

ESTABLISHED MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES' WORK AND LIFE:
THE IMPACT OF EMPLOYMENT AND PERCEIVED KOREAN HUSBANDS'
PRACTICAL SUPPORT ON MIGRANT WIVES' LIFE SATISFACTION

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mom, Jeoung-eui Seo, who has always provided endless support and sacrifices that enabled me to pursue this work, and to my dad, Okki Son, who has always been a good friend, advisor, and role model of my life.

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As multicultural families become more established in Korea, researchers have paid increasing attention to enhancing the families' quality of life. The number of multicultural families was only 619 in 1990 but jumped to 750,000 as of 2013. It is projected that the multicultural families will be accounted for 5 % of the total population, which is the enormously conspicuous number given that Korean society had been a homogeneous society for a long time. While several Korean studies have examined acculturation process of immigrants, there is little understanding of multicultural families' work and family life. The purpose of this study is to investigate migrant women's later stage of adaptation by measuring their subjective perception of life satisfaction focusing on two key factors: migrant wives' employment and perceived practical support from Korean husbands. Using data from the 2012 National Survey on Multicultural Families, a nationwide survey implemented in Korea, the hierarchical regression model of migrant wives' life satisfaction was conducted with the following set of predictors: demographics, social-relationship factors, and employment and perceived practical support from Korean husbands in household labor and child-caring. Study results found that the higher levels of life satisfaction were observed among migrant wives who had higher levels of relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands ($\beta = .414, p < .001$), had more participation in community events and activities ($\beta = .059, p < .001$), and had more networks with people ($\beta = .017, p < .001$). Two main predictors also

contributed to determine levels of life satisfaction. Employed migrant wives showed lower levels of life satisfaction than non-employed wives ($\beta = -.083, p < .001$). Migrant wives who had higher levels of perceived practical support from Korean husbands in child care showed higher levels of life satisfaction ($\beta = .018, p < .001$), but no impact was found in housework. For established multicultural families, findings highlight the importance of perceived practical support from Korean husbands particularly in child-care as a critical resource of support. Social work implications were discussed in order to improve established migrant wives' life satisfaction and enhance their later stage of integration in Korean society.

Margaret E. Adamek, Ph.D, Chair

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Chapter One Introduction

Overview

Only 20 years ago, the concept of *multiculturalism* began to emerge in South Korean society. Traditionally, Koreans believed in a single shared culture, a single ethnicity, and a single language throughout thousands of years of history. Nevertheless, since the late 1990s, a growing number of women from Asia (e.g., China, Vietnam, the Philippines) and other foreign areas have moved to Korea and married Korean men, making the Korean population much more diverse (Chung & Yoo, 2013).

Statistics released by the administration of Korean Statistics (2012a; 2012b) had shown that international marriages peaked in 2007 when they comprised about 11% of all marriages in Korea (Statistics, 2012a). The proportion of international marriages has remained around 10% since then (Statistics, 2012a), and in particular, marriages between Korean men and migrant wives have been accounted for more than 70 percent of the international marriages (Statistics, 2017).

These figures are conspicuous given that there were only 619 international marriages in 1990, but it jumped dramatically to 38,291 in 2007 (Statistics, e-National Indicators, 2017). According to a report from the Korean Institute for Health and Social Affairs, it is projected that multicultural families will account for about 5 % of the total population by 2050 (Lee, Choi, & Park, 2009), which is a surprising number in that Korea had been a homogeneity society for a long time. The statistics presented so far imply that Korean society is rapidly transforming into a multicultural society (Ryu, 2011).

Among the dramatic demographic changes in Korea, international marriages between Korean men and migrant women need to be paid a much greater attention. It is obvious that the number of marriages between Korean men and migrant women from Asian countries is more than three times as many as the opposite cases (i.e., marriages between Korean women and foreign men) (Ryu, 2011). Specifically, among the international marriages, about 75 % (22, 256 cases) were between Korean men and foreign women in 2011 (Statistic, 2012b).

It should be notably considered that migrant women are more likely to be vulnerable due to their unequal positions both as a female and as a minority generally coming from a less developed country (Sung, Chin, Lee & Lee, 2013). The largest proportion of migrant women was from China (53.3%), followed by Vietnam (18.3%), the Philippine (5.3%), and other Asian countries (Cambodia, 1.9%, Mongol and Thailand: 1.2%, Taiwan, 1.5% and etc.) (Jeon et al.,2013).

In this context, this study focuses particularly on international marriage couples between Korean men and migrant women from Asian regions. Thereby, the meaning of a multicultural family is mentioned from now will be narrowly defined and it refers to multicultural families consisting of Korean men and migrant women from Asian countries, and their children residing in Korea.

In turn, multicultural families, particularly migrant wives, necessarily experience acculturation process in Korean society. They often confront a new set of challenges related to the language, lifestyle, and culture of a host society (Y. Kim, 2012). Since the immigrants' acculturation processes are closely related to the psychological adaptation in the host society, it has been investigated by many researchers on how well immigrants

and their family members are adapting to a new life or how much they are satisfied and keeping psychologically healthy in a receiving society (Y. Kim, 2012).

In order to help them to adapt well to Korean society, the Korean government has recently paid attention to *establishing* multicultural families. The released statistic shows almost 70 percent of married migrant women have stayed more than 5 years, and among them, 32.8 percent have stayed more than ten years by the year 2012 (Korean Statistic, 2012). Even though a history of multicultural families is only about twenty years, there is an increasing number of established multicultural families.

Such change from newly arrived multicultural families to established multicultural families requires Korean government to create different strategies for multicultural families in both service provisions and policies. This is because migrant women's needs for adaptation have changed over time, requiring a different perspective along with their prolonged length of residency in Korean society (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011).

In reality, established migrant women's social needs for their life become more diverse and practical, calling for a shift of policy goals from support for immediate adaptation to support for self-reliance (Lee, Lee, Shin, & Kim, 2013). In the early 2000s when marriages involving migrant women started to increase rapidly, social work practitioners focused on migrant women's immediate adaptation because it was urgent for the women to communicate with their Korean husbands, understand Korean culture, and learn about the historical background of Korea (Lee et al., 2013).

However, with multicultural families' prolonged stay in Korea, the married migrant woman's life begins to transform into Korean society. More established migrant

women have reported that they need employment, education, and job-training programs the most, whereas newly arrived migrant women seek Korean language classes, which are helpful for their initial settlement stage (Kim et al., 2010).

Accordingly, the Korean government has broadened its multicultural policies by including established multicultural families to help their later stage of adaptation (Lee et al., 2013). Policymakers have proposed continual plans to support the established multicultural families: The First Plan for Multicultural Families Policies 2010-2012, and The Second Plan for Multicultural Families Policies 2013-2017 (Multicultural Families Policy Committee, 2013). The two plans address mainly middle and long-term strategies for multicultural families in response to their new challenges such as employment and community integration.

In other words, initial policies for multicultural families under the Multicultural Families Support Act enacted in 2007 focused on various settlement strategies so that married migrant women could acculturate to Korean society by providing foundational supports such as Korean language, cooking, and culture. On the other hand, the long-term policies have emphasized multicultural families' integration into Korean society by enhancing their self-sufficiency (Lee et al., 2013).

In this context, a recent body of research has spotlighted employment and how it influences migrant wives' subjective well-being at a later stage of adaptation.

Nevertheless, most studies tend to focus only on the former: the types of difficulties that married migrant women experience before and after they get jobs (Cho & Min, 2010; Ham & Kang, 2015; Kim, Lee & Lee, 2010; Lee et al., 2013; Park, Shin, & Lee, 2012; Ryu, 2016).

The results found that main difficulties are often work-related issues such as limited understanding of Korean society, lack of Korean language proficiency, prejudice and discrimination, lack of opportunities to select occupations, poor working conditions (e.g., long working hours, low payment), and lack of competencies required by Korean companies. Working migrant wives also face family-related issues such as burdens of household labor and child-rearing (Park & Yi, 2013) on top of employment.

Problem Statement

Although the aforementioned descriptive findings enable us to identify established married migrant women's later stage of challenges with employment as immigrants and as wives, employment-related studies on multicultural families have heavily focused on married migrant women's employment itself but often disregard their subjective happiness in life. In addition, they provide limited knowledge of how other factors are associated with married migrant women's later stages of life (Lee et al., 2013).

Thereby, along with employment, this study notices the importance of perceived practical support from Korean husbands such as helping with household labor or child-rearing. In reality, the influence of perceived practical support has been disregarded by Korean scholars on multicultural families in contrast to a large number of studies which have already conducted the role of Korean husbands' emotional support and how the support has influence on migrant wives' adaptation and marital satisfaction (Y. Kim, 2012).

