplace, or hierarchic social relation of Korean people in general. Another form of controlling the linguistic resources is the linguistic discrimination which the method of teaching hold the tenets that Korean is best taught monolingually (meaning, the medium of instruction is only Korean), and the ideal teacher is Korean teacher. Teaching Korean language only in Korean is possible for learners' whose level are relatively advance and could be able to understand the grammatical form, social linguistic terms as well as the philosophical connotation and denotation of words and etc. But for beginners, this method is not effective at all. Simple logic is " How can learners learned Korean if it is only taught in Korean? ", apparently, no matter how long the teacher explain or how teacher desires to establish communicative relationship with the learners is still not effective because learners could not grasp and comprehend the inputs because the language being used is the language itself under studied.

## 5.2 Attitude in Teaching-Learning of Racial Social Relation

In this study, teaching-learning attitude defined as the characteristics of effort and motivations to deal with in Korean language. Motivation is a sociocultural construct to assess meaningful connection of the host language to the language learners' aspiration when they learned the language.

### 1) Passivism in Language Acquisition as Learners' Attitude

As mentioned in the previous pages, Filipino immigrants considered Korean language as beneficial to establish good communication between husband and wife; child rearing; social acceptance to the basic structural organization; and to network with Korean nationals. These are cited reasons related to the importance of Korean language to their lives in Jeju. These reasons simply explained current adaptation of Filipinos in interpersonal and social relation in crossing Korean culture from Filipino culture.

During the course of interview related to language acquisition, findings of this study came out that Filipino immigrants valued *'interaction with Koreans'* plays a major role in acquiring the language. However, they specified that *'interaction is only possible when they are given the chance.'* This statement clearly emphasized the desire of Filipinos to be socially interactive along with Korean nationals but are showing less effort to materialized the desire. Effort in sociocultural perspective is a behavioral condition deeply affected by the existing social relation. One respondent who have been living in Jeju for 13 years said,

*"I am lazy of studying Korean language. It is a headache to me. I don't mind if my Korean ability is still poor as long as I can communicate to my husband and he understands my Korean...that is important."*  
(Babes, M.M)

This statement proved that Korean language is less desirable for Filipinos when social mobility is concerned. Only one respondent declared that learning Korean language is very important so she can



work according to what skills she has, therefore can use her degree obtained in the Philippines. This respondent is valuing social mobility and is optimistic about it. The rest of the respondents do not see it as something important as a ladder for social status. The one who valued language for social mobility is living Jeju less than a year while the rest of respondents viewed the importance of language in different concept are living Jeju between the range of 2-15 years but are significantly having the passive attitude towards learning the Korean language. Passivism of Filipino immigrants categorized into two aspects. First, *they are not enthusiastic to do formal study at the multicultural centers.* Second, *they primarily valued interaction with Korean nationals when learning the language but are not exerting effort to socialize with them.* The 'no effort' for socialization with Koreans is based on their social network pattern. The pattern includes networking through religion (example, Filipino English Mass at Jung-Ang Catholic Church), barkadahan system (close ties within members of group of friends), and online networking (example, all Filipinos in Jeju are computer savy making them active to go online for chatting and exchanging messages through facebook). All of the respondents declared that through these patterns stress and homesick is able to relieve. In this concept, social networks of Filipinos in Jeju serve as the 'comfort zone' helping to ease emotional and psychological distress experienced in acculturating to the mainstream culture. The attitude of showing no effort to learn the language is developed by the resentments the way they are treated of the host society. For example, the Overseas Contract Workers and the Entertainers (Performers at the hotel; singer/GRO) do not consider the importance of Korean language for social mobility because they are treated as outsiders of Korean society by not allowing them to acquire citizenship, and their economic activities do not facilitate verbal communication with Koreans. Marriage migrants see the importance of Korean language in interpersonal relation because they believed that to overcome marital problems and child-rearing issues is to equip themselves of Korean language.



