

An Analysis of Determinants of Immigrant Brides' Adaptation to Their Communities in Korea*

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Immigrant brides have increased since the mid-1990s in Korea. Thus, their adaptation to Korean society has been a big social issue in Korea. There are a lot of academic studies on their adaptation to Korean society. Nevertheless, we cannot adequately understand the major factors of their adaptation to Korean society because of methodological problems in existing studies. In particular there are few studies on immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities. This study analyzes determinants of immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities, using stepwise multi-regression. Data was collected through a questionnaire survey on immigrant brides in Seoul and Kyönggi province, Daegu and North Kyöngsang province, and Kwangju and South Chölla province. Dependent variables are community life, spatial cognition and activities, and neighbor relations. Each dependent variable is analyzed with 30 independent variables through stepwise multi-regression. As a result, sixteen positive and two negative determinants are selected. Positive determinants are identity as a local resident, age, adaptation to home, the number of Korean and native country-born friends in Korea; linguistic ability is not selected as a significant factor. This is different from conventional expectations. Similar to existing studies, the importance of social network and adaptation variables is also identified in this study.

Keywords: *International Marriage, International Migration, Social Adaptation, Host Community, Immigrant Bride, Korea*

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Research Questions and Objectives

In Korean society, immigrants have become a subject of interest since the late 1990s. Their presence has gradually increased along with the influx of foreign workers that has accompanied an opening economy and a changing domestic labor structure. The number of foreign immigrants has increased through international marriages as well as through an influx of workers. International marriages, especially foreign women's marriages to Korean men, which had been not gained attention until the early 1990s and were seen as exceptional cases by Koreans, began to increase around the mid-1990s (Kim, Y. et al. 2007: 16).

Koreans did not consider this change in the past because of their predominant notion of society as monocultural and homogeneous. Marriage of immigrant brides and their adaptation to Korean society, their relationships with Korean people, as well as the trajectory of Koreans in the future, have naturally become big social issues with this increased concern for immigrants. Recently, popular terms such as a multicultural society, a multicultural family, a multicultural education, multicultural policies and multicultural centers indicate changes in Korean society in response to increased international marriages.

A primary social issue related to this influx of foreign nationals intent on staying long-term or emigrating is their adaptation to Korean society. This is a mutual adaptation in which both immigrants and Koreans as their hosts must adapt. Additionally, immigrants' native countries also need to adapt to the emigration of their relatives or fellows. From a perspective of population geography, one of main features in emigration is that emigrants, their relatives who remain behind, as well as host-country residents undergo an adaptive process. Therefore, the attention to immigrants such as immigrant brides necessarily focuses on the problem of their adaptation. Amongst the issues, immigrants' adaptation to Korean society, especially to their host communities, remains paramount.

Immigrants' adaptation has been a central topic in Korean studies.

In particular, the research of adaptation has become a mainstream topic on immigrant brides. Their adaptation is socially more important than immigrant workers because women raise families with Korean men and reside in Korea permanently, whereas immigrant workers are itinerant even if it is long term. Thus, many studies on the social adaptation of immigrant brides or multicultural families have proliferated. Research reports and papers from several disciplines including geography, ethnography, social welfare studies, family welfare, and demography, have been performed as immigrant brides from various countries have rapidly increased since the 2000s. However, although there are several outcomes, the existing studies have problems.

First, the existing studies produce limited understandings and analysis regarding the actual situation of immigrant brides, adaptation and the general variables related to it; most study only a few cases of immigrant women originating from specific nationalities or residing in specific regions (Koo, C. 2007; Kim, M. et al. 2006; Min, G. 2003; Yoon, H. 2005; Chae, B. 2009). While they offer an empirical and deep understanding of individual cases, it is difficult to use them to generalize about factors generally shaping immigrant brides' adaptation.

Second, they have placed family or household issues such as the relationship with their husband or his parents, raising children at the center of their analyses, and confined immigrant brides' adaptation to this narrow spatial scale (Yang, S. 2006; Yoon, H. 2004; Lee, H. 2005; Chung, I. 2006; Chung, C. and Kang, K. 2008). Adaptation to family relations and culture is, of course, fundamental to immigrant brides and it may influence their adaptation in a larger context. However, their adaptation to home life is not equivalent to adaptation to the community.

Third, studies on immigrant brides have mostly concentrated on cultural conflicts. Of course, cultural conflicts may be one of the most important affairs because they emigrate from countries that have different languages, social customs and institutions from Korea. However, researchers need to deal with immigrant brides' adaptation not only to various components of life including their physical environment, but also in a more expanded spatial scale, because their lives are not confined to their homes and they would naturally expand even if they stayed just at home during the early days after

immigrating.

To put it succinctly, the existing studies on the adaptation of immigrant brides have focused on cultural or psychological adaptation in family relations in the home sphere and primarily through interviewing individuals. These are insufficient to consider the actual conditions of immigrant brides' adaptation in a spatial scale beyond the home and to understand the variables related to it generally. In this critical context, my study considers the community lives of immigrant brides who have different nationalities and settle down different regions and analyzes various variables that are expected to influence adaptation to their community, empirically exploring what factors contribute to adaptation, and how spatial factors operate in the processes.

2. Research Scope and Methods

“Immigrant brides,” in this study, refers to foreign women who have settled down in Korea through international marriage to Korean men. A foreign spouse married to a Korean can reside in Korea with an F-2 visa. He or she can take Korean nationality and be naturalized as a Korean citizen after two years of marriage. However the acquisition of Korean citizenship is still complicated and it requires the renouncement of his or her native country's citizenship. Thus, most of immigrant brides keep the status of F-2 visa, even after the two-year period is over. Recently it has become easier to acquire permanent residence status because the requirement was reduced from five years of marriage to two. This study is intended for every type of immigrant bride regardless of the details or the year of initial entry to Korea. That is to say, the work involves all types of foreign women's marriages to Korean men, including foreign women who married Korean men after entering Korea for reasons other than seeking marriage, or those women already naturalized by becoming Korean citizens.

Generally an emigrant's adaptation to the host society can be divided into psychological and socio-cultural factors. The main object of my work is immigrant brides' socio-cultural adaptation: living in community, spatial cognition and activities, and neighbor relations in their residential areas. This research method statistically analyzes the results of a questionnaire survey on immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities as well as reviewing

literature on immigrants' social adaptation. The analysis broadly divides into two parts. First, I generally examine the adaptation of immigrant brides to their communities through descriptive statistical analysis, and then I analyze the variables' effect on their adaptation with regression models. In addition, the concept of adaptation and the existing studies on the variables of immigrants' adaptation in the host society are considered as a theoretical background of my work.

II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. The Concept of Adaptation

The term adaptation stemmed from biology and is broadly used in various disciplines including sociology, psychology, and anthropology. Adaptation as a basic biological concept refers to the processes that organisms adapt to their environment and how they change themselves in a positive sense. Geographers have been interested in relationships between human beings and their environment for a long time, even if their philosophy and methodology of adaptation is a little different from biological concept (Ghoshen 1991).

