

The Cognition of Vietnamese Woman Marriage Migrants on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage

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베트남 여성 결혼이주자의 결혼 전·후 경제상황에 대한 인식

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Abstract : International marriage migrants from developing to developed countries are to seek a better economic condition. There are only a few empirical research on comparing and analyzing economic condition of marriage migrants before and after marriage. This study attempted to analyze the relationship between the cognition on the change of economic condition before and after marriage and the socio-economic characteristics of Vietnamese international marriage female migrants. About 80% of interviewees of this study were motivated to marry Korean men for economic reasons; however, their household economic level was relatively low. Reflecting the household economic level, about half the Vietnamese women considered that there was very little difference in the economic condition before and after marriage; while, the percent of women considering the current economic condition as getting better were more than 4 times of that of women considering as becoming worse. The cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage was positively correlated with the level of education attainment of husbands and themselves, the Korean language ability, state of occupation in Korea, the level of husband's income, involvement of management of living expenses and length of residence in Korea. The occupation in Vietnam and the state of remittance were not significantly related to the cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage. Vietnamese marriage female migrants were highly motivated to have a job out of home to improve the economic condition of their own family and natal family. Concreted alternative programs should be made to help those women to work out of home.

Key Words : international marriage, international marriage female migrant, Vietnamese woman marriage migrants in Korea, motivation of marriage, cognition on the economic condition

요약 : 개발도상국에서 선진국으로의 국제결혼의 가장 중요한 동기로는 경제적으로 보다 여유로운 삶의 추구를 들 수 있다. 그러나 이들 결혼이주자들의 결혼 전후의 경제적 상황을 비교분석한 경험적 연구는 전무하다고 해도 과언이 아니다. 본 연구는 한국의 베트남 여성 결혼이주자를 사례로 결혼 전후의 경제상황의 변화에 대한 인식을 그들의 사회·경제적 특성과 관련하여 분석하였다. 한국의 베트남 여성 결혼이주자의 결혼동기 역시 경제적인 이유인 경우가 약 80%정도를 차지하였다. 그러나 실제로 이들 가구의 경제적 수준은 상대적으로 매우 낮다. 이를 반영하듯 이들의 절반 정도는 결혼 전후 경제적 상황이 큰 차이가 없는 것으로 인식하고 있으며, 결혼 후 경제적 상황이 나아졌다고 인식하는 비율이 그렇지 않다는 비율보다는 4배 이상 높았다. 이러한 결혼 전후의 경제상황의 변화에 대한 인식과 그들의 사회·경제적 특성과의 관계에서는 본인과 남편의 교육수준, 한국어 능력, 직장 유무, 남편의 소득 수준 그리고 가계 관리 여부, 한국에서의 거주기간과는 정(正)의 상관관계가 있었다. 그러나 베트남에서의 직업 유무 및 베트남으로의 송금 여부와는 상관관계가 별로 크지 않는 것으로 나타났다. 또한 베트남 여성 결혼이주자의 대부분은 현재 본인의 가족뿐만 아니라 베트남 가족의 경제적 여건을 제고하기 위한 취업에 대한 의욕이 매우 높았다. 따라서 이들의 취업을 위한 보다 구체적인 정책적 대안이 마련되어야 할 것이다.

주요어 : 국제결혼, 국제결혼 이주여성, 한국의 베트남 여성 결혼이주자, 결혼동기, 경제적 상황에 대한 인식

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1. Introduction

In recent decades, the international female migration has been rapidly increased in Asian countries. In 2007, about 44.7% of the total international migrants are female in Asia(Siddiqui, 2008). In Vietnam, the percent of female international migrants have rapidly increased from few percent in 1986 to 52% in 2005(Chen, 2006). In 2010, 56.6%(12,972) of total migrants (22,934) from Vietnam to Korea are females. The increase of female international migrants is closely related to the international marriage migrants (Oishi, 2005; Kim, 2006; Belanger *et. al.*, 2011). In 2010, 9,623 Vietnam females crossed Korean border through marriage(KOSIS, 2011).

International marriage migration between Vietnam and Korea gains attention because of the rapidly increased volume. Since Vietnam implemented "open policy" in 1986, marriage migration via marriage agencies has started and increased. Vietnam is known as one of the major sources of marriage migrants in Asia, just after China and Philippines(Kawaguchi and Lee, 2012). From 1995 to 2010, 213,770 Vietnam women migrated into other countries through international marriage. About 64.6%(138,000) went to Taiwan and 16.8%(36,000) to Korea. Vietnamese brides have migrated to Taiwan since 1987 and to Korea since 2000(GSOV, 2011).