## 2) Ethnocentrism in language education as gatekeepers' attitude

Gatekeepers are institutions facilitating language acquisition of language learners. In Jeju, gatekeepers are multicultural family centers and social welfare centers responsible for language education of foreign immigrants subsidized by the government. The family; peers; and social organizations are venues to acquire the language in informal setting. The attitude of language educators/facilitators towards the language learners is a subtle evidence of the existing social relation. Racial social relation between language learners and language gatekeepers encouraged power relation within the give-and-take learning process making one dependent to the other. For example, if the learner is relatively powerful, the teacher's task is to provide all linguistic resources based on learner's demand. In contrast, if the teacher possessed power within the social relation, language learner is dependent to the linguistic resources offered by the teacher.

In Jeju Island, all of Filipino immigrants are dependent to the availability of language education offered in multicultural family centers and social welfare centers. The linguistic need of learners is defined subjectively, meaning, the basis of assessment is not to determine what particular learning resources and learning context are needed but to ensure the mainstream interests.

As the state maintains the principle of preserving 'Korean purity', either short term or long term sojourners are directed to adopt the pattern of adaptation systematically enforced through migration policy and support programs of the government. In relation to language acquisition, the concept of language learning is ethnocentrism. Ethnocentric attitude held the principle that native language must not a tool for learners to intimidate the host nationals; the best method to learn the language is to use the language in the give-and-take learning process; and that the effective teacher is the native speaker

of the language. This attitude is the reason why Filipinos are also reluctant to pursue Korean language education at the centers. One respondent complained about the teaching method because,

*".....the language we are studying is the language used in our study. It is difficult to understand because the teacher speaks only Korean. I think we need Filipino teacher for our Korean language education." (Nor, M.M)*

## 6. Language competence adaptation of Filipino migrants

In this study, the language competence is the ability to use the host language in daily interaction with host nationals, language as the means of social mobility, and language as the tool to understand the host culture. These are dependent variables to assess competent level of Filipino immigrants in Korean language impacted by the racial social relation.

'Social interaction' as the most preferred source of linguistic skills for Filipinos encouraged communicative competency in basic conversation with host nationals, however, discouraged to develop writing skills in the process. Majority of the respondents cited that 'writing in Korean' is the most difficult part to deal with. There are Filipino marriage migrants who have been living in Jeju for 15-20 years and are relatively communicative but writing ability is nothing different from those 5 years of migration existence in Jeju. The inability to write correct spelling of words and grammar affected mother's role to teach children and help them to work out school homeworks. This is the reason why Filipino mothers had encountered difficulties in child rearing because children developed psychological distance upon discovering mother's inability to help overcome meaningful problem for them. One respondent in Hallim cited reasons why her daughter shows very low scholastic rating. According to her,

*"I can't teach her. No one could ever help her homeworks because most of the time only me and her left at home.....my husband usually comes home once a month or never because his line of work*

*pressures him to do so. I find ways to cover up by sending her to after school programs but it seems like she isn't interested to study even if her father talked to her and explained how important to study hard even if she's only elementary because failure scholastic reports will make her difficult to enter high school and to the university" (Babes, M.M).*

Korean language competency for social mobility is still unproven in Jeju Island. No one of the respondents has achieved desired social status quo because of language competency. Social mobility through language does not only consider communicative skill but includes academic skills in language such as reading and writing where Filipinos are struggling, however, are reluctant to study.

The reason why Filipinos does not consider mobility as the reason for language learning, is the realities of social inequality are observable and subjectively interpreted in the perspective of racial social relation. Respondent cited that,

*"It is tough to compete with Koreans in the economic activities. They are highly preferred for available job position because they are also highly competent. Even Koreans are competing to get good job in Korea that is why they goes abroad to study. Fair enough for them to be hired.....but when your application is rejected because of race, is unfair. I have several traumatic experiences at work because of my racial identity and apparently it developed frustrations and hatred to Korean people" (Liway, M.M)*

Native Jeju people especially older people speak only Jeju dialect that is totally different the way it is spoken and used (such as the stress of sound; vocabularies, sociolinguistic meaning) in Korean language. Most people in the mainland commonly say "Jeju dialect is a foreign language" because it is the only dialect of the Korean peninsula that outsiders of Jeju society could not be able to relate.