Adaptation is essential when a person moves from a familiar or native culture to a new culture. Adaptation as a social process means that a person socializes with the diverse situations and conditions of society. To put it concretely, it is a state in which a person feels satisfied and experiences little frustration and anxiety because his or her internal psychic needs are in harmony with the external, social and physical environment (Lee, J. and Hwang, S. 2008).

There are two processes in adaptations. One is to fit oneself to a given environment and the other is to change the environment in order to satisfy his or her desires. It means that adaptations have plenty of positive activities beyond just accepting a given environment and an individual's interactions with it (Chung, C. and Kang, K. 2008). According to Berry (2005), an adaptation is a relatively stable alteration in an individual or group to respond to the external environment, and it can enhance the fitness between persons and environments or cannot. That is, an adaptation does not mean the change

of individuals or groups to be similar to their environment, i.e., an adaptation by the way of assimilation (Koo, C. 2007). Practically, a group can change more than other groups can, but adaptation is a neutral term in principle (Chae, B. 2009). Adaptation due to emigration occurs dynamically, creating mutual influence through interaction when two groups from different cultures come into contact. Thus, adaptations theoretically occur in all involved groups or individuals (An, S. 2008).

Ward and Kennedy (1994) divided the adaptation occurring during the process of cultural transition into two elements, psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. Psychological adaptation refers to psychological wellbeing, fine mental health, and a feeling of satisfaction in a new cultural context. Socio-cultural adaptation is related to gaining new social skills in order to interact with a new culture like performing tasks effectively or solving problems in everyday life. These two types of adaptation are examined together, but are conceptually different because they are predicted by different factors. While psychological adaptation can be better understood within the framework of stresses, socio-cultural adaptation is connected with the framework of social learning and cognition (Neto 2002). That is, the psychological adaptation as an internal psychological result connotes an individual cultural identity, fine mental health and achievement of individual satisfaction, whereas socio-cultural adaptation connotes the ability to practically resolve daily problems in the realm of home and work place in a new environment (Koo, C. 2009; Berry et al. 2006).

Additionally, studies on immigrants' adaptation to their host society have used various terms like adjustment, acculturation, and assimilation, which have a similar concept to adaptation (Yoon, I. 2003). Adjustment refers to the level of psychological comfort in the host society. Acculturation means a dual process of psychological and cultural changes with two or more cultural groups interacting with each other. Assimilation is when an individual or a group abandons its cultural identity and joins that of the host society. Thus, assimilation is not adaptation by an immigrant to the host society, but the acceptance of an immigrant by the host society. Assimilation is a concept of acceptance by the host society rather than immigrants' subjective adaptation to the host society in a strict sense. In this respect, Berry (1977) suggested that assimilation is not a unique type of adaptation. Adaptation has been

used as a concept that integrates the similar and related concepts, and has a comprehensive meaning (Koo, C. 2007).

2. Determinants of Immigrants' Adaptation to Host Society

When a foreigner meets a new cultural environment, he experiences some form of culture shock. The residential period is one of the most critical factors of adaptation in the process of culture shock and changing recognition, because time is required to begin to recognize the surrounding environment. Thus, the degree of immigrants' socio-cultural adaptation varies with their residential period (Kim, Y. 2008).

There are two theories on the process of immigrants' adaptation related to the residential period. One is a U-type theory that immigrants firstly go through the honeymoon stage with their interest and curiosity, secondly the shrinking stage with a cultural shock as widening their experiences actually, and finally the recovering stage to adapt to a new culture gradually. The other is a theory that the difficultness of adaptation decreases little by little after a period of time even though immigrants do not know about the host society very well in the early stage of immigration (Koo, C. 2007). According to this theory, immigrants learn socio-cultural skills rapidly as their knowledge increases in process of time. However, either theory, there could be some differences in the level of adaptation among the immigrants because a lot of factors make an effect on the adaptation on the individual and social environmental dimensions, even though their residential periods are same.

Previous studies on the adaptation of immigrants have discussed age, education level, work experience, communication ability, identity, the motivation and process of migration, cultural understanding and acceptance as variables of adaptation in individual dimension. It can be said that an adaptation is sort of learning a new environment, and learning abilities bring about some differences in immigrants' adaptation to the new environment. In turn, age, education level, work experience, communication ability may influence on the learning ability. An acquirement of communication skills like learning of language and reading ability itself is an adaptation to the host society, and at the same time it is also an essential tool of adaptation. Some case studies on family conflict and adaptation of immigrant brides have

suggested that there is a meaningful difference in the level of conflict and adaptation according to the education level of married couple. Because the higher education level can improve problem-solving ability, the higher is the education level of married couple, the easier is their adaptation to each other (Kim, O. 2006). The socio-economic status of immigrant bride's husband can be a variable of her adaptation. Chae's work shows that the higher is the socio-economic status of husband, the higher is the level of satisfaction in conjugal relations (Chae, B. 2009).

Self-identification has been also suggested as an important variable that can impact greatly on immigrant's adaptation. It is because self-identification is closely related to perceiving the surrounding environment. According to St-Hilaire's work on the Mexican migrant children, both of complete assimilation and abandoning home culture rather do not support their adaptation to their host society (St-Hilaire 2002). As migrant children undergo some confusion about their identity, immigrant women married to Korean men are likely to experience the confusion of their own identities, what I am or who others think I am. This confusion makes immigrant brides' adaptation difficult.

Immigrants' adaptation is also closely connected with the level of their knowledge about a new culture and their willingness to accept it. If an immigrant bride has a positive attitude towards understanding Korean culture, she will adapt better. However, immigrants' cultural understanding and acceptance are connected with their nationality. The greater the cultural distance between the host society and the native country, the lower an immigrant's understanding about the host society's culture is. A case-study on the social adaptation of children in multicultural families demonstrates that Asian immigrant children have a better relations with Korean friends than do blacks and whites (Park, S. 2009). The motive for international marriage and the process of immigration can influence the adaptation of immigrant brides.

Social support systems and networks like the support and interaction of family and the attention and support of the community are variables that affect an immigrants' adaptation to the host society in the social environmental category. Social support refers to a positive interaction within a social system surrounding a person, a social environment where he is living. Social environment is constructed by an informal system including family, friends, and neighbors and the formal one involving with welfare institute,

service center for migrants, educational institute, and counselor (Chang, I. and Oh, S. 1996). Social support through the formal and informal system can be an information resource or a material resource for adaptation. Support and interaction with family is necessary for immigrant bride's adaptation to the family as well as the community. According to a case study of social adaptation, adaptation to family life influences social adaptation. We can thus see this as an explanatory variable of social adaptation (Chung, H. and Lee, J. 2009: 177-178).

A social network is closely connected with a social support system: the size of a social network and the volume of support such as frequency of seeing others or attending meetings defines social support (Lee, J. and Hwang, S. 2008). However, the social network is not limited only to the social support provided by mainstream society. The social network connected with advanced immigrants is an important channel that boosts chain emigrations, and make emigration more attractive by reducing the risk involved with it. After emigration, social networks among emigrants provides a useful resource for settling into the host society and adapting to it. Thus, social network is a type of social capital (Tong 2007).

III. ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRANT BRIDE'S ADAPTATION TO COMMUNITY

1. Data and Methods

This study analyzes how foreign women immigrating to Korea through international marriages adapt to their communities and which factors play an important role in their adaptation. Research data for the analysis was collected by a structural questionnaire from September to December 2012. A total of 402 immigrant brides were surveyed in Seoul and Kyönggi province, Daegu and North Kyöngsang province, and Kwangju and South Chölla province for as nationwide an analysis as possible, and 391 available immigrant brides were included in this study. The survey was carried out by visiting immigrant brides in each region and interviewing them or asking them to fill out questionnaires. The questionnaires were written in English,

Table 1. The Surveyed Regions and the Number of Surveyed Questionnaires

	Total number of questionnaires	Number of available questionnaires
Seoul	63	60
Kyōnggi province	60	60
Daegu	78	74
North Kyōngsang province	72	71
Kwangju	55	54
South Chōlla province	74	72
Total	402	391

Chinese, and Vietnamese as well as Korean. The major native country of immigrant brides were from China at 37.0 percent, followed by Vietnam at 33.7 percent, Philippine at 14.2 percent, Japan at 4.1 percent, and other countries at 6.2 percent.

First, the actual situation of immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities is examined through simple frequencies and percentages. Then, explanatory factors (independent variables) for their adaptation and determinants that effectively influence three dependent variables (community life, spatial cognition and activity, and neighbor relations) reflecting the level of adaptation are analyzed through stepwise multi-regression models. Explanatory variables, independent variables of the regression models are socio-demographic characteristics, living in native country before marriage migration, family life, understanding, and acceptance of Korean culture, and self-identity, and categorical data of them are converted into dummy variables. Averages of items involved with community life, spatial cognition, and activities, and neighbor relations are assigned to independent variables, which are surveyed by five-level Likert scale. Scores of negative questions are encoded inversely. Thus, for each item, the higher the score corresponding to each question, the higher the level of an immigrant's adaptation to its community.

Table 2. Survey Items

Explanatory factors of immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities	
Socio-demographic Characteristics	Current residential area, residential period in Korea, Age, highest level of education attended, current job, Korean language ability
Living before marriage immigration and migratory processes	Residential area before immigration, job in native country before immigration, reason for marriage migration, preparatory period for marriage migration, motivation for and type of marriage to Korean man
Family life and Korean spouse	Adaptability and satisfaction in family life, Korean spouse's age, job and education levels
Cultural understanding and acceptance	Knowledge and education about Korea before immigration, Korean image before immigration, cultural intimacy with Korean people
Self-identity	Pride and consciousness of the native country's people, consciousness of local resident and Korean, confusion of identity
Social support and network	Intimate local residents, Korean friends, and native country-born friends in Korea, involvement in neighborhood meetings, assistance of organizations or service centers for immigrants
Immigrant brides' adaptability to their communities	
Living in community	Adaptability to climate and physical environment, housing facilities and surrounding environment, and consumer and leisure facilities, utilizing administrative agencies and medical institutions
Spatial cognition and activities	Cognition of bus and subway routes, locations of markets, department stores, and administrative agencies, schools, and use of these services
Neighbor relations	Communication with neighbors, participation in neighbors' family events, experience receiving neighbor's help, intimacy with neighbors

2. Descriptive Analysis of Immigrant brides

1) Socio-demographic Characteristics

Table 3 shows the general characteristics of respondents. Of those surveyed, 49.7 percent are 29 and younger, and 38.2 percent 30s. Together, those in their 20s and 30s comprise 87.9 percent of all the respondents. The ratio of

Table 3. Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Items		Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Native country	China	143	37.0	
	Vietnam	130	33.7	
	Philippine	55	14.2	
	Japan	16	4.1	
	Cambodia	18	4.7	
	Other countries	24	6.2	
Age	Less than 30	185	49.7	
	30 to 39	142	38.2	
	40 to 49	39	10.5	
	50 to 59	6	1.6	
Education level	Uneducated	2	0.5	
	Elementary school	29	7.6	
	Middle school	85	22.3	
	High school	174	45.5	
	College or Higher	92	24.1	
Year of immigration	2008	85	24.3	
	2007	59	16.9	
	2006	61	17.4	
	2005	36	10.3	
	Prior to 2005	109	31.1	
Residential status	Acquisition of Korean nationality	88	23.7	
	Korean citizen's spouse	258	69.5	
	Permanent resident	16	4.3	
	Others	9	2.4	
Current job	Farmer or fisher	41	11.3	
	Production worker	19	5.2	
	Office worker	7	1.9	
	Professional	5	1.4	
	Sales worker	3	0.8	
	Service worker	2	0.6	
	Teacher or instructor	17	4.7	
	Unemployed	194	53.6	
Korean language ability	Speaking	Very badly	43	11.5
		Badly	131	34.9
		Normal	149	39.7
		Well	33	8.8
		Very well	19	5.1

Table 3. (continued)

Items		Frequency	Percentage (%)
Listening	Very badly	41	11.5
	Badly	107	29.9
	Normal	137	38.3
	Well	52	14.5
	Very well	21	5.9
Writing	Very badly	54	15.4
	Badly	127	36.2
	Normal	108	30.8
	Well	35	10.0
	Very well	27	7.7

respondents with a high school education ranks highest among immigrant brides at 45.5 percent, and the percentage of college graduates is as much as 24.1 percent. The education level of immigrant brides is also relatively high. The percentage of those who entered Korea in 2008 at 24.3 percent, 2007 at 16.9 percent, 2005 at 10.3 percent, 2004 and before 2004 at 31.1 percent. These figures, while limited in their probative value, do show a trend of the recent increase in immigrant brides. According to residential status i.e. visa-type, female immigrants possessing a F-2 visa as Korean citizen's spouses are 69.5 percent of total respondents, and Korean citizenship 23.7 percent, permanent residence status 4.3 percent, and others 2.4 percent. Those who have acquired Korean citizenship are less than expected. Over half of respondents, 53.6 percent are unemployed. In the case of workers, farming and fishing is at 11.33 percent, representing the highest percentage in the jobs category, followed by low-skilled production and service at 7.1 percent, and professional and lecturer like English teacher at 6.1 percent. 40-50 percent of the surveyed immigrant brides have an above average ability in speaking, listening, and writing Korean. This means that nearly half of them had no serious linguistic difficulties. However, writing ability is relatively lower than speaking and listening ability.