Immigrant studies, in general, note immigrant women's practical challenges along with their prolonged stay due to the absence of close kin networks to support childcare, strong pressure to work, and lack of information in a host society. The later stage of

challenges requires much more of husbands' practical involvement in housework (Bonizzoni, 2014; Grzywacz et al., 2009; Wall & Jose, 2004). Many study outcomes of immigrant families have shown that a higher level of husbands' involvement in household labor and child-rearing positively increases their spouses' life satisfaction (Benin & Agostinelli, 1988) and reduces mental stress (Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983). But, the results have been mainly from U.S. based evidence (Molina, 2015) rather than Korean context research.

In addition, a patriarchal orientation in Korean culture may lead to family conflicts in terms of perceived practical support because migrant wives from Chinese and Southeast Asian countries used to be more egalitarian family relations (Chung & Yoo, 2013). For example, in the case of division of household labor, Korean men tend to expect their foreign wives to take care of almost every domestic matter (Koo, 2007), but migrant wives coming from more egalitarian culture are more likely to call for a much more perceived practical support from Korean husbands.

In more detail, the Chinese take for granted that male spouses should share the household labor, and some of them believe that all of the household labor are duties of the men, and not the women (Kim & Kim, 2012). Mongolians succeed their family lineage to the youngest son by taking responsibility for their parents (Kim & Kim, 2012). In Thailand, daughters take care of parents and support them financially, whereas sons take responsibilities for religious duties (Kim & Kim, 2012). Vietnam and the Philippines have more egalitarian cultures in terms of family arrangements, succession to property, parent support duty, household labor, and childrearing, which is quite different

from Korean culture that upholds traditional patriarchal society traditionally (Kim & Kim, 2012).

Significance of Study

Even though the role of perceived practical support from Korean husbands is expected to yield much greater implications for the established migrant women's lives, very little is known about the consequences on perceived practical support from Korean husbands. In other words, a perceived husband's practical support is assumed as a key predictor to facilitate his spouse's well-being, as well as the family life's well-being (Forste & Fox, 2012; Molina, 2015; Oshio, Nozaki, & Kobayashi, 2013). Thereby, this study examines the role of perceived practical support from Korean husbands, and how it influences on migrant wives' lives, as well as examining the role of employment.

Next, this study emphasizes on established multicultural families' adaptation depending on their length of residence in Korean society. Given that settlement is an ongoing process (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011), long-term policies for established multicultural families should be considered along with established families' needs since acculturation challenges might be different depending on the length of residence. Nevertheless, existing service provisions are heavily focused on learning Korean culture for the newly arrived immigrants, rather than service programs such as job training programs, parental education programs, or family counseling services.

Lastly, this study uses life satisfaction as an indicator of adaptation. Whereas a considerable amount of literature has been published on migrant wives' marital satisfaction, only a few studies have focused on life satisfaction. However, since established multicultural families are more likely to have experiences in different life

domains such as work, neighbors, and home, they can be better described by assessing life satisfaction, rather than marital satisfaction. In addition, evaluating migrant women's perception of life satisfaction is important in social work research given that it is closely linked to their level of adaptation in Korean society. By measuring an overall evaluation of life satisfaction on their acculturation process, social work practitioners and policymakers are able to know which factors promote or hinder the adaptation (Jeon et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2010).

Purpose of Study

This study's main goal is to examine how migrant wives' employment and perceived practical support from Korean husbands influence life satisfaction as an indicator of psychological adaptation in the later stage. By doing so, this study aims to emphasize the importance of different interventions and program strategies depending on different adaptation stages in both social work practice and policies because social work practitioners for multicultural families tend to be directly involved with most of the service provisions for them.

The study results are expected to contribute to design a more proper social work service program (e.g., job training programs or parenting programs designed for Korean husbands) for established multicultural families in response to their needs. For social work policies, this study finding are expected to contribute to guiding a direction of policies for established multicultural families beyond traditional patriarchal policies.

Preview of Later Sections

In order to understand a relationship among multicultural families' work (employment), family life (perceived practical support from Korean husbands), and

psychological adaptation (life satisfaction), this study starts with reviewing five relevant theories. Acculturation, family systems, and ecological theory are discussed first with their close relations in explaining the relationship. Then, this document takes a look at empowerment perspective and resource theory as frameworks to understand migrant wives' employment and perceived practical support from Korean husbands, respectively.

Moving to the literature review chapter, it begins with multicultural families' historical background in Korea since the history has a unique path compared to other countries. Also, a more descriptive explanation towards established multicultural families is provided, focusing on different acculturation challenges by their different adaptation stages. Another main part of the literature review is addressing specific concepts and conceptual frameworks. Empirical evidence in terms of life satisfaction, overall factors to influence on life satisfaction, employment and life satisfaction, and perceived practical support from Korean husbands and life satisfaction are presented.

A research section describes the procedures and methods that used in this investigation. Research design, selected data, analysis methods, and measurement are also presented. Descriptive and Hierarchical regression results are displayed in terms of migrant wives' work, family life, and life satisfaction. Based on the results, policies and practices implications to enhance multicultural families' later stage of integration are discussed.

Chapter Two Theoretical Background

Cross-cultural studies have been criticized by their subjectiveness and interpretation towards culture and immigrants depending on the situation of each host country and individual. According to Ward and Kennedy (1994), contemporary cross-cultural studies have shown a “lack of theoretical coherence, definitional problems with key constructs, and single sample studies that limit the external validity of empirical cross-cultural research” (p. 329).

Evidence from data may be shown differently depending on different cultural contexts, but as Rodman (1972) argued, a theory provides a conceptual framework that can be interpreted within the cultural context with further specification through testing. Furthermore, theoretical frameworks enable us to understand immigrant populations’ challenges, strategies, acculturation processes, and adaptation in a host country. Thereby, theories enable cross-cultural scholars to acknowledge the different interpretations of ideas according to different cultural contexts, which make it vital to review relevant theories on immigrant populations.

This paper proposes five relevant theories that provide conceptual frameworks to understand established multicultural families’ adaptation in Korean society. Three main theories are closely interrelated and are relevant to an immigrant population: acculturation theory, family systems theory, and ecological theory. These three frameworks can provide a useful lens to capture immigrant families’ adaptation in a new society, and how they are applied to multicultural families’ adaptation in Korea.

Later, more specific theories are described that may help to understand migrant women’s employment and perceived practical support, respectively: empowerment

perspective and resource theory. In the following sections, greater details of each theory are presented, providing an overall theoretical explanation of multicultural families' adjustment and how the adjustment may influence their life satisfaction. Then, a specific hypothesis for this study is articulated.

Acculturation Theory

Acculturation theory provides a crucial conceptual framework to understand immigrant populations' acculturation process and adaptation in host countries. In particular, the acculturation model, derived from acculturation theorists, helps us to learn about the challenges immigrants may experience, what strategies they use to overcome the challenges, and how their adaptation occurs depending on different acculturation stages (Berry, 1997). With a more direct link to this study, acculturation theory also enriches the understanding of overall traits in which immigrant populations are acculturated in host societies over time.

A classical concept of acculturation was firstly proposed by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) by defining "phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). Previous researchers have used the terms acculturation and assimilation interchangeably (Berry, 1997). For example, early scholars of acculturation (Gordon, 1964; Graves, 1967; Sam, 2006) claimed that acculturation was a unidirectional process, meaning that change took place only in one direction. One group (e.g., immigrants or refugees)--both individuals and groups--modified to assimilate to the other (e.g., a host country).

More recently, however, acculturation has been understood as a bidirectional process. As Serdarevic and Chronister (2005, p. 27) argued, “unlike assimilation, acculturation does not necessarily imply a loss of all customs and values from the home culture.” Such transition of a conceptual framework from unidirectional to bidirectional is noticeable in that individuals are embedded in multiple ecological layers, which interact with each other and finally influence the individual’s development in a new environment.

This is well represented in Berry’s (2005) acculturation definition: “Acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological changes that involve various forms of mutual accommodation, leading to some longer-term psychological and sociocultural adaptations between both groups” (p. 699). The bidirectional concept emphasizes not only immigrants’ individual experiences of acculturation, but the influences from a host country also play a significant role in immigrants and refugees’ adaptation. In this context, acculturation theory has considerable similarity with the ecological perspective.

Another significant contribution of the acculturation theory is found in the usefulness of acculturation strategies in application to cross-cultural studies (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). According to the acculturation model articulated by several acculturation theorists, one must deal with how to adapt to a new circumstance, using one of the acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization.