Understanding specific culture of Jeju must have to deal with the dialect as well. In the case of Filipino immigrants , in most cases, only marriage migrants has the ability to interpret Jeju culture because they have direct access to interact with Jeju people such as father/mother-in-law and husband. Filipino marriage women who are communicative obviously heard speaking with Jeju accent and usage

of some words and phrases. This is something they learned through interaction/socialization impossible to learn in formal setting (example, at the multicultural centers, and social welfare centers).

The Overseas Filipino Workers are exposed also to local dialect because managers and other Korean counterparts at work speak Jeju dialect when communicating each other that in the process acquired by Filipinos. This is to emphasize that the only venue for Overseas Filipino Workers to learn the Korean language is the workplace. Particularly in Jeju, Korean language acquisition is limited because language agents at the workplace usually preferred Jeju dialect. Since they do not go to multicultural centers to study Korean language, it came out that their ability to communicate primarily developed through the local dialect, not the national language.

## **CHAPTER 5: Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations**

### **I. Summary**

This study evolved from the research problem of adaptation of Filipino immigrants in Jeju society, purposive to explore the “Adaptation of Filipino Immigrants motivated by social relation with Korean nationals in Jeju Society in terms of role and identity as stimulating factors to the pattern of language acquisition.” The main objective of this study is to offer qualitative understanding of the existing sociocultural and socioeconomic adaptation that is integral to explain the learning attitude significantly related to the competence of Filipinos in Korean language for the Jeju government to implement policies and develop effective support programs to improve the quality of life.

## 1.1 Racial Social Relation

Adaptation of Filipino immigrants in Jeju was investigated through the concept of social relation in the perspective of cultural orientation and the governing principle of Jeju along with the value of national governance towards foreign labor workers, foreign entertainers, and foreign marriage migrants in sociocultural and socioeconomic activities. The focal point regulated the proceedings of this study is the 'social relation' of Korean nationals towards Filipino immigrants. Social relation defined through one relative power over others or subjugation. In this definition, subjugation is a construct stimulated by generalized interests of one who held power causal for prescribed sociocultural and socioeconomic roles of others under subjugation, thus, encouraged ascribed identity. To define the characteristic of social relation, this study has evaluated Korean cultural values socially supported through the coordination of Jeju government and NGOs, and legally protected through migration policy. This study found out that the existing characteristic of social relation between ethnic Koreans and Filipino immigrants is racial. Subjugation to ethnic minorities is due to national interest by preserving Korea's national identity (homogeneity) in the midst of the emerging multicultural families and foreign workers.

## 1.2 Adaptation to Sociocultural Roles and Identity in Racial Social Relation

### 1) Prescribed Role: Marriage Migrants as Biological Base for Cultural Continuation

In racial social relation, relational orientation held the dominion-subordination principle. The one who dominates power is in the position to design roles and rules for one who viewed as subordinate. Korean society is been identified as homogenous. Observable practice of monoculture is one of great evidence. Homogeneity developed social consciousness of ethnocentrism, and this ethnocentric consciousness encourage social relation with outsiders primarily evolved through racial distinction. Racial based social relation motivates social role bringing out the interests of those ethnic group acting

as dominant. South Korea as homogeneous is relatively ethnic-centered, therefore considered Korean ethnicity valuable to preserve for continuity. This principle developed the idea that foreign women are helpful for human reproduction as the national problem of ageing and manpower shortages are rising. The idea of the state became social consciousness making foreign women brought into Korea are objects to the materialization of human reproduction to serve cultural and national interest. Objectification of foreign women for cultural reason is therefore a prescribed role and a valid reason for cultural assimilation systematically manipulated through social support programs of the government and politically protected through migration policy of visa application and acquisition of citizenship.

## **2) Ascribed Identity: Marriage Migrants Viewed as Subservient to the Prescribe Role**

Ascribed identity is closely attached to the prescribed role. There is no social identity without the existence of social role. Submissive identity of foreign women is not necessarily a traditional concept of women submission to the men's dominion but socially and politically required identity to conform the prescribed role for human reproduction. However, the social and political pressure to conform this identity encouraged exploitation and violations against women. Majority of respondents are complaining the psychological, social, and political pressure to assimilate Korean culture. Failure to meet the pressure would often lead to physical, emotional, and mental abuse. Women suffering psychological stress often experience more stress after counseling to designated centers for counseling marriage migrant women. Many of the respondents pointed out that counseling method does not work for them (which I presumed, because counselor's perspective do not meet the interest of counseling receiver) and eventually developed resentment making them inactive to participate activities.