In recent decades, international marriage migration has been researched in Korea and Vietnam. Most research is on the motivation of international marriage and their adaptation (Kim, 2006; Kim and Shin, 2007; Lee, 2008; Yang, 2011). In Vietnam there are studies on cause, consequences, public opinions and the impacts of international marriage migration on Vietnamese society. Most research found that the migration of Vietnamese brides had positive effects on the economic conditions of their natal families. Most

of their families became better off than before (Phan, 2005; Tran, 2006; Hugo and Nguyen, 2006; Nguyen and Tran, 2010). Many Vietnamese people in rural area think the Vietnamese brides are well off in Korea, so they should remit money to natal family(Kim, 2007).

Studies show that most of the Vietnamese women out-migrate for a higher economic conditions, and that the Vietnamese women play a very important role in improving their natal families' economy. However, there are a few research on the reality of their economic condition in destinations. The limited research is the result of the a few available data on economic characteristics, and the language barrier of researchers. Thus, this study attempts to figure out the relationship between the Vietnamese women's cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage. The economic condition between Korea and Vietnam is too different to compare, and the available economic data from Vietnam is very limited. Therefore, the change of economic condition through international marriage could not measured objectively.

The data for this study come from 48 interviews with Vietnamese international marriage migrants in Gangwon-do, Kyungsangpook-do and Daegu. The interviews were conducted in Vietnamese language in two weeks from 7th to 12th December, 2010 and from 31st July to 7th August, 2011.

The interview is consisted of 4 parts. The variables in a part are shown in <Table 1>. The demographic characteristics of Vietnamese women and their husband are from X1 to X6. The current socio-economic variables are X7 to X13. The way to meet a husband and the marriage motivation are in X14 and X15. The cognition on economic conditions is in X16.

This study analyzes the data through examining the frequencies of each variable and cross-tables between the cognition on the

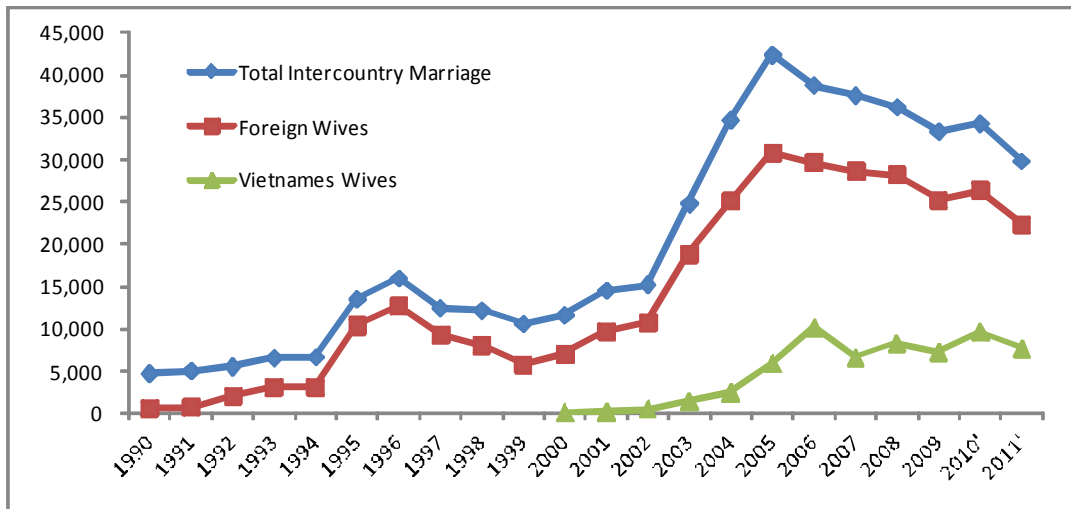
Table 1. Content of the Interview, Variable Identifier and Value of Categorized Variable

interview content		variable	variable identifier	value of categorized variable
demo-graphic	wife	X1	age	1=under 20, 2=20~24, 3=25~29, 4=over 30
		X2	education	1=primary, 2= middle, 3=high, 4=college
		X3	occupation	1=worker at a factory, 2=farmer, 3=salesgirl, 4=maid/servant, 5=others
	husband	X4	age	1=under 34, 2=35~39, 3=40~44, 4=over 45
		X5	education	1=middle, 2=high, 3=college, 4=unknown
		X6	occupation	1=worker at a factory, 2= farmer, 3=driver, 4=technician 5=others
current economic characteristics	X7	wife's occupation	1=worker at a factory, 2= farmer, 3=worker	
	X8	husband's income	1=under 1.47 million won, 2=1.48~1.84million won 3=over 1.85 million won	
	X9	remittance	1=regularly, 2=irregularly, 3=none	
	X10	managing living expenses	1=wife, 2=husband, 3=both ,4=mother-in-law	
	X11	husband's attitude to wife's working	1=accepted, 2=reluctantly accepted, 3=prohibited	
	X12	level of Korean language	1=good, 2=average, 3=poor	
	X13	length of marriage	1=under 1 year, 2=2~3 year, 3=3~5 year, 4=over 6 year	
decision-making on marriage	X14	way to meet a husband	1=marriage agency 2=Vietnamese in Korea 3=others	
	X15	motivation	1=to help the family, 2=for a better life, 3=others	
cognition on the economic conditions	X16	cognition	1=higher than in VN 2=similar as in VN 3=lower than in VN	