The person would choose a particular type of acculturation strategy depending on two standards: 1) degree of maintaining one's culture and heritage, and 2) relationship with a host society (e.g., generally positive or generally negative). To illustrate, a

Chinese woman marries a Korean man, and she stays in Korea for five years. If the migrant woman values retaining her identity as Chinese, and at the same time wishes to absorb Korean culture, the integration strategy is prescribed. On the other hand, if she does not want to maintain her Chinese identity and only seeks to interact with the Korean society, she chooses the assimilation strategy. If the woman does not have any interest in either retaining her cultural identity or interacting with Korean society, the marginalization strategy is selected. Last, if she chooses only to maintain her heritage identity and entirely ignores interaction with Korean society, then she follows a separation strategy (see Figure 1).

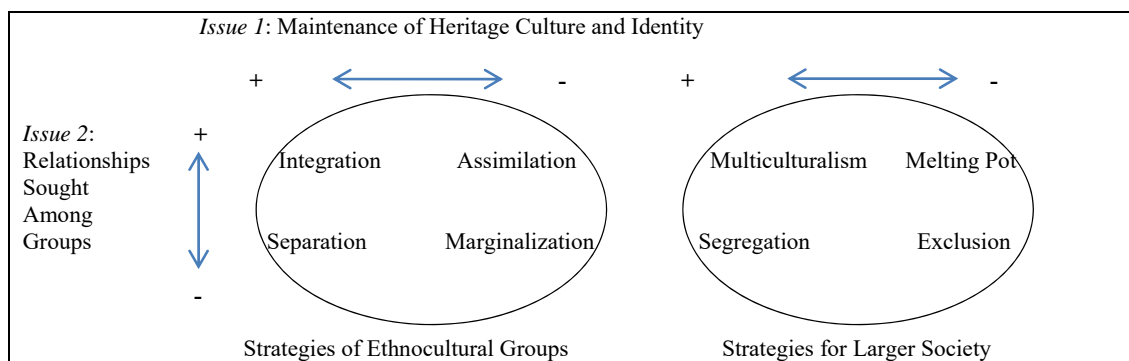


Figure 1. Four acculturation strategies based upon two issues, in ethnocultural groups, and the larger society. This figure is reprinted from “Acculturation: living successfully in two cultures” (Berry, 2005, p. 705)

The right side of Figure 1 displays the level of the dominant society’s (=a host society) orientation in terms of openness and inclusiveness toward immigrant people, which takes place as a result of “mutual” acculturation. Thereby, the dominant society forces non-dominant groups to be separate, and segregation is adopted. A host community that is open accepts culturally different groups and multiculturalism is adopted (Berry, 2005).

Although the four acculturation strategies give us a useful lens to understand the bidirectional process of acculturation, much research tends to ignore the impact of a host society and focuses heavily on an individual's decision on which strategy an immigrant adopts (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). However, a successful adaptation may not be solely identified within the four defined strategies. In many cases, the determination of a certain strategy is explained in the context of a person's internal features, such as attitudes or personality as well as external factors in society such as level of acceptance toward immigrants (Rudmin, 2003). An immigrant's job circumstance may provide a stronger explanation for why they have achieved adaptation in a host country, rather than a conscious choice of acculturation strategy (Rudmin, 2003).

The four acculturation strategies are often less relevant to immigrant populations' adaptation at different stages over time. Many early Korean scholars gave great attention to the relationship between migrant wives' acculturation strategies and their adaptation (Park & Jung, 2007), showing that immigrants' adoption of one of the four strategies has greater relevance to their initial adaptation in a host society (Bowskill, Lyons, & Coyle, 2007). Much empirical evidence for the four classifications has been guiding social work practitioners to choose a particular strategy or develop a program on the basis of the available evidence (Moghaddam, 1988; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Nevertheless, the application of acculturation strategies may not accurately reflect multicultural families' experiences in the later stages of adaptation.

This study, therefore, focuses on the acculturation process and integration for established immigrant populations in the later stages of adaptation. Acculturation theory can be supplemented with family systems theory and the ecological perspective because

all three frameworks not only complement each other but also share a similar standpoint on immigration as a continual process of interactions among multiple layers of systems. As Serdarevic and Chronister (2005) argued, “it is difficult to conceptualize the individual immigrant and host society as completely separate in the acculturation process, and the ecological model describes that individual and host society as distinct and part of a unified person-environment systems in which directional exchange is constant” (p. 30).

In Berry’s (1997) notable study, he describes adaptation as “changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands” (p. 13). One remarkable trait of adaptation is that it is able to occur either immediately or be extended over a long period of time. Short-term changes during acculturation sometimes can be negative. However, after a certain period, some positive adaptation usually takes place (Berry, 1997).

In the same way, Espin (1999) listed three adaptation stages that explain immigrants’ dynamic acculturation process and adaptation over time: initial joyful relief, disillusionment, and acceptance. According to Espin (1999), immigrants often start their life in a host society with an idealized view due to the lack of understanding of the host society in their first stage of acculturation (Espin, 1999). As they come into contact with the host society, the acculturation experience is commonly associated with negative psychological symptoms such as loneliness, anxiety, and feelings of helplessness coming from incongruence between the initial expectations and the unfolding reality. When such disappointment with the host country persists over a longer period of time, it tends to cause maladjustment. In the later stage of acculturation, however, many immigrants eventually reach the acceptance stage in adapting to the new cultural environment.

Espin's (1999) descriptions of the three acculturation stages imply that the acculturation process cannot be linear. Instead, it is depicted as a complex process involving constant change over time (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). Therefore, the acculturation process needs to be considered as an ongoing process over time, which is closely tied to immigrants' psychological well-being (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005).

Some integration into a host society may not be completed within the first immigrant generation when it comes to economic or political integration (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Interestingly enough, theoretical explanations of the longer adaptation still successfully predict the path of integration, particularly in the U.S. context (Dribe & Lundh, 2008). In some countries where immigrant histories are much longer than Korea, several scholars have examined the acculturation process across generations (e.g., first and second generation immigrants) (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Farré & Vella, 2013). One conspicuous variable that has been explained in order to understand the acculturation process over time is time spent in a host society since immigrating (Dribe & Lundh, 2008).

Thus far, the acculturation perspective has been widely used as the most influential conceptual framework to explain immigrant population's gradual integration into a host society. In accordance with Gordon's (1964) claim, the acculturation process begins with a basic integration challenge such as learning the native language and the cultural norms. Later, it extends to structural integration by achieving socio-economic status (e.g., employment or intermarriage) or political status. The acculturation process has been completed if there is no perceived difference between immigrant and native populations (Dribe & Lundh, 2008; Gordon, 1964).

Application to multicultural families. In the Korean context, several researchers notice the importance of following a gradual integration of multicultural families under the acculturation framework (Lee, H. K., 2013; Sung et al., 2013). In the early phase of acculturation, migrant women tend to experience difficulties in fundamental areas such as language barriers and unfamiliarity with Korean culture and social structure. Many migrant women also experience a lack of social networks due to the disconnection from their previous relationships. Some may experience explicit or implicit discrimination from Koreans (Sung et al., 2013).

However, as more migrant wives are acculturated into Korean society over time in Korea, they are more likely to confront other challenges. One of the major challenges that established migrant wives will experience is socio-economic integration (Lee, H. K., 2013). A longer stay increases migrant wives' probability of participating in economic activity. For example, the longer migrant wives live in Korea, they get more chances to acquire desirable skills that Korean society requires for workers (e.g., improved Korean proficiency). Migrant wives are more likely to develop and expand their social networks which can help them to become involved in the labor market (Lee, Zhou, & Kim, 2014). Thereby, in accordance with their longer residence in Korea, migrant wives' growing proficiency and social network will become important factors in their later stage of adaptation.

Moreover, according to Park, Shin, and Lee (2012), while it is important for migrant wives to integrate into Korean society through employment, employment itself may not be easy for them to achieve given their quite short residence in Korea and discrimination from Koreans. Nevertheless, it is also reported that employment helps

migrant wives adapt into Korean society (Bae & Seo, 2011). Under the conceptual framework of acculturation theory, improved adaptation throughout employment is expected to eventually enhance psychological well-being by overcoming helplessness, depression, alienation, loneliness, and identity confusion (Bae & Seo, 2011).

Another critical application of the acculturation perspective relates to perceived practical support from Korean husbands. Acculturation theory acknowledges that migrant wives' needs change according to their length of residency. Unlike in the initial stage, migrant wives require much more perceived practical support in their later stage of adaptation mainly due to the absence of close kin networks to support child-care and strong pressures to work (Bonizzoni, 2012; Grzywacz et al., 2009; Y. Kim, 2012). In reality, scholars on immigrant families have shown that a higher level of husbands' involvement in household labor and child-rearing positively help their spouses' psychological adaptation (Benin & Agostinelli, 1988; Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983).