### **1.3 Adaptation to Socioeconomic Role and Identity in Racial Social Relation**

#### **1) Prescribed Role**

➤ *Overseas Contract Workers are Fillers of Dirty, Dangerous, and Difficult Labor Shortages*

As South Korea's economic growth became relatively stable and expanded networks for global market, the demand of country's manpower supply also increased. Economic growth make its people to actively participate in the economic activities affected the changing cultural value of human reproduction. The traditional role of women as housewives and responsible for taking care of children changed into a more dynamic and became active agents for economic activities. The changing cultural value of reproduction has impacted the declining fertility rate causing labor shortages. As Korean nationals have many options for a more convenient and well-desired job, they became choosy and rejected laborious dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs. This problem pushes small and medium scale business companies to import workers from neighboring countries experiencing high rate of unemployment. Foreign workers brought in into the country primarily to fill up labor shortages to jobs that Koreans are not lining for. This is the fundamental reason why South Korea is opening for foreign workers to participate economic activities. Their role is just to fill up labor shortages but are not bound to long-term employment due to regulated terms under labor employment policy.

➤ *Entertainers are for Leisure Consumption*

The concept of leisure activities is observable in entertainment industry. As South Korea became developed country, people started to travel to other parts of the world for one purpose- that is to entertainment themselves to new experiences offered by the destination country. Within the country, leisure is the most important activity to relieve emotional and mental burden after encountering stressful events. People travel to popular places of Korea, others spend a couple of hours to norebang

(Karaoke room), and the most popular option that is likely to appear is drinking to entertain themselves and relieve stress.

The 'Internationalization' is the idea to attract foreign people to visit Korea or work in short-term basis. Its purpose is to benefit Koreans who are less privileged to travel abroad. Accepting foreign artist/performers is a way for Koreans to see different races and enables them to know other cultures. This is a social demand of consumption related to leisure. Filipino performers usually seen at the recreational area of the hotels, and some are working at the bar/clubs is essentially for leisure consumption of Koreans.

The concept of leisure in a male-dominated society is the objectification of women. Culturally, Korean men's leisure always includes women as they think women are men's object. Objectification of women related to leisure is the entertaining places such as room salon, clubs, massage parlors, and bars obviously employ women to attract consumers- typically men. Filipino entertainers working at room salon, bars, and clubs has brought in due to the high demand of consumption in men's leisure activities.

## 2) Ascribed Identity

### ➤ *Marriage Migrants Viewed as Commodity*

Objectification of foreign women in sociocultural context is the prescribed role as the biological base for cultural continuation making them ascribed the identity as subservient to that role. However, the process of bringing in foreign women for the fulfillment of the role is through the intervention of profit seeking mediators such as brokers or marriage agencies. The marriage proceeding is what it calls



commodification. The concept of women as commodity evolved from the value of women. First, the use value, concerns the usage or service that woman can offer for the benefit of the buyer. Second, labor value, refers to time and effort spent to process the marriage and some amount spent for that process. The 'use value' (woman) and the 'labor value' (of the mediator) is what makes the 'market value' of woman. This scheme explains how international networks of marriage brokers making profit objectifying women in the business.

Commodity as identity encouraged violence against women. Some respondents experienced physical and emotional abuse because when expectations of husbands in importing wives does not met, husbands feel frustration and started questioning their wives' inability to fulfill the purpose of bringing them to Korea and eventually reminded them how much money spent for that purpose. The common line of husbands saying "I bought you." is alienating for Filipino women and humiliating. Viewing foreign women as commodity is dehumanization making the lives of foreign women more difficult and the more they encountered difficulties the more they set resentment to their husbands and will be extended to the community where they live in and to the society ,and the more they will be reluctant to fulfill the role. This is the reason why countable numbers of ran-away foreign wives, and mothers taking their children back to the Philippines.