economic condition change before and after marriage and each variable. This research adopts χ^2 test to figure out the factors related to the cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage. And then this study analyzes the significant variables.

2. International Marriage Migration between Korea and Vietnam

Koreans have married foreigners from about 135 countries in 2011(Ministry of Justice, 2012). The percent of international marriages have been sharply increased from 1.2%(4,710) in 1990 to 12.8%(42,196) in 2010. The proportion of marriage between Korean women and foreigners has been slightly increased from 1.0% in 1990 to 2.4% in 2010; while, the percent of Korean men marrying foreigners have dramatically increased from 0.2% in 1990 to 10.4%(34,235) in 2010.



source: KOSIS, 2012.

Figure 1. International Marriage in Korea from 1990 to 2011

The proportion of Vietnamese brides is dramatically increased from 1.1%(77) in 2000 to 34.3%(7,636) in 2011; thus, Vietnamese marriage migrants become the largest group among foreign brides in 2011(Figure 1). The percentage of Korean-Chinese brides are increased from 51.3%(3,566) in 2000 to 73.6%(18,489) in 2004, and then dropped to 33.9%(7,549) in 2011(KOSIS, 2012).

International marriage between Korean men and foreign brides gains social attention because of the large volume that strongly impacts Korean society. Korean men married Japanese females through Unification church. In the early 1990, many Korean-Chinese brides came to Korea (Freeman, 2005; Lee, 2008; Yang, 2011). In the middle of 1990s, Korean government issued visa more strict procedures in China. From 2007, Korean-Chinese people have had chances to migrate into Korea under the program that has allowed oversea Koreans to be guest workers. The Korean-Chinese people do not need to marry Koreans to migrate into Korea. Therefore, the number of marriage migrants from China dramatically decreased from 20,582 in 2005 to 7,549 in 2011(KOSIS, 2011). Many marriage

agencies and Korean men sought for brides from other Asian countries such as Vietnam.

The number of marriage between Korean men and Vietnam women slowly increased from 1995 to 2001, and then rapidly increased from 134 in 2001 to 5,822 in 2005, and to 9,623 in 2010 as the result of that Taiwan government implemented the rigid procedures to issue marriage visa for Vietnamese women(Yim, 2009; KOSIS, 2011). In 2005, the Taiwanese Government attempted to restrict the influx of Vietnamese brides by claiming them to undergo tests and interviews (Chen, 2006; Kim, 2007; Nguyen 2010). Language ability, cultural understanding, and age gap, etc, are carefully considered before a visa is issued. These restrictions have made it difficult for many Vietnamese women to move to Taiwan. This has led marriage agencies and Vietnamese women to seek a new country and foreign spouses, and then Korea has become the new destination.

Koreans are found cultural similarity between two countries. Two countries are deeply influenced by Confucianism. They respect to hierarchy (Kim, 2011). Since most of the brides come from poor rural areas, Korean men believe that

the Vietnamese women are suitable for the life in rural areas and endure tough life in terms of language and culture (Kim and Shin, 2007; Nguyen, 2010, Kawaguchi and Lee, 2012). This reason also explains Korean men's preference, particularly in rural areas, for Vietnamese brides over Philippines ones(Kim and Shin, 2007), even though Philippines brides came to Korea earlier(Nancy and Kim, 2005).

The increase of international marriage between Korean men and foreigners is influenced by marriage squeeze resulted from the unbalanced sex ratio at birth and delayed marriage among women in Korea(Kim, 2010). In 1962, a strong National Family Planning policy was implemented to reduce the birth rate. The TFR decreased sharply from 5.6 in 1960, 4.2 in 1970, 3.0 in 1980, and to 1.6 in 1990(KOSIS, 1991). This success led to a unbalanced sex ratio because of the preference for son. The sex ratio at birth was 106 in 1970, 105 in 1980, and 116 in

1990(KOSIS, 1991). Since the late 1990s, Korea has experienced shortage of brides because male cohorts born in the 1970s and 1980s reached to marriage age.