However, acculturation theory leaves a question in expecting a relationship between migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands within the family and migrant wives' psychological well-being, given that the majority of Koreans still uphold patriarchal traditions. As acculturation theory assumes, acculturation takes place in both directions. However, since Koreans' patriarchal traditions contradict with most migrant wives' beliefs in housework, that it should be more equally shared, it is hard to assume a relationship between perceived practical support --housework or child-rearing-- and migrant wives' psychological well-being. In this context, this question cannot be fully resolved by the acculturation framework, so a more in-depth perspective is required. In order to understand migrant wives' perceived practical support from their

Korean husbands and their psychological adaptation, resource theory is presented in the later section.

Thus far, established multicultural families' adaptation has been understood through the acculturation theory. Factors at the individual level such as the length of residency and Korean proficiency can be explained best using the acculturation perspective in that both longer stays and improved Korean proficiency can help them to adapt in Korean society. Along with a more acculturated ability of individuals over time, migrant wives' work experience in Korean society is expected to increase their quality of life. On the contrary, acculturation theory provides partial explanations of the relationship between perceived practical support from Korean husbands and migrant wives' life satisfaction, which requires a more in-depth perspective.

Family Systems Theory

Whereas many immigrant studies using acculturation perspective have been mostly conceptualized and analyzed at the individual level (Tseng & Yoshikawa, 2008), acculturation theory itself explains even to broader levels, though, family systems theory focuses more on immigrant families' dynamics in response to a new challenge from a new environment (Caligiuri et al., 1998). In fact, the unit of the family is a critical point to understand multicultural families in Korea in that the acculturation process takes place among family members' interactions, and the family adjustment would affect their adaptation. Thereby, family systems' perspective to understanding multicultural families is presented.

Family systems theory is derived from the general systems theory, and general systems theorists basically assume that objects are interrelated with each other (Hill,

1949; McCubbin, 1988; Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1984). In the early 1950s, the application of general systems theory to the family was started by therapists in applied clinical practice settings (Bavelas & Segal, 1982). According to Hall and Fagen (1956), a system is “a set of objects together with relationships between the objects and their attributes” (p. 18). Therefore, the family is a special set of people with relationships, and the family members form patterns over time, which establish a family system.

In the first stage of family systems theory (Hill, 1949; McCubbin, 1988; Minuchin, 1974), the theorists propose that families try to maintain a sense of continuity and equilibrium, and the rigidity is the one important characteristic of family functioning. Much of the later application of systems theory to families, however, focused more on changes that family develops and grows as a system (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1984) by enhancing family member’s growth while they go through developmental stages (Caligiuri, Hyland, Joshi, & Bross, 1998). Similarly, Minuchin (1974) sees the family as an open-system which can interact and adapt to “changed circumstances in order to maintain continuity and enhance the psychosocial growth of each member” (p. 51).

Such traits of family systems theory can be applied to immigrant populations and immigrant families’ behavior and development in a new environment. According to family systems theory, immigrant families restructure, develop, and adjust in response to the new demands (Ali, Van der Zee, & Sanders, 2003; Minuchin, 1974). In particular, immigrant families have to transform or adapt in response to the demands of a new environment (Caligiuri, 1998).

Often, healthy adaptations of immigrant families to a new environment would reestablish family functioning in a positive way, leading to facilitate family members’

psychological growth, but the inverse situation also exists (Caligiuri, 1998). Caligiuri and his colleagues (1998) well described a family dynamic when an immigrant family confronts a new environment and how individual member's adaptations have influences on other family members' well-being;

“Pressures within the family, such as a child' maladjustment to his new school, or outside the family, such as unsatisfactory living conditions or difficulty in getting certain foods, can affect individual family members and thus the equilibrium of the family. Individual family members' cross-cultural adjustment, therefore, will directly affect the family's adjustment as a whole.” (p. 599).

As can be seen in the above example, challenges both from outside family and within the family can negatively or positively influence family members' behavior, which may disturb or maintain the equilibrium in the process of adjustment (Caligiuri et al., 1998). In short, family systems theory highlights that individual family members' adjustment in a host society will directly influence the other family members' adjustment throughout constant feedback, creating a cycle of interaction (Caligiuri et al., 1998).

Family systems theory also explains that a family's certain characteristics allow the family unit to adapt to a new environment easier (Resenbusch, 2010). Immigrant families leave their familiar surroundings and start a new life in a different country, implying such transition might be very difficult to all family members. Derived from family systems theory, therefore, many theorists have proposed models of family systems theory, and they have understood family systems and relevant variables --cohesion and flexibility-- in different ways over the past 50 years (Rosenbusch, 2010).

Among the models of family systems theory that have examined concepts of cohesion and flexibility, Olson and his colleagues developed the circumplex model of marital and family systems, which is considered as the final model (Rosenbusch, 2010). The circumplex model enables each theorist to integrate systems theory and family developmental theory, and finally, it bridges the gaps that have existed between theory and practices (Rosenbusch, 2010). By the proposed two fundamental dimensions of family functioning-- family cohesion (support) and adaptability (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1984; Olson, 2000)--, the model assumes that families can change their systems over time depending on the level of cohesion and adaptability (Olsen, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1984; Resenbusch, 2010).

Within the circumplex model, family cohesion refers to the amount of emotional bonding between family members (Ali et al., 2003; Caligiuri et al., 1998; Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1984). Family cohesion can be measured by several variables such as emotional bonding, boundaries, coalitions, time, space, friends, decision-making, and interests (Olson, 2000; Resenbusch, 2010). Also, family cohesion can be defined as the degree to which an individual is separated or connected to the family system (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).

The level of emotion boding within families can impact a family member's ability to develop relationships beyond a family unit (Ali et al., 2003; Olson, 2000); for example, a level of family cohesion influences a migrant wife's ability to develop relationships with Korean neighbors. In other words, the amount of cohesion of immigrant families within their members is closely related to the adjustment (Ali et al., 2003; Caligiuri et al., 1998).

Olson and his colleagues (1984) also suggested that balanced levels of cohesion between family members lead to family functioning outcomes. If there is too little support from family members, separateness, they tend to ignore each other's needs (Caligiuri et al., 1998). But Olson et al. (1984) also cautioned that too much family cohesion, connectedness, as well as too little cohesion, may produce a negative impact on family members' well-being since family members' "too much" support can overly influence and be influenced to other family members' problems and concerns (Caligiuri et al., 1998; Olson et al., 1984).

In terms of the application to immigrant families' adaptation in a new environment, it can be more usefully understood with a concept of family adaptability. Family adaptability defined as a family's availability to change its structure and role relationship in response to environmental changes or situational stress (Ali et al., 2003). The ability of adaptability can be flexible in response to stress both from within family members and from the external environment (Ali et al., 2003). For example, a migrant wife in Korea can have a part-time job instead of staying fully at home. Or, a child from a multicultural family can start his or her schooling. Then, all of the family members need to accommodate with a family member's changed situation by relocating the family roles or restructuring family members' duties in response to the changes (Caligiuri et al., 1998).

According to family systems theory, the more a family tries to change the family functions in response to the demands of new environmental situations, the better the family adjusts in a host society (Ali, 2003; Olson et al., 1984). Therefore, family adaptability can be closely related to the intercultural adjustment (Olson et al., 1984).

Such two dimensions from family systems theory have been also empirically evidenced by researchers that family's support, adaptability, and communication are positively related to a family's adjustment in a host society (Caligiuri et al., 1998) and family cohesion and flexibility positively contribute to families' socio-cultural adaptation (Creed, 2006).

Application to multicultural families. Therefore, family systems theory allows us to set a hypothesis that there is a close relationship between immigrant families' dynamics and their adaptation in a host society (Caligiuri et al. 1998). In application to multicultural families in Korea, a concept of family cohesion from the circumplex model can be applied. It is assumed that strong bonding and social support between migrant wives and Korean husbands are more likely to help migrant wives' adaptation better in Korean society. Also, family cohesion can be combined with a fundamental characteristic of family systems theory' assumption that objects are interrelated with each other. For example, stressful situations from extrafamilial factors (e.g., acculturative challenges) can be eased when a family member gives a greater amount of emotional support to other family members (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982; Olson et al., 1984). In sum, throughout the family systems theory and the circumplex model, familial factors such as the relationship with Korean husbands (mainly focused on the emotional aspect) and presence of children can be assumed as critical factors to influence migrant wives' life satisfaction in Korean society.