➤ *The Overseas Contract Workers are Outsiders of Jeju Society (Korean Society)*

Outsider identity is explained through migration policy concerning labor migration and the lack of support program from the government. The government does not pay attention to extend social support for the marriage migrant to the Filipino workers and the entertainers. It is because they are treated as temporary actors of the society.

Fulfilling the roles as ‘fillers of labor shortages in dirty, dangerous, difficult jobs’ is the prescribed role towards the increasing demand in economic activities, and this role treated as ‘temporary’ through Employment Permit System (EPS) agreement because it does not guarantee citizenship. The EPS only acknowledged the important role of foreign workers in the Korean economy but that role do not to give them the merit as members of the society by not allowing to avail the privilege of citizenship, therefore, are outsiders. Chosunjok (Ethnic Koreans in China) workers are not excluded to this socioeconomic identity. Korean Authorities defined that the Chosunjok is ‘a group of foreign origin....’ (Woo-Gil Choi 2006). Choi (2006) added that several years of stay and direct experiences in South Korea do not necessarily give Korean Chinese a sense of integration with South Korean culture. They have maintained a strong ethnic identity throughout their migration history in China for more than a century and after visiting South Korea, they come to understand that South Korean culture is different from theirs and Koreans in the peninsula are different from them. Before coming, South Korea was their object of adoration and the way to make their Korean dream come true. But after being in South Korea and having experienced some kind of discrimination, they began to breed negative perception of South Korea. Their tendency to adapt to South Korean culture through indirect experiences has been transformed to that of differentiation through direct contacts in South Korea.

➤ *Entertainers are Object for Men’s Sex Leisure Consumption*

The prescribed role ‘for leisure consumption’ is what encouraged entertainer’s identity as object to Korean men’s culture of ‘sex as leisure’ activity. The uneven gender distribution accounting men as dominant in the entire population pressured the demand for sex-related activities. Drinking and sex buying after social gatherings (that in most cases, are informal meetings) is a typical lifestyle of Korean

men in modern age. Psychologically, men commonly depend that this activity is a way to relieve stress. Men can easily buy sex to establishments promoting sex business such as room salon, club, bar, massage parlor, and barbershop. Online sex buying is also accessible to some websites concealing identity as dating site. Calling cards with nude female body and contact number are just anywhere (doorstep of businesses, car window, streets) scattered by sex agents. These activities are motivated by high demand of consumption in sex industry.

The high demand of sex consumption has motivated profit seeking brokers/agencies to traffic women from under developed countries. The E-6 visa supposedly for professional performer/artist has exploited and manipulated to bring in women to supply the need of sex industry. This illegal (yet tolerated) and immoral (yet accepted) activities affected the identity of singers performing at the hotel or fine dining restaurants. Most often, they experience verbal sexual harassment through indecent offers from male customers/guests. This is because they shared identity with those entertainers working at the sex promoter establishments.

#### 1.4 Language Acquisition: Language Learner and Language Gatekeeper's Perspective

Racial social relation greatly affected language acquisition. Subjugation influenced how language acquisition is defined, and the level of its importance. In *learners' perspective*, the reason of learning/acquiring the Korean language are to establish good communication between husband and wife; child rearing; social acceptance to the basic structural organization; and to network with Koreans. These reasons do not imply the importance of mobility rather, the important role of Korean language in their interpersonal relation. In *gatekeeper's perspective*, the only reason for them to make immigrants learned the Korean language is to eliminate communication barrier since majority of people in the host

society do not speak any other foreign language except some borrowed Japanese words during Japan's occupation of the country.

In this study, teaching-learning attitude defined as the characteristics of effort and motivations to deal with in Korean language. Motivations, is a sociocultural construct to assess meaningful connection of the host language to the language learners' aspiration when they learned the language. Generally, findings related to learning attitude of Filipino immigrants is described as passive. *Passive attitude* concluded through the two fundamental findings such as, *Filipinos are not enthusiastic to do formal study at the multicultural family/social welfare centers, and they valued social interaction with Korean nationals when learning the language but are not exerting effort to socialize with them.* In contrast, language gatekeepers are ethnocentric in teaching the language. *Attitude of ethnocentrism* investigated through the principles of teaching such as language learner is dependent to the linguistic resources offered by the teacher; the linguistic needs of learners is defined subjectively which means the basis of assessment is not to determine what particular resources and learning context are needed but to ensure the mainstream interests.