The marriage squeeze has been also influenced by the delayed marriage. From 1990 to 2010, the mean age of marriage is dramatically increased from 24.8 to 29.1 for female and 27.8 to 31.9 for male(KOSIS, 2011). Many financially independent women postpone or avoid marriage (Kim, 2010).

3. Characteristics of Vietnam Women Questioned and Their Spouses

The number of female international marriage migrants from Vietnam increased from 77 in 2000 to 9,623 in 2010. In 2010, the Vietnamese brides consist of 36.6% of in-migrant brides (26,274) in Korea, the largest marriage migration group(KOSIS, 2012). This section looks at

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of Vietnamese Women and Spouses (unit: no, %)

	Vietnamese Women		Spouses	
age at marriage	under 20	4(8.3%)	under 34	10(20.8%)
	20-24	22(45.8%)	35-39	17(35.4%)
	25-29	16(33.3%)	40-44	12(25.0%)
	30+	6(12.5%)	45 and above	9(18.8%)
	Total	48(100.0%)	Total	48(100.0%)
education	Primary	7(14.6%)	Middle	4(8.3%)
	Middle	20(41.7%)	High	29(60.4%)
	High	13(27.1%)	College	10(20.8%)
	College	8(16.7%)	unknown	5(10.4%)
	Total	48(100.0%)	Total	48(100.0%)
occupation*	worker at a factory	12(25.0%)	worker at a factory	21(43.8%)
	farmer	10(20.8%)	driver	6(12.5%)
	salesgirl	9(18.8%)	technician	3(6.3%)
	maid/servant	5(10.4%)	farmer	6(12.5%)
	others	12(25.0%)	others	12(25.0%)
	Total	48(100.0%)	Total	48(100.0%)

* The occupation of Vietnamese women is in Vietnam.

demographic characteristics of Vietnamese women who are interviewed and their Korean spouses.

Age of brides at marriage is from 17 to 35. About 54.1% of them are under 25 and 87.5% are in their twenties. It is similar to the case of Vietnamese brides in Taiwan, 97% of them are between fifteen and twenty-nine (Hugo and Nguyen, 2006). The average marriage age of Vietnamese brides in Korea is 22.4 years old that is similar to that of Vietnamese women in Vietnam, 22.8 years old in 2009 (GSOV, 2011).

About 14.6% of Vietnamese brides have primary education level; 41.7% have middle school; 27.1% have high school; and 16.7% have tertiary education. Their education level is not lower than that of Vietnamese people at the same age; however, much higher than that of the Vietnamese brides in Taiwan. Data in Phan's study(2005) showed that 40.4% of Vietnamese brides in Taiwan have primary education level; 34.5% have middle school; and 16.7% have high school.

Vietnamese brides being met their spouses through their personal networks have higher education level than those through marriage agencies. About 45.8% of Vietnamese women met Korean men through the Vietnamese who migrated into Korea. About 54.5% of the women have been educated in high school and above; while, around 29.2% of the women through marriage agencies have trained at the same education level.

Most of them are from rural areas and have a job in Vietnam. A great number of them (95.8%) came from rural areas. About 56.3% of them come from Mekong Delta area in which the largest number of out-migrants are. Even though they have a job, they engage in an unskilled sector such as factory workers(25.0%), salesgirls(18.8%) and maid/servants(10.4%). The remaining(25%) are college students, office ladies, a teacher, and a nurse, etc. High percent of

Vietnamese brides choose international marriage as alternative way to migrate to developed countries. Those who desire to leave their country as guest workers in Korea must pay a huge commission to intermediaries and pass the Korean proficiency test(Chen, 2006; Belanger *et. al.*, 2011).

Age of grooms at marriage is from 28 to 57. About 43.8% of them are over 40 and 79.2% are over 35. The average marriage age of Korean men who get married to Vietnamese women is 39.5, much higher than that of Korean men in Korea, 31.9 years old in 2011(KOSIS, 2011). The grooms' age is much higher than brides' age. The age gap is from 5 to 33 years and the average is 16.6 years. About 37.5 percent of them have over 20 years older than their spouses. About 92 percent of grooms are over 10 years older than their brides.

Korean grooms who graduated high school are about 60.4%; 20.8% had been educated in college. Only 8.3% of them have middle school and primary school education. The education attainment level of Korean husbands are much higher than their spouses; while, they mainly engage in low payed occupation. Husband's occupation is very important in a mostly male-oriented South Korean society. The economic power of a household is measured by an occupation of head of household, mostly husbands in Korea. Workers in factory are high percent(43.8%), farmers and drivers are 12.5% respectively. The remaining (31.3%) are cook, security guards, office workers, unemployed persons, etc.