Despite the family systems theory's benefits of understanding immigrant population's adaptation throughout family dynamics, this theory provides little conceptual framework at broader levels. Given that immigrant families have to interact

with a new environment from a host society, variables at broader levels such as community or cultural values should be considered as well as family dynamics. The theoretical framework from family systems theory, however, is more involved with the micro-level approach, and the circumplex model emphasizes more on family dynamics.

Ecological Theory

Along with the acculturation and family systems theory, ecological theory has been widely used by immigrant scholars due to its benefits to understanding immigrant families' interactions among multiple layers of systems. Family systems theory and ecological theory have a similar viewpoint to understand families in that both recognize the importance of interactions between family members and their surrounding environments. It is also true that more and more therapists adopt both family systems and ecological approaches together in their practice in order to understand families' behavioral patterns and strategies for dealing with tensions. However, ecological theory, developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979), further enlarges its scope by including broader levels and provides a useful, conceptual framework to understand immigrant populations' interaction within the broader contexts. The ecological theory explains continual interactions among multiple layers of environmental systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

In general, the layers which can influence the family development and well-being can be classified into four systems: micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystems (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005; Sung et al., 2013). For example, microsystem can be described as individuals' direct interactions with their family members, friends, and neighbors; these systems of interactions are closely interrelated so that their relationships directly influence and are influenced by each other's well-being. Individuals from a microsystem

are indirectly involved with formal or informal social systems that influence individuals' well-being. Lastly, individuals' development and well-being are indirectly influenced by social systems such as cultural norms or values (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005; Sung et al., 2013). Such four systems have been applied to studies on family development and well-being with employing the four terminologies: individual level, family level (microsystem), community level (exosystem), and society level (macrosystem; Perkins et al., 1996; as cited in Sung et al., 2013, p. 228).

The division of layers from individuals to societal level and its interrelated relationships among layers give us a critical lens to understand immigrant population's adaptations throughout interactions with a host society's community and cultural values. This is because, according to ecological theory, individuals' lives are shaped by interactions of multiple contexts and lived experience (Collins, 1991; Yuval-Davis, 2006, as cited in Sung et al., 2013). Such assumption of ecological theory enables us to understand an individualized singular picture of each immigrant family depending on their personal experiences, individual or familial characteristics, interactions of neighbors, and a host society's cultural values.

Ecological theory is also helpful in our conceptualization of acculturation process operating in a social setting, social network, community, and policy levels (Tseng & Yoshikawa, 2008). In particular, social networks have been well conceptualized with the ecological setting in understanding immigrant experience. Immigrant scholars have found that social relationship variables such as co-ethnic networks in neighborhoods and involvement in community events are hypothesized as critical factors that impact an immigrants' well-being (Tseng & Yoshikawa, 2008). Thus, ecological theory contributes

to understanding such applications of the immigrant experience in a social network and broader levels since both acculturation theory and family systems theory have less often been conceptualized at these higher ecological levels (Tseng & Yoshikawa, 2008).

In reality, such assumptions of ecological theory enable us to examine multiple and contextual factors affecting immigrants' adjustment and psychological adaptation (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). Also, like acculturation theory, the ecological theory also provides a framework to understand immigrants' psychological outcomes over time, not only immediately following immigration (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005).

Application to multicultural families. In applications of ecological theory to multicultural families, migrant women married to Korean men consistently intermingle with their family members (e.g. husbands, parents-in-law, and their children), friends both from the same ethnicity and from Korean society, and Korean institutions; therefore, a lens from ecological theory helps to understand how these interactions impact migrant women's adaptation in Korea.

Several Korean researchers have recognized the importance of each system and how interaction with the system influences migrant women (Lee, Cho, & Hong, 2012; Sung et al., 2013). In particular, Lee, Cho, and Hong (2012) utilized the ecological theory to examine how each system worked as a social support for the migrant women. Likewise, the ecological theory provides a basis for the influence of interaction between people from different cultures.

As can be seen, ecological theory has a lot of shared viewpoints both from acculturation theory and family systems theory. Characteristics from individuals' age, education level, country of origin, and Korean proficiency can be explained by ecological

theory, although the empirical evidence has shown differently (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015; Jung & Cho, 2016; Kim, Lim, & Jeong, 2013; Park & Jeong, 2011; Park & Um, 2009). However, familial characteristics, such as the presence of a child, the number of children, a relationship satisfaction with a husband or household income, have evidenced with the consistent conclusion in migrant wives' life satisfaction (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015; Safi, 2010). Broader variables, including social involvement, social network, and discrimination, also have shown consistent results regardless of cultural contexts (Chu, Park, Kim, & Park, 2008; Ham & Kang, 2015; Y. Kim, 2007, 2012).

In order to more accurately assume a relationship between each variable at each layer and migrant wives' adaptation, it is essential to combine ecological theory with empirical evidence which is reviewed in the next chapter. However, at this stage, it is hypothesized that migrant wives who have a higher income, a higher level of social network and social involvement, and a lower level of discrimination are more likely to be satisfied with their lives in Korean society. In terms of factors at the individual level (e.g., age, educational level, and number of children), however, have not shown consistent conclusions, but generally, migrant wives who are younger, have a lower level of education, and have a less number of children are positively related to immigrants' life satisfaction.

One dominant benefit of the ecological perspective is that the applications of interconnectivity among multiple layers of environmental systems in individual and family development and well-being have been used in many empirical studies (Serdarevic & Chronnister, 2005; Sung et al., 2013), which is different from studies using

acculturation theory, although underlying assumptions from both highlight the importance of interactions among multiple layers, which can be denoted as bidirectional changes.

Therefore, from the ecological theory, it is assumed that various levels of factors can influence migrant wives' later stage of adaptation. Individuals' age and educational level, familial factors such as the number of children and income level, community factors such as social network and social involvement, and societal level, discrimination, can be assumed to influence migrant wives' adaptation in Korean society.

Thus far, three main theories to understand multicultural families' acculturation characteristics and their influences on adaptation have illustrated from acculturation, family systems, and ecological theory. However, the three theories do not fully explain a more in-depth narrative of relations between perceived practical support and psychological adaptation for established multicultural families in Korea. It is now necessary to present to resource theory. Before moving on to the resource theory, I briefly review the empowerment perspective as complementary descriptions of how migrant wives' working experience empowered them and its impacts on their satisfaction in life, which can broaden the acculturation perspective.

Empowerment Perspective

Immigrant populations' economic integration into a host society and their quality of life have been explained by a framework from acculturation theory. The process of acculturation over time is often interplayed with empowerment perspective in that a minority gains more resources as he or she becomes acculturated into a host society, leading them to be empowered in terms of the increased self-esteem or happiness in life.

Most frequently pointed out means of empowerment through employment is immigrant women's greater personal autonomy (Foner, 2001; K. Park, 2008). According to Foner (2001), earnings from work enable women to obtain greater power in families since the additional profits allow the immigrant women to contribute financially. In addition to the increased satisfaction of families, working also produces intrinsic satisfaction itself (Foner, 2001). The obtained sense of empowerment through employment becomes developed when migrant women acquire improved working conditions such as promotions or higher wages. Even those who work in unskilled jobs also get a sense of satisfaction when they learn new skills or perceive themselves as good workers.

At the same time, however, immigrant women's employment often entails disempowered situations. In other words, employment in a host society is a synchronous operation that shapes immigrant women's lives because they often result in both empowered and disempowered realities. For instance, although employed immigrant women might gain greater economic independence (empowered element), they are more likely faced with situations such as unstable working conditions as immigrants (e.g., long working hours, low wage, and discrimination) or unfair household labor responsibilities as wives raised by traditional gender ideologies (disempowered element) (Foner, 2001).

Application to multicultural families. Based on the theoretical framework above, it was difficult to conclude a monolithic story about how migrant wives' employment links to their lives because the employment situation may interplay with various factors from the micro level (e.g., individual and household factors) to the macro level (e.g., Korean cultural structure and patriarchal ideologies). For example, a working

migrant woman with a young child may be more satisfied with her job if the company provides flexible working hours. But, it is also possible that a working migrant wife struggles with long work hours and a heavy burden of housework due to her husbands' unsupportive attitude.

In this context, empowerment perspective usefully explains the migrant wife's dynamic on work experience and its influence on life satisfaction. Taken together with various factors from an individual-, family-, and community level as a result of the interactions among various elements, work status empowers migrant wives, leading them to report a higher subjective well-being. But, there are also forces that disempower migrant wives. Interestingly enough, a conflicting empirical result was found: working gives greater life satisfaction (Bae & Seo, 2012), whereas it burdens migrant women's lives (H. K. Lee, 2013).