2) Life in the Native Country before Immigration and Migratory Progresses

Over 60 percent of respondents lived in urban areas, metropolises, medium-sized cities, and small-sized cities before immigrating to Korea. The

Table 4. Life before Immigration and Migratory Processes

Life in native country before immigration		Percentage (%)
Residential area before immigration	Large city	21.0
	Medium-sized city	23.7
	Small city	18.4
	Rural area	37.0
Living condition before immigration	Very badly off	3.9
	Badly off	21.3
	Ordinary	53.0
	Well off	11.3
Job in the native coun- try before immigration	Farmer or fisher	13.4
	Production worker	20.7
	Office worker	8.8
	Professional	6.5
	Sales worker	9.3
	Service worker	9.3
	Civil servant	0.5
	Student	9.8
	Unemployed	14.7
International trips before immigration	None	85.8
	Once or twice	11.4
	Three to five times	2.6
	More than five times	0.3
Marriage migration processes		
Motive to meet a Korean spouse for the first time	Direct meeting after entry into Korea	2.6
	Direct meeting in the native country	21.6
	Direct meeting in other country	1.3
	Arrangement by family or relative in the native country	14.6
	Arrangement by family or relative in Korea	10.2
	Arrangement by a marriage agency	37.0
	Arrangement by a religious body	6.8
Other	6.0	

Table 4. (continued)

Life in native country before immigration		Percentage (%)
Influence of marriage agency on marriage migration	Absolute	15.5
	Considerable	12.4
	Ordinary	31.8
	Inconsiderable	22.5
	Absolutely not	17.8
Degree of consideration for the migrant's will of marriage migration	Very weak	2.4
	Weak	9.3
	Strong	26.9
	Very strong	20.5
Preparatory period of marriage migration to Korea	Less than one month	4.5
	One to three months	28.5
	Three to six months	27.7
	Six to twelve months	13.9
	More than one year	25.3

percentage of rural residents is not higher than might be conventionally expected. The economic condition in their native countries before emigration was also “very poor” at 3.9 percent and “poor” at 21.3%. Over half of the surveyed immigrant brides are unemployed, but near 80 percent of them were employed in their country. The ratio of working at agriculture and fishery in their native country before immigration is not very high at only 10.3 percent. At present, their employment rate in Korea after immigration is 11.3 percent. Of course, the ratio of respondents who worked in unskilled labor is high. But they have abundant experience in sales as well as being students in their native countries. It is traditionally thought that most immigrant brides worked in farming or fishing in rural areas or that the unemployment rate in their native countries before emigrating was high. However, the results of this survey demonstrate that those conclusions are incorrect, in spite of this survey's limitations. The percentage of immigrant brides with experience visiting other countries before immigrating to Korea is 15 percent.

Of all respondents, 37.0 percent married their Korean husbands through arrangements by marriage agencies, which accounts for the highest percentage. However, there are some cases of immigrant brides seeing their Korean spouses directly in the native country or other countries without

the introduction of marriage agency at 22.9 percent. Spouses introduced by relatives or friends in the native country or Korea is 24.8 percent. The percentage of those who were influenced significantly by marriage agencies in choosing their spouses is only at 27.9 percent. 40.3 percent of immigrant brides replied that they were not influenced by the marriage agency in the process of their international marriage. The percentage of women whose will was not acknowledged in determining her marriage emigration is much lower at 24.7 percent than those whose will was acknowledged, at 47.4 percent. This implies that the marriage emigrations of the surveyed foreign women had considerable agency in the decision-making processes. However, over 60 percent of them prepared their emigration to Korea for 6 or less months, suggesting that they were not very well prepared to adapting in Korea.

Table 5. Recognition of Korea before Marriage Migration

Items	Percentage (%)	
Knowledge of Korea	Not informed at all	16.1
	Poorly informed	46.8
	Somewhat informed	28.1
	Well informed	7.5
	Very well informed	1.6
Main way of getting the Knowledge of Korea	School education	15.3
	Mass media	16.9
	Cultural media	36.5
	Korean product or company	4.2
	Relative or friends	19.3
	Experience of visiting Korea	2.9
	Others	4.8
Education about Korea	Not educated at all	8.9
	Poorly educated	17.5
	Somewhat educated	19.3
	Well educated	52.0
	Very well educated	2.3
Cultural intimacy with Korean people	Very weekly	4.5
	Weekly	10.1
	Neutrally	41.9
	Strongly	36.9
	Very strongly	6.6

Table 6. Image of Korea before marriage migration

Unit: %

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Economically developed country	15.2	57.5	21.5	4.7	1.0
Many employment opportunities	10.8	46.8	31.0	10.1	1.3
Politically stable country	9.3	41.8	33.8	12.8	2.4
Highly welfare state	19.2	53.1	20.5	5.1	2.1
Developed material civilization	23.5	50.7	20.1	4.7	1.1

3) Cultural Understanding and Acceptance

Immigrant brides' cultural understanding and acceptance were surveyed through the following questions: How much did you know about Korea before immigration? What was your impression of Korea before immigration? What was your main channel to get information about Korea in your native country? Have you ever received an education about Korea before immigration? Immigrant brides' knowledge about Korea may have an affirmative effect on their adaptation to Korea. However, over 60 percent of respondents were not informed at all or poorly informed of Korea before immigration. The ratio of "well informed" is only under 10 percent of them. Of all respondents, more than 60 percent replied that they were informed of Korea via the Internet, cultural and mass media such as film, music and news.

Over 50 percent of the surveyed immigrant brides had received a poor education about Korea, and the ratio of "well educated" about Korea is only 2.3%. The results indicate that most of the immigrant brides did not receive a proper education and were informed of Korea via media like film or popular music before immigrating to Korea. There are a few respondents who were informed by neighbors or through school but they are not systematically informed of Korea generally. Most respondents replied that they had an affirmative impression of Korea economically, politically and socially. In particular, those who replied that Korea is an economically developed country or a materially affluent country represented the greatest number.

Table 7. Family Life and Domestic Relations

Unit: %					
	Very good	Good	Neutral	Bad	Very Bad
Satisfaction of family life	13.4	35.6	42.7	6.3	2.1
Living condition	5.0	28.2	42.5	18.2	6.1
	Not difficult at all	Not difficult	Neutral	Difficult	Very difficult
Communication with family members	10.9	32.5	44.9	8.8	2.9
Domestic works	7.0	36.5	45.6	9.1	1.8
Child-rearing	5.4	15.5	43.3	15.5	10.0
Adaptation to family culture	5.9	37.4	43.5	9.7	3.5

Table 8. Korean Spouse's Socio-demographic Characteristics

Items		Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age	20 to 39	148	41.6
	40 to 49	181	51.1
	50 or more	26	7.3
Education level	Uneducated	2	0.5
	Elementary school	19	5.2
	Middle school	53	14.6
	High school	183	50.3
	College or Higher	107	29.4
Job	Farmer or fisher	67	17.5
	Production worker	103	26.9
	Office worker	24	6.3
	Professional	40	10.4
	Sales worker	19	5.0
	Service worker	22	5.7
	Civil servant	16	4.2
	Student	1	0.3
	Unemployed	30	7.8

4) Family Life

Previous works have suggested that a family life of immigrant bride can be an important factor of her social adaptation. 49.0 percent of all respondents believe themselves satisfied of family life. Only less than 10 percent of them

are unsatisfied of their family life. On more specific questions, more than 40 percent of the surveyed immigrant brides do not particularly have any difficultness communicating with family members, domestic work and family work.

However, the percentage of replies that child-rearing and economic conditions are difficult is relatively higher. Amongst respondents, 35.8 percent experience difficulties in child-rearing, while only 10.9 percent in their domestic work. In contrast, replies about difficulties in adapting to family culture and communicating with family members are just 13.2 percent and 11.7 percent respectively. Respondents were three times more to experience difficulties with child-rearing than any other aspect of family life. The results demonstrate that quite a number of immigrant brides have suffered from the difficulty of child-rearing, even though they are satisfied with family life and adapt to it more or less. This indicates the kind of assistance immigrant brides need the most.