The preference of Filipino immigrants to have social interaction with Koreans when learning the language is a helping factor to develop communicative competency. Filipinos developed communicative skill (speaking) but are poor in reading comprehension and writing correct spelling and basic grammar.

## 2. Conclusion

This paper has offered understanding on adaptation of Filipino immigrants to sociocultural and socioeconomic activities in terms of role and identity affecting Korean language competency of

qualitative research. It has not attempted to debate many of the issues involved in the adaptation of Filipinos but has merely pointed out the issues need to address when analyzing current condition of Filipino immigrants for the implementation of social support programs and migration policy that significantly response their needs for a better quality of migration experiences in Jeju society.

To determine the universal adaptation of Filipino migrants in Jeju Island, the core point to deal with is the racial social relation emphasizing the exercise of dominion on relation by means of the abusive power entails the subjugation of sociocultural activities and socioeconomic resources to the will of the majority in the host society. Subjugation is highly practiced to protect national interest – to preserve Korea’s national identity in the midst of the continuing growth population of multicultural families and foreign workers. The preservation of national identity is imposed through relational orientation with others from different ethnicity based on racism that outsiders are systematically forced to assimilate Korean ways of life in order to establish social connection. The forced assimilation is legally regulated through the migration policy (for example, citizenship and visa application/renewal) and socially enforced through the support programs (for example, language and cultural education) of the government with the help of the sky-rocketting numbers of Multicultural Centers and Non-Governmental Organizations. This finding supported the hypothesis that the level of the openness of Korean society to international migrants will determine how migrants successfully adapt the Korean society. From this, it disclosed the conclusion that the identity adaptation of Filipinos to sociocultural and socioeconomic (such as Marriage migrants viewed as commodity; Overseas Filipino Workers viewed as outsiders of Korean society; and the Filipino women entertainers are object for men’s sexual related consumption) is the manifestation of pre-designed social roles (such as the marriage migrants are biological based for cultural continuation; the Overseas Contract Workers are fillers of the 3Ds jobs ; and the entertainers are for leisure consumption).

Since there is 'forced' to assimilate to the Korean cultural norms and practices, its impact to Korean nationals is the abusive practiced of power causing violation to the basic human rights of foreign migrants in the forms of exploitation to foreign labor forces; women trafficking, and violence (physical, emotional, psychological). This finding also impacted to Filipino migrants by identifying their selves as different to Korean nationals resulting to social distance encouraged by resentments due to the absence of acceptance to Filipino ethnicity. This is the reason why naturalized Korean Filipinos does not separate their identity from Filipino ethnicity even if they already acquired Korean citizenship. The rejection of Korean identity made Filipino migrants to be passive to assimilate the Korean language. This finding explains why Filipinos are generally less competent to the language compare to the Han-Chinese/Chosunjok and Japanese immigrants. However, there are historical and linguistic contextual explanations why these groups of immigrants are relatively competent. Chosunjoks are compatriots of Koreans so their language and culture are similar to Korean's. It is well known that the ethnic education in Korean Chinese community in China is not in its substance but in its forms. The instruction in the schools of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture is conducted in Korean language, naturally, they are equipped with Korean language before coming to South Korea.

The poor language assimilation of Filipino is explained through the 'passive attitude' stimulated by the subjective interpretation that Korean language does not encourage social mobility to any foreign migrants in Jeju society. In contrast, the passivity of Filipinos is encouraged by the 'ethnocentric attitude' of majority in Jeju society. The Korean ethnocentrism barred Filipino migrants to gain access to the economic resources of the society by controlling the quality of language adaptation systematically applied through the purpose of acquiring the language (to eliminate communication barrier); the degree of its importance (to understand Korean culture); and the appropriate learning context (to enhance communicative skill). This finding supported the hypothesis that the level of fluency in Korean language

will determine significantly how to adapt to Korean society as the host society. It explained the subtle manipulation of Korean language gatekeepers over the level of competence of Korean language learners. This has greatly influenced to the objective of safeguarding the national interest making Korean nationals to be racial when socializing other ethnic groups.