Taken together, it is assumed that the impact of migrant wives' work experience on satisfaction with life may be determined with the interactions of interplayed factors: individual's personal characteristics, familial contexts, or even Korean cultural contexts. All of them can bring about a different outcome of life satisfaction.

Given that a certain theory can be differently applied under a certain cultural context, in turn, the empirical findings can be individually presented (Rodman, 1972); the assumption on migrant wives' work experience is drawn from empirical evidence conducted by Korean immigrant researchers under the Korean cultural context. Therefore, empowerment perspective's underlying assumption enables us to hypothesize that migrant wives' employment in their later stage will increase their life satisfaction,

but some empirical evidence of much literature on migrant wives' employment has shown that working decreased migrant wives' life satisfaction.

Resource Theory in Cultural Context

In order to understand a relationship between established migrant wives' perceived practical support and adaptation, a more in-depth lens is necessary. Thereby, this section introduces resource theory and how it explains migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands and life satisfaction in their later stage of adaptation. As one type of social support (e.g., among of emotional, informational, and practical support, Schaefer et al. 1992; Oakley, 1992), the concept of perceived practical support is defined focusing on two dimensions: housework and childcare, all of which are considered critical to immigrant families due to changed demands in a host society. Also, perceived practical support in this paper distinguishes its characteristic from perceived emotional support from Korean husbands.

In order to understand perceived practical support and its consequence on migrant wives' well-being from a resource perspective, I start with a concept of power. Family sociologists introduced the idea of the power dynamics in analyzing a husband-wife relationship to housework (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). The concept of power is crucial to understand social relationships in society, and it is defined as "the ability to change the behavior of another member of a social system" (Chang, 2016; Dahl, 1957; Straus & Yodanis, 1995, p. 437). In general, power dynamics in a couples' relationship affect the quality of marriage and how long the marriage continues (Chang, 2016).

Based on the power dynamics, resource theory has been widely utilized to understand marital power (Chang, 2016). Resource theory assumes a spouse with more

valued resources gains greater power in the decision-making involving family matters (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). According to Blood and Wolfe (1960)'s study, husbands' average power score increased as their education, income, and occupational status increased (Rodman, 1972). The conceptualized three concepts, as forms of resources, enable husbands to gain more decision-making power in marital relationships when they earn the increased level of education, income, or occupational status. Changes among family members can be another factor to determine power dynamics; for instance, husbands' decision-making power is reinforced by a situation when a wife has a pre-school child which increases her dependency on husbands.

In the same way, increased resources from wives can also determine the marital power in terms of family decision-making. In a situation that a wife gets employed, her employment status means she gains power since she is able to contribute to the family. In reality, resource theory has been supported by studies showing that working wives have more marital power than non-working wives. Besides, wives' working position leads their husbands to do more housework (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Silverman & Hill, 1967).

Resource theory gives us insights into the relative status of husband and wife according to who has more or fewer resources. In other words, a spouse with higher status, greater participation in work or society, or status backgrounds are more likely to gain marital power than their spouses with lower status or participation (Rodman, 1972). However, the marital power of a husband-wife relationship based only on resource perspective cannot explain one important thing: individuals' interactions with their social and cultural contexts.

In this sense, it is worth reviewing Rodman's (1972) notable approach to resource theory combined with a cultural context. He modified resource theory by including a social structure as it impacts an individual's behavioral choice. Namely, since an individual's resources in a certain society are interpreted by reflecting social ideologies, marital power based on resources can show a different pattern depending on cultural norms regarding power.

For example, in Rodman (1972)'s outstanding study with cross-cultural comparisons, he found that husbands with the highest education generally recorded the highest power score in the developed societies such as Germany, France, Denmark, and the U.S.A., but husbands with the highest education from Greece and Yugoslavia recorded the lowest power score. The finding indicates that resource theory is adequate for certain countries (e.g., Belgium, Denmark, France, and the U.S.A.), whereas it is a limited explanation for other countries (e.g., Greece, Yugoslavia), which requires for a cultural context consideration.

An individual's behavior by the interaction between the situation and cultural norms is described by Rodman (1972):

“To the extent that a man's higher status operates as a valued resource that gives him more leverage within the marital relationship, it increases his power. To the extent that it operates to place the man in a patriarchal society in closer touch with equalitarian norms, it decreases his martial power” (p. 58).

Rodman (1972) further expanded resource theory by initiating a marital power typology of four kinds according to the extent of patriarchal and equilibrium family norms: patriarch, modified patriarch, transitional equalitarianism, and equalitarianism.

The typology represents four stages of societal development, which implies Rodman (1972)'s ideal society --which is equalitarianism-- in terms of marital power.

To summarize, resource theory, which is well described in the phrase, "the greater one's resources, the greater one's power" (Dahl, 1968; Rodman, 1972, p. 56), became reshaped by adding different resources across different societal contexts. In other words, comparative resources mainly explain couples' marital power, but cultural context further expands behavioral outcomes that may influence couples' marital power. In the next section, I explain how resource theory in a cultural context can be used to explain perceived social support in terms of housework (including childrearing). With the application of resource theory to perceived practical support, established migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands and their satisfaction with lives are presented under the revised resource theory perspective.

Application to perceived practical support in terms of housework and child-rearing. Family dynamics can be generally explained from resource theory perspective as follows. A spouse with greater resources has more power in determining the division of household labor between spouses (Forste & Fox, 2012, p. 614). For example, women who are economically more dependent on their spouses have less power in the relationship, leading the women to be allocated more housework duties (Coltrane, 2000; Davia & Greenstein, 2004). Yet, as women gain increased resources such as education or income, they are more likely to have a more equitable division of household labor as well as greater power in domestic decision-making (Forste & Fox, 2012).

However, as Rodman (1972) claims, the theoretical framework does not provide a satisfactory application concerning the division of household labor, especially in the case

of women who earn much more than their spouses. Indeed, it is true that women's employment as a resource enables them to negotiate a more equal division of household labor with their husbands (Coltrane, 2000). However, it is also true that resource theory provides only partial application when it comes to the division of household labor in the family because women's increased resources cannot predict the husbands' behavior as opposed to when husbands gain more resources. In other words, women's role as a breadwinner does not equate to expecting their husbands to spend more time in household labor, or even some of the husbands do less time.

Theorists suggest such discrepancies can be complemented by the gender construction perspective (Treas, 2010). The gender construction view explains why resource theory in the division of household labor in application to women produces a paradoxical result in contrast to men's application. According to the perspective, gender roles-- as a normative guideline in a certain society—exhibits how a person behaves following the pervasive gender role. Generally, in a patriarchal society, women do the housework and men are eschewing it because that fits with a desirable gender role (Treas, 2010). Therefore, although a man does not work in the role of dominant breadwinner, he can show off his masculinity by avoiding feminine work, i.e., household labor. Besides, gender construction also explains women's tendency to do more housework when they get married to the opposite gender (Treas, 2010).

Time availability perspective also helps us to understand the allocation of household labor: Couples decide who does what household labor at the point when they get married and when they have a baby (Gupta, 1999; as cited in Treas, 2010; Forte & Fox, 2012). Due to the unpaid work and traditionally considered devalued

characteristics, housework is often considered as a devalued work, and the division of housework is determined by a standard of whose time is less valuable (Davis & Greenstein, 2013). Therefore, men who are responsible for life economically are excluded from the time devotion activities in washing dishes, doing laundry, or changing baby's diapers. Under the Shelton and John's (1996) time availability framework, regardless of the contribution of paid or unpaid activities, it is considered fair for men to spend less time in housework because they spend more time in market activities (Forste & Fox, 2012).

Individuals' decision for housework- preference, which closely relates to Rodman's (1972) description in that a person's behavioral choice is interplayed with social norms, also provides insights to understand families' household labor. According to Treas (2010), when couples make a rational decision of who does what in household labor, the decision-making is based on individuals' preferences about housework. Namely, when a person's value prefers traditional gender roles (men breadwinner and women housewives), the allocation of household labor tends to be gender-specialization. In contrast, if a person prefers non-traditional gender roles, the division of household labor tends to be more equal. The individual's preference is clearly associated with a broader cultural context in that the choice tends to be formulated and varies by a certain society's institutional structure and cultural orientations (Treas, 2010).

In turn, the interplay at the macro level, many sociologists consider an individual's preference as a result of social norms that comes from both institutional structures and cultural traditions (Treas, 2010). Perceiving the division of household labor as fairness can vary by countries that have different gender roles (Forste & Fox,

2012). For example, in a conservative society, even if a woman has an egalitarian attitude in gender roles, it may not influence much on the equal sharing of household tasks. However, such egalitarian position is more likely to bring about equal housework responsibility in a more egalitarian society (Forste & Fox, 2012).