4. Economic Motivation Making Vietnam Women to Marry Korean Men

International marriage migrants from developing to developed countries are to seek for a better economic condition such as living in a wealthier

Table 3. Motivation of Marriage to a Korean Men
(unit: no, %)

Motivation		Frequency(%)
Economic Motivation	to help the family	20(41.7%)
	for a better life	18(37.5%)
Non-Economic Motivation*		10(20.8%)
Total		48(100.0%)

country, supporting their natal family, and seeking a job(Nguyen and Tran, 2010; Lee, 2008). In Asian countries international female migrants attempt to marry foreigner males mainly to improve their economic situation, that is, to find a better life (Phan, 2005), obtain money—as in the case of foreign brides in Korea (Kim, 2006; Kim and Shin, 2007; Lee, 2008; Lom, 2009), and Pakistani brides in Britain (Charsley, 2008), to help family members by sending money back home, or to escape from bad situations in their homeland—as in the case of Philippines brides in Germany (Lauser, 2008).

As Asian foreign brides, most of Vietnamese women marrying Korean men and Taiwan men are motivated for the economic reasons rather than for non-economic reasons. According to Kim(2007), 82.2% of Vietnamese women marrying Taiwan men are motivated by the economic reasons; while, only 17.8% get married to them because of falling in love. According to Lee (2007), about 94.5% of them married Korean men because of economic reasons such as living in a developed country(45.9%), supporting their natal families(37.6%), and working in a Korea (11.0%).

About 79.2% of respondents of this survey mentioned that economic reason is highly considered in decision-making process (Table 3). Around 41.7% decided to marry Korean men for helping natal families. Their parents needed financial support.

〈Case A¹⁾〉 I'm the second daughter of a

family with eight children. My father got sickness and stayed in hospital for 2 years in Hochimin (without national insurance). I went to Hochimin to take care of my father. The women working for a marriage agency in Hochimin said that I can get lot of money for supporting my father after going to Korea. Some days later, the women brought my husband to the Hospital. He gave directly my father around 1,000 dollars. I thought he must be very rich.

About 37.5% moved to Korea "for a better life," that means to seek for living in wealthier country.

〈Case 2²⁾〉 In VN, I am the sixth daughter of a family with 8 children. My parents are farmers and old, over 70. I was a farmer but I did not have to work so hard or to concern about the economic problem of the family. My four brothers took care of it. I followed other girls in my hometown. I tried to get married to a foreign man to find a better life and to remit my parents if possible.

About 16.7% married Korean men because they want to go to a foreign country, do not like marry Vietnamese men, and like a Korean men, etc.

〈Case 3³⁾〉 I came to Gumi as an industrial trainee in 2004. My Korean friend introduced me my husband. I met him for 18 months in Korea. I returned to Vietnam in 2006. He came to Vietnam to see my family. My mother did not allow me to marry a Korean man. I prepared paper work by myself and returned to Korea. I got a wedding ceremony without my family in Gumi.

No matter of the motivation of marriage to Korean men, most Vietnamese women want to support elderly parents with money. They cannot care their parents on a daily basis or regularly,

so, they wish to provide their parents more financial support than ever before. Serving parents is the responsibility of the children because there is no provision for caring the elderly in Vietnam (Nguyen and Tran, 2010).

5. Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage Related to Socio-Economic Characteristics

When the Vietnamese women decided to migrate to Korea through marriage, they consider economic reasons as the top priority (Table 3). It is hard to find out whether or not the economic condition is improved in Korea against in Vietnam. The economic condition is very different between two countries, so it is hard to measure the change of economic condition of Vietnamese women objectively. This study asks them to tell their cognition on the current economic condition against the their economic conditions in Vietnam.

About 35.4% think their economic condition is improved; while 8.3% mention that the condition becomes worse. Most of them(56.3%) consider that their current economic condition is as similar as in Vietnam.

This section analyzes the factors that influence on the cognition of Vietnamese women on the economic condition change before and after marriage. <Table 5, 6 and 7> show the variables

Table 4. Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage

(unit: no, %)

Cognition	Frequency(%)
higher than in Vietnam	17(35.4%)
similar in Vietnam	27(56.3%)
lower than in Vietnam	4(8.3%)
Total	48(100.0%)

source: survey

that relate to the cognition: namely, the level of education attainment, current occupation, level of Korean language ability, motivation of marriage, education level of husbands, occupation of husbands, husband's monthly income, managing budget and length of marriage.

1) Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage related with Characteristics of Vietnamese Women

Four among seven variables on Vietnamese women are significantly related to the cognition; namely, the level of education attainment, occupation, level of Korean language ability and motivation of marriage(Table 5). Among the women having high school and college education, about 61.5% and 62.5% consider their economic condition as "higher" respectively; while among women with middle school education and primary education, only 20.0% and none check their economic condition as "higher" respectively.

Among the women having primary education 42.9% think their economic condition as "lower." Even though a women having college education considers her economic as "lower," she thinks that her economic condition would be improved in the near future. She said that "I was a primary teacher in Vietnam, I study Korean hard to get a job in a primary school as an assistant teacher for multicultural children, I failed to get the position because I am not good at Korean yet." The women having higher education level incline to consider their economic condition to be improved against in Vietnam.

The level of Korean language is closely related to the cognition on their economic condition. All Vietnamese women whose ability of Korean language is "good" thinks their current economic condition as "higher" than in Vietnam; while, only 4.3% among women whose ability of Korean language is poor consider their current

Table 5. The Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage by Characteristics of Wife
(unit: no, %)

characteristics	cognition	Higher than In VN		Similar as in VN		Lower than in VN		Total		χ^2
		no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	
age at marriage	under 20	6	54.5%	4	36.4%	1	9.1%	11	100.0%	4.29
	20-24	7	31.8%	14	63.6%	1	4.5%	22	100.0%	
	25-29	3	23.1%	8	61.5%	2	15.4%	13	100.0%	
	30+	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	
education	Primary	0	0.0%	4	57.1%	3	42.9%	7	100.0%	25.038***
	Middle	4	20.0%	16	80.0%	0	0.0%	20	100.0%	
	High	8	61.5%	5	38.5%	0	0.0%	13	100.0%	
	College	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%	
occupation in VN	worker at a factory	3	25.0%	8	66.7%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%	8.116
	farmer	1	10.0%	7	70.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.0%	
	salesgirl	5	55.6%	4	44.4%	0	0.0%	9	100.0%	
	maid/servant	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	
	others	5	41.7%	6	50.0%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%	
Wife's Occupation in Korea	housewife	11	27.5%	26	65.0%	3	7.5%	40	100.0%	12.937**
	farmer	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%	
	worker	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	
Level of Korean Language	good	11	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%	29.807***
	average	5	35.7%	8	57.1%	1	7.1%	14	100.0%	
	poor	1	4.3%	19	82.6%	3	13.0%	23	100.0%	
motivation	helping family	2	10.0%	17	85.0%	1	5.0%	20	100.0%	13.627***
	a better life	8	44.4%	8	44.4%	2	11.1%	18	100.0%	
	non-economic	7	70.0%	2	20.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%	
Remittance	regular	4	28.6%	9	64.3%	1	7.1%	14	100.0%	2.261
	irregular	12	42.9%	14	50.0%	2	7.1%	28	100.0%	
	none	1	16.7%	4	66.7%	1	16.7%	6	100.0%	
Total		17	35.4%	27	56.3%	4	8.3%	48	100.0%	

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

source: survey

economic condition as "higher." The women⁴⁾ with "poor" Korean language ability and considering the current economic condition as "higher" said that "before coming to Korea, I had to work hard as a maid. I can send money back to my parents whenever they need. My life is much better in Korea."

Most Vietnamese women are not good at

Korean language. About 47.9% of Vietnamese women said that the level of Korean language is "poor,"; 22.9% of them think it as "good,"; and 29.2% rate it as "average."

All women working out of home mark on "higher"; while about 27.5% of housewives mark on "higher." As seen in <Table 5>, most of them(83.3%) are housewives and about 6.3% are

family workforce in a farm. Only 10.4% work to earn money. The women working out of home are quite satisfied with their economic condition regardless of their husbands' income. The woman whose husband's income is less than 1.4 million won said that "I was hired as a translator. I can save nearly all my salary and give my mother financial support as I wished."

As seen in the previous section, Vietnamese women really seek a job to make money for themselves and for natal families. The economic

motivation in marriage is highly related with the cognition the economic condition change before and after marriage. The migrants having non-economic motivation consider that their living standard is improved rather than those having economic motivation. Most women(70.0%) with non-economic motivation rank on "higher"; while, only 10.0% of them who marry Korean men to help natal families think it as "higher" as well as 44.4% who marry for a better life mark on "higher." The expectation to receive money of

Table 6. The Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage by Characteristics of Husband