There is also a big difference between respondents and their spouses in the distribution of ages: Korean husbands in their 20s-30s at 41.6 percent, 40s at 51.1 percent, more than 50s at 7.3 percent (see Table 3). The education level of Korean spouses is similar to their foreign wives' education level. Korean spouses attending high school are most representative of all respondents, and the ratio of college graduates and higher reach 29.4 percent. Unskilled labor is the highest ratio in all Korean spouses' jobs at 26.9 percent. When we

Table 9. Evaluation of native country, Korea, and current residential district

Unit: %

	Very weak	Weak	Neutral	Strong	Very strong
Pride about native country	1.1	5.3	38.7	30.8	24.2
Self-esteem of residence in Korea	1.6	5.8	53.7	31.2	7.9
Intention of abandoning the native country's nationality	6.7	22.4	37.1	23.7	10.1
Attachment to Korean people	1.3	6.1	53.1	31.6	8.0
Identity as a local resident	9.4	25.3	36.4	15.6	13.2
Attachment to local residents	2.1	5.8	54.5	28.3	9.3
Intention of living the current residential area continuously	5.0	12.7	39.1	30.9	12.4

Table 10. Self-identity of Immigrant Brides

	Unit: %				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I still have my native citizenship.	4.8	16.3	36.8	36.3	5.9
I am now a Korean citizen.	3.9	28.6	36.5	22.6	8.4
I have citizenship in a country other than my native country or Korea.	28.5	30.7	27.9	9.9	3.0

think about immigrant brides to Korea, they are likely to be associated with Southeast Asian female immigrants married to rural men. However, of all respondents' spouses, only 17.5 percent are working at farming.

5) *Self-identity*

A considerable number of respondents identify themselves as people of their native countries rather than Korean people. The rate of respondents that "I am not a Korean citizen, but still a citizen of my native country" is more than 40 percent. They have also a lot of self-esteem in their native countries. Of all respondents, more than 50 percent have a strong pride in their native countries. By contrast, the ratio of recognition that "I am now a Korean" is relatively low at 30 percent. Few immigrant brides replied that they are neither Korean nor their native countries' people at less than 10 percent of all respondents. These ratios suggest that identities of immigrant brides are aligned on sides: women remain strongly identified with their native countries' people and while identified as Korean now, some experience identity confusion.

Approximately 40 percent of the surveyed immigrant bride respondents were proud of residing in Korea, even though they did not possess a Korean identity while only about 7 percent of respondents said that they have no pride in residing in Korea. The results mean that marriage immigration to Korea has been recognized to be considerably positive by immigrant brides. The replies to a question about attachment to Korean people are similar to the above results. All of respondents, 39.6 percent replied that they have a quite or considerable attachment to Korean people, and on the contrary only 7.4 percent have a little or no attachment. This implies that at least over 30

percent of respondents are of a mind to accept Korean culture positively. Of course, they somewhat hesitate to abandon their nationality in order to acquire Korean citizenship. There is not a big gap between the ratios of affirmative and negative replies, respectively 23.8 percent, and 29.1 percent to a question that you are willing to abandon your nationality.

However, respondents think poorly of their residential districts, compared to their replies about residence in Korea generally as well as attachment to Korean people. Of all respondents, 28.8 percent have a sense of local residency while 34.7 percent replied that they do not think themselves as local residents. The ratio of respondents with a sense of local residency is lower than the ratio of respondents with a Korean identity. In spite of that, they have more or less an attachment to their current residential district and express their decision to continue living there. The rate of continuous residence in current residential district is as much as 43.3 percent. This choice may include unavoidable ones by immigrant brides. These results suggest that there are female immigrants who do not develop a feeling of being a local resident, even though they evaluate their current residential districts affirmatively.

6) Social Support and Network

To analyze social support and network, respondents were asked about the number of immigrant service centers involved with them and their participation in neighborhood meetings. According to the survey, close to two-thirds of respondents are using one or more service centers and institutes, and female immigrants using two or three centers are as much as 20.7 percent of all respondents. However, about one-third of them are not using any institutes for immigrants. Similarly, 59.8 percent of them have no neighborhood meeting to participate in. From the result of survey, we can see that social support system for immigrant brides is still weak.

Respondents were also asked to describe their friend relations in Korea: Do you have native-born friends in Korea? If yes, how many such friends are in Korea? Do you have Korean friends? How many local residents are you close with in your community? 47.6 percent of respondents replied they have one or two Korean friends, and one immigrant bride said she has fifteen Korean friends. 45.0 percent of them have 1-3 native country-born friends in Korea

Table 11. Community Life

	Unit: %				
	Very difficult	Difficult	Neutral	Not difficult	Not difficult at all
Adaptation to the community life as a whole	2.6	9.8	49.3	29.3	9.0
Adaptation to the physical environment (i.e. climate)	1.8	4.1	34.7	50.5	9.3
Housing and its surrounding environment	1.0	4.4	40.3	47.8	6.5
Utilizing consumer and leisure facilities	3.1	6.8	47.9	36.2	6.0
Utilizing administrative agencies	5.4	16.1	48.1	25.8	4.6
Utilizing medical institutions	6.1	12.2	45.0	31.0	5.8

Table 12. Geographical Knowledge of Residential Area and Spatial Mobility

		Percentage (%)
I can go to where I want to go alone.	Strongly disagree	5.8
	Disagree	13.2
	Neutral	33.3
	Agree	39.2
	Strongly agree	8.5
I know the geography of my current residential area.	Strongly disagree	4.7
	Disagree	11.8
	Neutral	42.0
	Agree	35.4
	Strongly agree	6.0

and over 25 percent have more than 10 native country-born friends. Most of immigrant brides have more native country-born friends than Korean friends in Korea. Approximately, 50 percent of respondents have from one to five local residents close with them: one or two at 32.2 percent, 3-5 at 24.1 percent.

7) *Living in Community*

Immigrant brides' adaptation to community life was surveyed in regard to five categories: their general impression of community, adaptation to physical

environment including climate, housing facilities and its surrounding environment, consumer and leisure facilities, administrative agencies, and medical institutions. Most immigrant brides do not feel uncomfortable with their living in the community. Only 12.4 percent of respondents reply that it is uncomfortable, while 38.4 percent of them respond it is not uncomfortable. Relatively speaking, immigrant brides adapt to their physical environment, housing facilities and its surrounding environment very well. Immigrant brides who have difficulty in adapting to those fields are 5.9 percent and 5.4 percent, respectively, of respondents.

However, immigrant brides' adaptation to consumer and leisure facilities, medical institutions, and administrative agencies is more or less different from adaptation to physical environment, housing facilities and its surrounding environment. The ratio of respondents having difficulties in using consumer and leisure facilities reach at 9.9 percent and the ratios in visiting medical institutions and administrative agencies go up highly by 18.3 percent and 36.8 percent. These results imply that immigrant brides can be highly adaptable to the sphere of community life not to require a direct contact with other people, while they have difficulties in adaptation to facilities and institutions that need user's knowledge and direct interaction.