There are conflicting results on fairness on the division of household labor. In reality, only a few women consider the exact 50-50 sharing is optimal (Thompson, 1991; as cited in Treas, 2010). Also, if a wife perceives her husband's housework involvement to be fair, many wives tend to be satisfied with the relationship, because they are not hoping for a radical gender role change (I. Lim, 1997). Much evidence still supports families with the traditional gender-roles report the highest marital satisfaction (Forste & Fox, 2012). At the same time, however, traditional gender role attitudes are becoming less supported, rather an idea of equal gender roles within the family is the desirable trend (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Scott, Alwin, & Braun, 1996; as cited in Treas, 2010).

Application to multicultural families. Based on the discussion above of resource theory under the cultural contexts, it is beneficial to understand multicultural dynamics in Korean society in terms of who has more resources to gain power. In this context, we can get an idea of how Korean husbands and migrant wives negotiate family roles and power depending on their resources in the process of acculturation.

However, the concept of resources should be carefully applied and interpreted to immigrant populations. Although resource theory in cultural context accounts for family dynamics in terms of who has more power, immigrant populations may have some other meanings when it comes to the division of household labor. When immigrant populations acculturate into a new society, they are more likely to go through difficulties

in their new environment. The renegotiation regarding who works outside and who will be in charge of domestic matters happens to most of the immigrant families during the acculturation process. In other words, the division of household labor is not only a practical rearrangement, but it also involves the process that often brings about psychological outcomes among family members due to the sharing of challenges in a new society.

Likewise, it is very important to understand multicultural families' power dynamic, according to Blood and Wolfe (1960)'s term, in the later stage of adaptation. In fact, Korean immigrant researchers try to examine multicultural families' power dynamics mostly by adopting the Korean husbands' acceptance level of their spouses (migrant wives)' culture under the acculturation theory framework (Berry, 1997). However, only a few studies focus on the role of Korean husbands' involvement in household labor.

Migrant wives are more likely to experience a challenging acculturation process, and if the imbalanced relationship formulated in the first stage of marriage due to Korean's patriarchal tendency, it is assumed that migrant wives' subjective well-being may be decreased, and it may cause marital conflicts or other family tensions (Kim & Kim, 2012). Nevertheless, social work practitioners and policymakers do not have much knowledge about the family dynamics regarding migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands.

To sum up, resource theory in cultural context gives us insight into how migrant wives' increased resources influence negotiations with their husbands around household labor under the Korean cultural context. Within the Korean context, multicultural

families' policies are firmly based on the patriarchal philosophy (Watson, 2012), and thus assume that both Korean husbands generally think housework needs to be done by women and migrant wives tend to take more responsibilities in housework and child-rearing. Also, when it comes to resources, it appears Korean husbands take the advantageous position from the developed country background, particularly in the intimal stage of adaptation. Nevertheless, as egalitarian gender roles lead to higher marital satisfaction (Kim & Kim, 2012), it is reasonable to assume that a higher level of perceived practical support from Korean husbands will increase migrant wives' life satisfaction in Korea.

How the Five Theories Can Apply to Multicultural Families

As an overarching theoretical framework to understand immigrant population, acculturation, family systems, and ecological theory have elucidated multicultural families' acculturation process and how they integrate into Korean society. Acculturation theory provides a fundamental idea of multicultural families' gradual integration process that takes place from the first stage of settlement to the later stage of adaptation. Along with acculturation theory, family systems theory focuses more on multicultural families' dynamics that interact with other contextual factors from Korean society. Ecological theory enlarges its scope by analyzing multicultural families' interactions with multiple layers, and it complements both acculturation and family systems theory by including broader levels of factors that influence multicultural families' later stage of adaptation. Particularly focused on the later stage of adaptation for multicultural families, empowerment perspective helps to study migrant wives' working experience and its consequences on life satisfaction. Another factor, perceived practical support from

Korean husbands, is explained by resource theory in cultural context, and how it influences migrant wives' satisfaction with life.

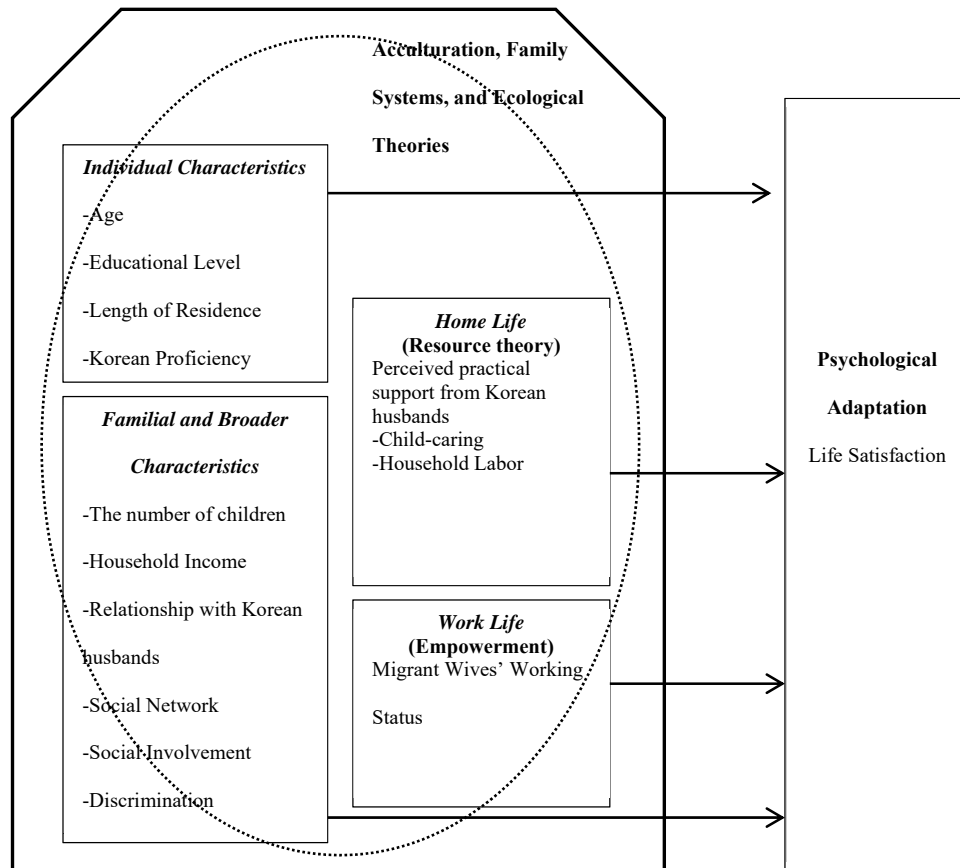


Figure 2. Conceptual Framework from the Theories for Established Multicultural Families' Adaptation for their Later Stage

More in detail, acculturation theory is used to explain how Korean proficiency, length of residency, working experience, and perceived practical support are tied with migrant wives' satisfaction with life. Relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands and the presence of a child and their impact on migrant wives' life satisfaction are illustrated by family systems theory. Ecological theory includes variables from the individual to broader level: age, educational level, and household income level. Level of social support, social network, and discrimination are also explained by ecological perspective.

As an additional provision, empowerment perspective is used to understand mutual and complex factors that influence migrant wives' work experience, and how it impacts their lives. Lastly, resource theory accounts for a relationship between perceived practical support from Korean husbands and migrant wives' life satisfaction under the Korean cultural contexts. Based on the theories that are explained so far, a conceptual framework for established multicultural families and their later stage of adaptation can be illustrated as above (Figure 2).

Chapter Three Literature Review

Background on Multicultural Families in South Korea

An early standpoint towards immigrants and refugees was based on the melting pot theory, which upheld a unidirectional accommodation of the host society (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2012). In other words, immigrants often would be assimilated into a larger society and the majority culture while relinquishing their own culture (Zambrana, 2010).

In contrast to the melting pot theorists, the idea of cultural pluralism was introduced by philosopher Horace Kallen in 1915 (as cited in Robbins et al., 2012). Cultural pluralism opposed the utility of unidirectional assimilation; rather, it cherished mutual accommodations of various groups (Berry, 1997; Robbins et al., 2012). The scope has expanded from unidirectional assimilation into bidirectional accommodation, and several concepts, such as integration, multiculturalism, and diverse society, have emerged (Murphy, 2012).