(unit: no, %)

characteristics	cognition	Higher than In VN		Similar as in VN		Lower than in VN		Total		χ^2
		no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	
age at marriage	under 34	3	30.0%	7	70.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	8.541
	35-39	6	35.3%	8	47.1%	3	17.6%	17	100.0%	
	40-44	8	66.7%	4	33.3%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	
	45+	0	0.0%	8	88.9%	1	11.1%	9	100.0%	
education	Middle	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	14.345**
	High	9	31.0%	18	62.1%	2	6.9%	29	100.0%	
	College	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	
	unknown	0	0.0%	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%	
occupation	worker at a factory	6	28.6%	13	61.9%	2	9.5%	21	100.0%	15.559**
	driver	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	
	technician	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	
	farmer	3	50.0%	1	16.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%	
	others	4	33.3%	8	66.7%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	
Husband's attitude to wife's work out of home	accepted	11	35.5%	18	58.1%	2	6.5%	31	100.0%	1.910
	reluctantly accepted	5	45.5%	5	45.5%	1	9.1%	11	100.0%	
	prohibited	1	16.7%	4	66.7%	1	0.0%	6	100.0%	
Total		17	35.4%	27	56.3%	4	8.3%	48	100.0%	
Husband's income per month (million won)	under 1.47	2	16.7%	9	75.0%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%	11.355**
	1.48-1.84	7	30.4%	14	60.9%	2	8.7%	23	100.0%	
	over 1.85	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	
Total		16	37.2%	24	55.8%	3	7.0%	43	100.0%	

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

source: survey

her families in Vietnam become economic burden they experience in Korea. The women migrating to Korea for a better life have less responsibility for remittance (case2).

The economic level of their households is relatively low in Korea. However, they much more concern their Korean language ability than the economic power. About 60.4% of women think Korean language as the first priority; 12.4%, economic power; 14.5% raising a child and the family conflict respectively. They consider the proficiency of Korean language as the shortcut to get a job and wealth. A women said that "following other brides, I applied a job in a supermarket, but I failed because my ability of Korean is not good to pass the interview. I tried to look for a job in order to wish to remit my parents more money." They think that they would have more chance to get a job when they attain Korean proficiency.

2) Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage related with Characteristics of Husbands

After migrating to Korea, most of Vietnamese women do not work out of home. Their economic condition really depend on their husbands' monthly income. Three among five variables on their husbands are significantly related to the cognition on the economic condition; namely, education level, occupation and income (Table 6).

In the education level of husband, 70% of women having their husbands with college education think the current economic condition as "higher," and none of them thinks it as "lower." About 25.0% and 31.0% of women with husbands trained in middle school and high school check on "higher" respectively. In the occupation of husband, all women whose husbands work as a technician mark on "higher";

while 28.6% and 16.7% of women with husbands working as workers in factors and drivers think as "higher" respectively.

The average of their husband's income is 1.66 million won. Only 18.6% of their husbands earn over 1.84 million won ($\bar{x} + \frac{1}{2}sd$) a month; 27.9% make under 1.47 million won ($\bar{x} - \frac{1}{2}sd$); and 53.5% earn between 1.47 and 1.84 million won a month. Only two husbands make over 2.57 million won a month, the average wage of workers in 2011 (KOSIS, 2011). Low income of husbands gives them the frailty of the economy. Among Vietnamese women whose husbands' income is between 1.48~1.85 million won and over 1.85 million won, 30.4% and 87.5% consider their current economic condition as "higher." Only 16.7% of women with husbands earning less than 1.47 million won rank in "higher"; 8.3% of those women rate it as "lower."

Before coming to Korea, most Vietnamese women (85.4%) were informed on the income of their husbands. The women thought the income would be able to afford a comfortable standard living for family. The income level is considered very high in Vietnam. However, their expectations are not always fulfilled. In Korea, most of them experience economic hardship because of the husbands' low income and the high cost of living as well as the remittance to natal family.

Although their economic level is not high in Korea, they are satisfied with their current life. About 70.8% would like to recommend a sister to marry a Korea, if she has a sister. The satisfaction is from the tight social network with Vietnam women in Korea and people in Vietnam rather than Koreans.

Vietnamese women keep strong social networks among them. About 45.8% of them have their relatives or friends who already migrated to Korea before them. They meet Vietnamese women regularly in a center to learn

Korean. About 89.6% of them have more than 3 Vietnamese friends and 10.4% have 1 to 3 friends. If they have problems in own family, about 59.5% would ask Vietnamese in Korea for help. About 9.5% ask advices from relatives in Vietnam. About 31.0% depends on family support center for multi-cultural families. In a center, there is a translator helping to communicate and counselors. None of them depends on Korean friends.

3) Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage related with management of budget and length of marriage

About 75.0% of women managing their household living expenses consider their economic condition is improved in Korea. About 38.5% who manage it with husbands consider the economic condition as "higher"; while, only 9.5% who could not participate to managing living expenses think it as "higher." A women living Kyung-sang-pook-do mentioned that "My husband keeps his bank account and decide everything. He gave me a sum of money for daily expenditure only." About 25.0% of women managed their

living expenses; while about 48.0% asked their husbands the amount of money to spend. Moreover 4.2% depended on their mother-in-law. About 27.1% mentioned that both, a husband and a wife, took care of the household income.

The length of marriage also influences on the cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage. The longer they live, the higher percent they mark on "higher." About 66.7% of women living between 3 and 5 years mention that their economic condition would be improved; about 41.2% women between 2 and 3 and about 22.2% women living in Korea under 1 year mention that their economic condition is improved against in Vietnam.

6. Summary and Conclusion

This study attempted to figure out the socio-economic variables that influenced on the cognition of Vietnamese woman marriage migrants on the economic condition change before and after marriage. The data for this study came from 48 interviews with Vietnamese international marriage female migrants December 2010 and

Table 7. The Cognition on the Economic Condition Change Before and After Marriage by Management of Budget and Length of Marriage

(unit: no, %)

characteristics		cognition		Higher than In VN		Similar as in VN		Lower than in VN		Total	χ^2
		no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%		
Managing Living Expenses	wife	9	75.0%	2	16.7%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%	25.207***	
	husband	2	9.5%	19	90.5%	0	0.0%	21	100.0%		
	both	5	38.5%	6	46.2%	2	15.4%	13	100.0%		
	mother-in-law	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	2	100.0%		
Length of marriage (year)	under 1	4	22.2%	14	77.8%	0	0.0%	18	100.0%	18.378***	
	2-3	7	41.2%	9	52.9%	1	5.9%	17	100.0%		
	3-5	6	66.7%	2	22.2%	1	11.1%	9	100.0%		
	6 +	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%		
Total		17	35.4%	27	56.3%	4	8.3%	48	100.0%		

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

source: survey

August 2011. The interviews were conducted with Vietnamese language.

The high percent(79.2%) of them married Korean men sought for a better economic condition such as helping the natal family(41.7%) and enjoying a better life(37.5%); while, only 20.8% attempted to marry Korean men because of non-economic reasons such as going to a foreign country, falling in love with a Korean man, etc. However, their economic expectations were not always fulfilled. About 35.4% thought their economic condition were improved; while 8.3% mentioned that it became worse. Most of them(56.3%) considered that their current economic condition were as similar as in Vietnam. The socio-economic variables related to the cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage were found through χ^2 test, and analyzed the cross-tables.

The findings of this study were summarized. First, the cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage is significantly related to 4 among 7 variables on Vietnamese wives; namely, level of education attainment, occupation in Korea, level of Korean language ability and motivation of marriage. The women who had the higher education attainment, who were good at Korean language, and who married a Korean man for non-economic reasons inclined to consider that their economic condition was improved against in Vietnam. The age of marriage, occupation in Vietnam and remittance were not significantly related to the cognition on the economic condition change before and after marriage.

Second, most of Vietnamese women did not work out of home, so their economic condition really depended on their husbands' economic characteristics such as the level of education attainment, occupation, and husband's income a month. The women whose husband had higher education attainment and higher income intended

to think their economic condition was improved. The women whose husbands worked as technicians thought that their economic condition was better than in Vietnam. Although most of their husbands earned less than the amount of the average wage of workers in 2011, the high percent(70.8%) of them were satisfied with their life in Korea as the result of that they kept tight social networks with Vietnam women in Korea and people in Vietnam rather than Koreans.

Third, about 25.0% of women managed their living expenses; while about 48.0% asked their husbands the amount of money to spend. The women who have a responsibility for taking care of their living expenses inclined to consider that their economic condition was improved rather than the women who received a sum of money for expenditure. The length of marriage influenced on the cognition on the economic condition before and after marriage. The longer they live in Korea, the higher percent they thought that their economic condition was improved.

Many Vietnamese women married Korean men to live in better economic environment in Korea. The economic level of household of Vietnamese women was relatively low in Korea; while, they are highly motivated to work to earn money for their own family and natal family. The women who had a full-time job tended to consider their life success in Korea because they could save a portion of their salary and send money to the natal families. The proficiency of Korean language was necessary to work out of home. The women should have more chances to contact Koreans to learn Korean language.

주

- 1) She married in 2005 when she was 28. She lives in Daegu.
- 2) She married in 2003 when she was 19. She lives

- in Gangwon-do.
 3) She married in 2006 when she was 24. She live in Kyungpook-do.
 4) She educated in middle school and worked as maid in Vietnam. In 2009 she married when she was 19.
 5) She has high school education and migrated to Korea in 2006.

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