If all findings having mentioned above are not given attention by the authorities (primarily the Ministry of Immigration, and the Jeju government) to find effective solution, the existing adaptation of Filipino migrants (as well as other ethnic minorities) is the motivating factor for them to view Jeju as hostile society and will be extended to the whole Korean society since Jeju is only enforcing the designed adaptation legally imposed through migration policy and social support programs. The more Filipino migrants experience hostilities the more they will be encouraged to form collective framework of adaptation opposite to the adaptation set by the host society and the more will likely to reject assimilation.

### **3. Recommendation**

#### **3.1 For Future Research**

1. There is a need to do another research evaluating the effectiveness of the government's Multicultural programs that focus more on the adaptation of marriage migrants to the cultural practices of their Korean family.
2. Further research must be done about the impact of patriarchal and hierarchical family structure on economic mobility of marriage migrants.

3. It is also highly suggested to conduct further study focusing on the scholastic performance and achievements of multicultural children and the role of teachers at school.
4. Comprehensive study must be initiated concerning factors for Overseas Filipino Contract Workers turned out to be illegal aliens. What is the significant role of Korean society in stimulating the fast-growing numbers of undocumented foreign workers.

### 3.2 For the Korean Government and Any Other Concern Institutions

1. Children of the multicultural families experience identity-related problems. Since Korean society is homogeneous, the presence of multicultural children and their physical appearance bring about anxiety and misunderstanding among children in school. In this case, Korean schools must provide systematic curricula where multicultural mindsets from childhood are nurtured. A school curriculum that keep children grounded in a positive network because it is not enough to support “self esteem” that feeds significantly on the overall morale of the multicultural children.
2. Welfare and counseling programs must be fully integrated, not only on the basis of survival in Korean context but also consider the side of immigrants to promote better life without eliminating identity preferences while maintaining good relationship with their peers, families, and social organizations.
3. There must be a representation of each immigrant group ( such as Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Filipinos, and others ) in promulgating programs and policies for migrants in order to produce effective mechanics in enhancing better settlement and become productive members of the Korean society.
4. Cooperation in information sharing, joint research, policy coordination and regular dialogues are needed on the issue of multiracial/multicultural families. The web of cooperation requires the participation of Korea’s concern government agencies and the embassies of the key supplying



countries of foreign wives. The framework of cooperation must be fully designed in the global norms, safe from human rights violation, gender sensitivity, and to combat human trafficking in the form of entertainers visa.

5. Dialogue is needed between non-government organizations promoting human rights and the welfare of migrant workers; the social welfare department of the government or any other related government agencies to come up practical solutions of the existing condition of immigrants.
6. Sustain active advocacy to uphold and protect human rights of marriage migrants. This would include the set up of regulatory mechanism for marriage matching agencies, churches and organizations involved in the business of matching foreign women and Korean men. These agencies, churches and organizations must be required to conduct cultural orientation program and human rights education for Korean men who wish to marry foreign women. The Korean government through its Cultural Ministry has been concentrating on supporting cultural programs for marriage migrants women, however, not initiating cultural integration program and human rights education for Korean husbands.
7. Shelter for battered women is not a sustainable solution to eradicate the violence against women. It only offers tolerance for the perpetrators to keep doing the same abusive acts. The government must create a strong policy securing the welfare of women sector that is safe from any forms of sexual and physical abuse.
8. Networking and solidarity work with and among social service centers. This means that aside from sharing of information among social service centers, there should be a tenable vision and workable program that would foster greater unities to support and advocate better life in Korea that is free from prejudice and human rights violation.

9. Advanced cultural preparedness of Korean society for assimilation it is now inevitably taking the path to a multicultural society since existing population of different ethnicities continually increasing. The more pressure for cultural assimilation the more it encourage social distance. It shall be beneficial for the country to reform its ethnic-centered public policy into the wide dimension through liberalizing the immigration policies and social services. This option resolved the social gap between the majority and minorities groups.

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