8) Spatial Cognition and Activities

The surveyed immigrant brides were asked to describe their knowledge about bus and subway lines, the locations of schools and administrative agencies, and the geography of their current residential area in terms of spatial cognition and activities. They were also asked if they can go to places they want to go to alone. Respondents have the highest cognition in the location of commercial facilities such as markets, supermarkets, department stores, and shopping centers related to their daily lives. Of all respondents, 46.1 percent replied that they are well-informed of commercial facilities, and 41.4 percent also believe themselves knowledgeable about the geography of their current residential area.

The level of female immigrants' spatial cognition about the locations of administrative agencies and schools and the routes of bus and subway are relatively lower than other geographical knowledge. About 30 percent of respondents are knowledgeable about those facilities, but this figure is less

than the ratio of respondents knowledgeable of commercial facilities. The difference may result from whether the object of spatial cognition is a daily facility or not, and whether it is specific to them or not. Although immigrant brides are more or less knowledgeable about their current residential area their spatial cognition of specific places is somewhat lower. In particular, the level of spatial cognition about the location of administrative agency such as a community center, a town office and a city hall is very low. Nevertheless, fully 47.7 percent of all respondents answered, "Yes, I can," when they were asked a question "Can you go alone where you want to go?" Only 19.0 percent of them answered, "No, I cannot." These results somewhat contradict their spatial cognition of specific places. It is because the will of spatial activity reflect on their answers, although there is lack of detailed geographical knowledge about their current residential area. Of all respondents, 75.9 percent believe that they have a sufficient geographical knowledge for spatial movement whether they ask the way to others or not.

9) *Neighbor Relations*

A weakening of community spirit among local residents is a key feature of modern society. Although the community spirit is weakened, a good neighbor relationship is an important variable of adaptation to the community. Particularly, a friendly neighbor may be as important as a good family relation, especially for immigrant brides unfamiliar with Korea. Respondents were asked about their communication with neighbors, participation in neighbor's events, neighborly assistance, and the presence of neighbors.

About 40 percent of all respondents replied that they had no problem communicating with neighbors. However, the ratio of female immigrants having difficulty communicating with neighbors is as much as 22.7 percent. Either they cannot communicate with neighbors properly or they do not do so at all. Approximately 30 percent of all respondents participate in neighbors' family events, while 28.5 percent of them don't at all. Immigrant brides need to be more intimate with neighbors to participate in their family events. Overall, approximately 40 percent of the surveyed immigrant brides have a speaking acquaintanceship with neighbors, but about 20 percent of them feel a sense of closeness with neighbors so much that they can offer mutual assistance.

Table 13. Geographical Knowledge of Public Facilities in Community

Unit: %

	Very well Informed	Well Informed	Neutral	Poorly informed	Not informed at all
Routes of buses or subways	6.3	28.8	40.1	17.5	7.3
Locations of commercial facilities	8.1	38.0	39.0	11.8	30.1
Locations of administrative agencies	5.6	28.6	34.8	18.4	9.0
Locations of schools	6.0	31.2	37.2	19.1	6.5

Table 14. Neighbor Relations

Unit: %

	None at all	Few or little	Neutral	Many or much	So many or much
Communication with neighbors	2.1	10.6	46.8	35.3	5.2
Participation in neighbors' events	9.1	19.4	40.6	27.4	3.5
Received assistance from neighbors	10.8	24.1	37.0	23.8	4.2
Existence of loaning neighbors	24.8	32.6	25.1	15.1	2.4

Table 15. Definition and Attribute of Independent Variables

Category	Variable	Definition	Attribute
Socio-demographic characteristics	Residential area	Seoul, Kyōnggi, Daegu, North Kyōngsang, Kwangju, South Chōlla	Dummy variable
	Native country	China, Vietnam, Philippine, Japan, Cambodia	Dummy variable
	Age	29 or less, 30 to 39, 40 to 49, 50 or more	Ordinal scale
	Education level	Uneducated, elementary school, middle school, high school, college or higher	Ordinal scale
	Residential period	0 to 1 year, 1 year to 2 years, 3 to 4 years, 5 years or more	Ordinal scale
	Residential status	Acquisition of Korean citizenship, Korean citizen's spouse, permanent resident	Dummy variable
	Current job	Unemployed, farming and fishing, other	Dummy variable

Table 15. (continued)

Category	Variable	Definition	Attribute
	Korean language ability	Five scored-scale (not at all → very well)	Ordinal scale
Living in the native country before migration and migratory processes	Residential area before migration	Large city, medium-sized city, small city, rural area	Dummy variable
	Job before migration	Unemployed, farmer or fisher, production or office worker, professional, sales and service worker or civil servant, student or other	Dummy variable
	migrant's will of marriage migration	Five scored-scale (Not considered at all → Very considered)	Ordinal scale
	Preparatory period of migration	Less than 1 month, 1 month to 3 months, 6 to 12 months, 1 year or more	Dummy variable
	Motive of meeting the Korean spouse	Direct meeting in native country, Arrangement by marriage agency, Others	Dummy variable
Family life and spouse	Adaptation to family life and spouse	Five scored-scale (Not at all → Very well)	Ordinal scale
	Job of spouse	Unemployed, farmer or fisher, production or office worker, professional, sales and service worker or civil servant, student or other	Dummy variable
	Education level of spouse	Uneducated, elementary school, middle school, high school, college or higher	Dummy variable
	Age of spouse	29 or less, 30 to 39, 40 to 49, 50 or more	Ordinal scale
Cultural understanding and acceptance	Knowledge of Korea before migration	Five-scored scale (Not informed at all → Very well informed)	Ordinal scale
	Education about Korea before migration	Five-scored scale (Not educated at all → Very well educated)	Ordinal scale
	Image of Korea before migration	Five-scored scale (Very bad → Very good)	Ordinal scale

Table 15. (continued)

Category	Variable	Definition	Attribute
	Intimacy with Korean culture	Five-scored scale (Very weak → Very strong)	Ordinal scale
Self-identity	Identity as a Korean	Five-scored scale (Very weak → Very strong)	Ordinal scale
	Identity as a native country-born person	Five-scored scale (Very weak → Very strong)	Ordinal scale
	Identity as a local resident	Five-scored scale (Very weak → Very strong)	Ordinal scale
	Confusion of identity	Five-scored scale (Very weak → Very strong)	Ordinal scale
Social support and network	Number of close local residents	None at all, 1 to 2, 3 to 5, 6 to 9, 10 or more	Ordinal scale
	Number of Korean friends in Korea	Number of Korean friends living in Korea	Interval scale
	Number of native country-born friends in Korea	Number of native country-born friends living in Korea	Interval scale
	Presence of joining neighborhood meeting	Presence, absence	Dummy variable
	Number of assisting institutions for immigrants	None at all, 1, 2 to 3, 4 to 5, More than 5	Ordinal scale

3. Determinants of Immigrant brides' Adaptation to Their Communities

1) Analytical Models

Hereafter, I examine what factors play an effective role in the immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities in terms of living in community, spatial cognition and activities, neighbor relations, analyzing correlations between the level of immigrant brides' adaptation, and its explanatory variables: immigrant brides' socio-demographic characteristics, living in

native country before emigration and migratory progresses, family life, cultural understanding and acceptance, self-identity, and social support and network.

Stepwise multi-regression models are used for the above-mentioned analysis. Independent variables of the regression models are living in community, spatial cognition and activities, and neighbor relations. Table 15 is a list of dependent variables of the regression models. The independent variables are stepwise entered into each regression according to their statistical significance. As a result, there are three stepwise multi-regression models by dependent variables which consist of immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities: model 1 – living in community, model 2 – spatial cognition and activities, model 3 – neighbor relations.

The value of the dependent variable in model 1 is the average grade of six items in Table 11, which are related to living in the community and surveyed by five-level scale. The value of dependent variable in the model 2 is the average grade of 5 items in Table 12 and Table 13, which are related to spatial cognition and activities and also surveyed by five-level scale. The value of dependent variable in model 3 is the average grade of 4 items in Table 14, which are related to neighbor relations and surveyed by five-level scale too. Thus, all dependent variables are translated into continuous data, and their values reflect the level of adaptation to community positively. Table 15 shows the definitions of the independent variables entered into the regression models.

2) Analytical Results

(1) Model 1: Determinants of living in community

In Model 1, seven independent variables - identity as a local resident, native country (China and Cambodia), number of Korean friends in Korea, level of knowledge about Korea before immigration, residential area before immigration - are selected as effective factors to influence life in the community. F-value and Significance F address that this regression model 1 is valid, and it can be said this model 1 explains at least 60 percent of immigrant brides' adaptation related to living in community from R-square value. According to standardized coefficients (β -value) that reflect the relative significance of regression coefficient, identify of local resident at 0.403 is

Table 16. Determinants of adaptation to community life

Explanatory variable	Regression coefficient	Standardized coefficient	t-value	P-value
Identity as a local resident	.270	.403	4.528	.000
Native country (China)	.417	.383	4.651	.000
Number of Korean friends in Korea	.057	.334	3.842	.000
Degree of adaptation to family life	.173	.218	2.580	.000
Knowledge of Korea before migration	.134	.236	2.907	.012
Native country (Cambodia)	.867	.188	2.302	.005
Residential area (medium-sized city)	-.215	-.186	-2.217	.025

R²=0.600 F=13.692 Significance F=0.000

the most important in seven valid independent variables, followed by native country (China), number of Korean friends in Korea, and so on. Those explanatory variables also have the more significance than other variables (see t-value in Table 16).

These results suggest that immigrant brides adapt to life in the community better if they have a strong identity as a local resident. Chinese and Cambodian female immigrants adapt to their community life well in terms of nationality, while other nationalities do not significantly influence adaptation to life in the community. It can be enough expected that the level of Chinese female immigrants' adaptation is high, because Chinese and Korean cultures are similar. However, it is hard to explain the reason why the level of Cambodian female immigrants' adaptation is high. An additional analysis of Cambodian female immigrants' adaptation is requested.

According to previous works, adaptation to family life is an explanatory variable of social adaptation. The analytical results also suggest that adaptation to family life has a valid effect on community life, and the number of Korean friends in Korea plays an important role in community life. These variables have positive coefficients, but the variable of residential area (medium-sized city) before immigration has a negative one. This means that female immigrants living in medium-sized cities before immigration have a low degree of adaptability. It is thought that the low adaptability is connected with their current residential areas.

In summary, immigrant brides who were well-informed of Korea before

their immigration and have a strong identity as local residents, many Korean friends, and a comfortable family life can be adaptable to life in community. However, socio-demographic characteristics including their Korean husband's age, education level, and job and her own age, education level, job, and residential status, Korean image before immigration and identity of Korean or native country's people are not valid variables of adaptation to life in community.

(2) Model 2: Factors of spatial cognition and activities

A total of nine independent variables are valid in model 2: participation in neighborhood meetings, native country (Cambodia, China), the way of marriage to Korean man (introduction by marriage agency), the number of native country-born friends in Korea, the number of Korean friends, Korean husband's age and job (professional, sales and distribution, service, civil servant), female immigrant's own job in native country (unskilled labor and office job). These variables explain the spatial cognition and activities of the surveyed immigrant brides with R-square of 0.604.

According to standardized coefficient, participation in neighborhood meetings participated by a female immigrant is the most important in the valid explanatory variables. If an immigrant bride participates in neighborhood meeting, the degree of her adaptation rated by a five-level scale in spatial cognition and activities goes up by about 0.5. In sequence, native country (Cambodia, China), and the number of Korean friends are important variables. The result that the number of native country-born friends and Korean friends in Korea has a valid influence indicates the importance of a social network in immigrant brides' spatial cognition and activities. Friends function as guides in the immigrant brides' spatial cognition and activities. An adaptation to family life is excluded from the valid independent variables in the model 2. Instead, husband's age and job are selected as valid independent variables that effect on an immigrant bride's spatial cognition and activities in community. An immigrant bride's own job in her native country also has some influence, even if it has a little practical importance.

One of the most noticeable variables in the analytical results of model 2 is the motive for marrying a Korean man. Marriage arranged by an agency is a valid explanatory variable for spatial cognition and activities, but it has

Table 17. Determinants of Spatial Cognition and Activities

Explanatory variable	Regression coefficient	Standardized coefficient	t-value	P-value
Presence of joining neighborhood meeting	.532	.356	4.094	.012
Number of native country-born friends in Korea	.016	.175	1.815	.074
Native country (Cambodia)	.229	.353	4.256	.000
Arranged marriage by marriage agency	-.375	-.195	-2.319	.024
Number of Korean friends in Korea	.070	.302	3.197	.002
Native country (China)	.464	.311	3.460	.001
Spouse's age	.032	.264	2.989	.004
Spouse's job (Professional, sales and service worker or civil servant)	.395	.211	2.567	.013
Job in the native country before migration (Production and office worker)	.322	.205	2.317	.024
R ² =0.604 F=10.528 Significance F=0.000				

a negative regression coefficient. As a result, immigrant brides matched by a marriage agency have relatively low adaptation to spatial cognition and activities. The influence of marriage through other motive like a love marriage is not discriminated in model 2. However, the fact that immigrant brides matched by a marriage agency have a low degree of adaptability to spatial cognition and activities is a noteworthy phenomenon.

(3) Model 3: Factors of Neighbor Relations in Community

In model 3, seven independent variables, identity as a local resident, concept of Korea before immigration, education about Korea before immigration, the circumstances of meeting the Korean spouse for the first time, female immigrant's age, Korean spouse's job, and residential area (North Kyöngsang), are selected as valid explanatory ones. The explanatory power of the model 3 is 45.5 percent, and it is lower than the explanatory powers the previous models. However, the model 3 is also valid with F = 9.149 and Significance F = 0.000.

Table 18. Determinants of Neighbor Relations

Explanatory variable	Regression coefficient	Standardized coefficient	t-value	P-value
Identity as a local resident	.208	.310	3.496	.001
Spouse's job (professional, sales and service worker or civil servant)	.644	.360	4.113	.000
Image of Korea before migration	.266	.275	3.098	.003
Age	.291	.307	3.462	.001
Education about Korea before migration	.201	.299	3.416	.001
Motive of meeting the Korean spouse (direct meeting and love marriage)	.365	.232	2.661	.009
Current resident area (North Kyöngsang)	.338	.180	2.020	.047
R ² =0.454 F=9.149 Significance F=0.000				

In terms of a standardized coefficient, the most important variables are the spouse's job and identity as a local resident, followed by female immigrant's age, knowledge and concept about Korea before immigration. The influence of Korean spouse's job on neighbor relations is important because his reputation and social network have a positive effect. The way of seeing Korean spouse for the first time also influences on the neighbor relations in model 3. But the influence is somewhat different from one in model 2. Love marriage has a positive coefficient in model 3. That is, a female immigrant's love marriage with Korean man has a good effect on her neighbor relations. An immigrant bride is also a valid variable and has a positive coefficient. Thus, old immigrant brides are more adaptable than younger ones. Immigrant brides who had a good concept of Korea before immigration display good adaptability to neighbor relations as well and they conceive of their neighbors and Korea positively. It is noteworthy that North Kyöngsang as a current residential area is a valid variable although its importance is relatively small. It may be that there are some socio-cultural factors of North Kyöngsang in initiating and engaging in neighbor relations. Additional analysis of the exact reason why North Kyöngsang is a valid variable is necessary.

(4) A Comprehensive Consideration of Determinants

The roundup of above analyzed results reveals that a total of eighteen variables are valid in the adaptation of immigrant brides to their communities. Among

them, sixteen variables have a positive effect, but two variables, residing in medium-sized cities and agency-arranged marriages are negative. Variables which were valid in two or more domains of adaptation to the community are: having Cambodia and China as native countries; identity as a local resident; number of Korean friends in Korea; and the Korean spouse's job.

These valid variables, which include native country, age, residential area before and after immigration, and spouse's job cannot be artificially determined. Interestingly, Korean language ability is not a valid variable. Korean linguistic skill is not crucial to immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities; neither enhances improving that skill their adaptability. Thus, the education of Korean language for immigrant brides would be less useful to improve their adaptability to communities than expected.

Social network is also a variable worthy of attention. My analysis confirms the significance of social networks in immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities. Independent variables reflecting immigrants' social network, that is, the presence of joining neighborhood meetings, the number of Korean friends in Korea, and the number of native country-born friends in Korea were selected as valid factors in the analytical models. However, independent variables related to the institute or service center for immigrants are not valid in the models. The institutes and service centers for immigrants contributed to the formation of social network as nodes of connection. However, the surveyed cases were insufficient. Nevertheless, the fact that they are not valid independent variables in the analytical models indicates a critical conclusion. It means that the institutes and service centers for immigrants is ineffective in facilitating immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities.

One of another characteristics in valid independent variables is that the variables before immigration have more significant effects than the variables after immigration. Of all sixteen variables that have a positive effect of improving immigrant brides' adaptability, seven variables of native country, the way to see a Korean spouse for the first time, the level of knowledge about Korea before immigration, Korean image before immigration, education about Korea before immigration are already fixed in their native countries before immigration. In other words, the variables cannot be controlled or improved in Korea after immigration.

Nevertheless, there are the ways to support immigrant brides' adaptation

Table 19. Comprehensive Consideration of Determinants of Adaption to Community

Category	Explanatory variable	Living in community	Spatial cognition and activities	Neighbor relations
Socio-demographic characteristics	Native country (China)	O	O	
	Native country (Cambodia)	O	O	
	Migrant's age			O
	Current residential area (North Kyöngsang)			O
Living before migration and migratory processes	Residential area in the native country before migration (medium-sized city)*	O		
	Job in the native country		O	
	Arranged marriage by marriage agency*		O	
	Direct meeting and love marriage	O		
Family life and spouse	Degree of adaption to family life	O		
	Spouse's job		O	O
	Spouse's age		O	
Cultural understanding and acceptance	Image of Korea before migration			O
	Knowledge of Korea before migration	O		
	Education about Korea before migration			O
Self-identity	Identity as a local resident	O		O
Social network	Participation in neighborhood meetings		O	
	Number of Korean friends in Korea	O	O	
	Number of native country-orn friends in Korea		O	

Note: * means a negative effect on the adaptation to community.

to their communities. The analytical results demonstrate that first, having prior knowledge and education about Korea is important to successfully adapting to communities after immigrating. Moreover, it is necessary to further assist immigrant brides' adaptation to family life, to persuade them to join in neighborhood meetings, and to introduce Korean and native-country friends in Korea after immigration. It is also important to encourage the establishment of identity as a local resident rather than as a Korean. According to the results of this study, establishing identity as a local resident and forming a social network are the most important factors in immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities.

IV. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

As immigrant brides' influx into Korea has been rapidly increasing since the mid-1990s, studies on them have been equally plentiful. Immigrant brides' adaptation to Korean society has been a main topic of many studies. However, most of the previous studies are limited to considering immigrant brides' adaptation generally, although they contribute to deeper understandings by using individual case studies with ethnographic methodologies. Yet previous studies focused primarily on adaptation to family life; there are few studies on their adaptation to community.

In this context, my work considered the factors influencing immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities by analyzing the data collected through a questionnaire survey administered in six regions, Seoul, Kyōnggi, Daegu, North Kyōngsang, Kwangju, and South Chōlla. More specifically, this study analyzed the positive correlation between three dependent variables including community life, spatial cognition and activities, and neighbor relations in community and thirty explanatory variables in six categories of their socio-demographic characteristics, living before marriage immigration and migration processes, family life and spouse's features, self-identity, social support and network by using regression models.

Seven factors regarding their native countries (Cambodia and China), residential area before immigration, family life, knowledge about Korea before immigration, identity as a local resident and the number of Korean friends

in Korea were selected as valid explanatory variables of their adaptation to community life. In spatial cognition and activities, nine variables about their native countries (Cambodia and China), employment before immigration, whether or not marriage was arranged by an agency, Korean spouse's age and job, the involvement in neighborhood meetings, and the number of Korean friends and friends from their native countries are designated as valid. In addition, seven variables of their concept of Korea prior to immigration, education about Korea before immigration, whether a love marriage or not and Korean spouse's job were also deemed valid factors in their neighbor relations.

However, Korean linguistic skill is a less valid variable in immigrant brides' adaptation to their communities than might be expected. Moreover, the analytical results reveal that an education to inform immigrant brides about Korea prior to their immigration and assistance in forming a social network after their immigration are important to their successful adaptation. Because the variables are already determined before immigration or cannot be improved, there are considerable limits to aiding their adaptation after immigration. Nevertheless, this study shows that we are able to offer some effective assistance. As previous works have identified, this study also reiterates the importance of social networks for immigrant brides' adaptation to their host society. In addition, family life plays a significant role in adapting to a community. Therefore, if we assist immigrant brides in forming a social network and with their adaptation to family life, they will continue to successfully adapt to their communities.

In this study, whether an immigrant bride identifies herself as Korean or as a foreign national in terms of self-identity does not significantly shape her adaptation to the host community. It is more important that she has a self-identity as a local resident, either she identifies herself as a Korean or as a member of her native country, or further locates herself somewhere between Korean and her native country. That is to say, the analytical results indicate that establishing self-identity as a Korean is not very significant in terms of adaptation to the community. It was not easy to interpret certain variables identified as valid factors of adaptation to community in this study. It may result from the limits in the analytical methodology used in this study. In the future, additional studies will be required.

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