Even though Korea has a much shorter history of immigration, during the last two decades, Korean society has become more multicultural as a result of a rapid influx of immigrants and North Korean refugees. Within this short history, the aforementioned discourses about both unidirectional and bidirectional issues have focused on policies and practices regarding immigration and refugees (J. Park, 2010). Nevertheless, the term multicultural used in Korea should be carefully interpreted in terms of Korean multiculturalism.

This is because the ‘multicultural’ usage in Korea developed on a different path from other countries (H. S. Kim, 2008; J. Park, 2010). For example, most countries

where multiculturalism was grounded have dealt with multi-racial and multi-ethnic groups since their countries' origins (H. S. Kim, 2008). However, Korean society has been recognizing international migration as an issue for only about twenty years (H. S. Kim, 2008).

Not only does the term multiculturalism have a different origin in Korea, but also the development and the history of multicultural families in Korea have a unique trajectory and different characteristics from Western countries. For instance, in the U.S., the term is used more broadly, but, in Korea, generally, it specifically refers to a family which consists of a Korean man and a migrant woman who comes from an Asian country. In the following section, this paper takes a look at Korea's historical background with both global and domestic reasons for why and how multicultural families have increased within the last twenty years. Also, assumptions towards multicultural families and migrant wives in Korean society are illustrated in order to help us capture multicultural families in the Korean context.

Global explanation. One reason for the appearance of multicultural families is globalization and economic growth in Korea. In fact, some scholars point out that the increase in international marriage is seen not only in Korea but worldwide (H. K. Lee, 2005; Jones & Shen, 2008). In particular, throughout Asian countries, it has been a growing trend during the last two decades with the development of commercial arrangements industry (Jones & Shen, 2008). In other words, international marriage between Korean men and migrant women, from Asian countries, often involve marriage brokers who earn money in return for introducing Asian women to Korean men.

Likewise, since the 1990s, Korea's rapid economic growth has enabled Korean men to choose international marriage with Asian women. Korea became an attractive country for young women from developing or less developed countries mostly through marriage brokers in the form of arranged marriages (Chung & Yoo, 2013). These women considered an arranged marriage with Korean men as an appealing way to enter Korea to support their families financially and to pursue their own economic opportunities (Choi, 2008; as cited in Chung & Yoo, 2013).

Domestic explanation. Domestically, international marriage was initially an alternative way for rural bachelors to marry (H. O. Lee, 2012). At that time, Korea was experiencing a rapid urban-biased industrialization process, and rural bachelors were not desirable marriage candidates for single women in urban or rural areas who preferred to live in cities over the countryside (Chung & Yoo, 2013). Furthermore, with urbanization, rural communities gradually declined, resulting in a "rural bachelor's marriage problem" in the late 1980s (H. O. Lee, 2012, p. 178).

In order to resolve this problem, nongovernmental and governmental organizations planned a trip to China to find Korean-Chinese brides to match with Korean rural bachelors (H. O. Lee, 2012). Since Korean-Chinese (e.g., from the Yeon Byun area) brides share a similar culture and Korean language, the majority of international marriages at the first stage took place with them (Moon, 2010).

However, the origins of foreign wives grew to include Vietnam, the Philippines, and Cambodia (Kim et al., 2010). In addition, international marriage has rapidly increased as a result of the commercial marriage industry. For instance, among international marriage couples in Korea, more than 60% of migrant women from

Vietnam and South Asian countries met their Korean spouse through a marriage broker (Jeon et al., 2013). When the international marriages happen via marriage brokers, the form of marriage is a speedily arranged marriage; thereby, it is common that a Korean husband and a migrant woman barely know each other at the early time of marriage (Chung & Yoo, 2013).

Now, however, international marriage is not limited only to rural bachelors (Chung & Yoo, 2010). Some Korean male urban dwellers who are economically disadvantaged or older (e.g., in their late 30s and 40s) are beginning to choose international marriage because finding brides in Korea is difficult (Chung & Yoo, 2013). In fact, in a survey conducted in 2012, more than 50% of foreign wives (58.6%) lived in big cities or metropolitan areas, and only 30% stayed in rural areas (H. O. Lee, 2012; Jeon et al., 2013). Thus, although an international marriage was initiated as a solution to the rural bachelors' marriage problem, it has shifted into a more general multicultural issue (H. O. Lee, 2012).

Assumptions about multicultural families and migrant wives. In order to understand multicultural families in Korea, it is necessary to point out what embedded misconceptions most Koreans have towards multicultural families since such misunderstandings often distort the issue of multicultural families. Inaccurate assumptions are widely spread among Koreans and even to the Korean husbands married to migrant women from Asian countries, which make migrant wives' adaptation more difficult.

Historically, in Korea, the major atmosphere toward international marriage has been negative. In particular, international marriages between Korean men and Asian

women have produced adverse images such as the “trafficking marriage,” meaning that Korean men paid fees to marriage brokers to buy their brides in less developed Asian countries (H. J. Kim, 2012). Such negative perceptions of the Korean public about international marriages and migrant women can be well presented in the following contexts by H. J. Kim (2012),

“There is no exception. Koreans think that all foreign wives are unhappy and have problems. We have to fight against negative images and people’s biased viewpoints almost every day” (p. 245).

“I know that my country is poor and that’s why many Vietnamese women marry a foreign man. However, there are different kinds of people in my country. Not all Vietnamese women married through marriage brokers. I feel offended when Koreans spread a rumor that my husband paid money to marry me because that’s not true” (p. 245).

The above descriptions are from two study participants--the former from an interview with a Chinese migrant woman and the latter from an interview with a Vietnamese migrant woman--in H. J. Kim (2012)’s qualitative study. However, in reality, in opposition to the Korean public’s embedded negative images--migrant women are unhappy and dissatisfied with their spouses-- toward international marriages between Korean men and Asian women, migrant women from Asian countries reported that they are generally satisfied with their spouses (Sung et al., 2013). This result implies that most of the embedded perceptions of the Korean public are erroneous.

Another myth about married migrant women is that acculturation inevitably brings social and psychological problems (Berry, 1997; Malzberg & Lee, 1956).

According to Berry (1997), acculturation is accompanied with a different level of difficulty for each individual, so some acculturation changes can be easily accomplished, whereas other changes require more effort. Similar to the second assumption toward migrant women, early studies on migrant women in Korea focused on negative aspects such as marital conflict (O. Kim, 2007) and migrant women's depression (O. Kim, 2007). In reality, migrant wives are more likely to experience adjustment difficulties because of their language barriers, different cultural orientations, disconnections with their original social networks, and discrimination from Koreans (H. S. Kim, 2008; O.Kim, 2007). In this context, migrant women were often seen as victims who needed protection from others.

However, more recently conducted studies have acknowledged migrant women through a strength-based perspective (Kim & Un, 2007). In other words, despite acculturative challenges, in general, migrant wives develop positive coping skills (H. J. Kim, 2012; Kim & Un, 2007) and overcome adjustment difficulties (Shin et al., 2013). According to Shin et al. (2013), migrant wives, in general, showed relatively low depression levels and marital conflicts. Rather, they reported relatively positive psychological outcomes in terms of self-esteem, life, and marital satisfaction.

The third misleading assumption is that migrant wives from Asian countries would have similar values on family and culture as Koreans. Accordingly, most Korean people easily consider migrant wives are easily assimilated into Korean culture without any difficulties. Korean husbands have also expected that migrant wives would share the similar Korean culture only because they are from Asian areas. However, migrant wives

have different family and cultural backgrounds depending on their nationality and ethnicity (Sung et al., 2013).

Thus far, it is described some misassumptions towards multicultural families and migrant wives, which enable us to understand multicultural families and migrant wives in the Korean context. The following section describes different acculturation challenges depending on multicultural families' different adaptation stages, which further helps us to learn their settlement process in Korean society.

Different Acculturation Challenges depending on Adaptation Stages

Migrant women and multicultural families experience acculturation challenges from their early stage of settlement to the later stage of settlement. It is helpful to review their different stages of settlement and the possible determinants that may largely contribute to migrant wives' adaptation. Before going over this section, however, I'd like to explain what refers to established multicultural families in this study. I have clearly stated the meaning of multicultural families used in this study in the previous sections, but established multicultural families have not yet been specified in regards to its definition.

Multicultural families. As a legal term, multicultural families have a broad meaning. According to the Multicultural Family Support Act in Korea, multicultural families are specified as either when there is a family member who is a marriage migrant or when there is a family member who has acquired Korean nationality (Chung et al., 2016). For example, if a migrant male from Vietnam marries a Korean woman or if a migrant female from China marries a Korean man, they are all classified into the multicultural family.

As already mentioned in the introduction section and as can be seen from the unique historical trajectory of international marriages between Korean men and migrant women from Asian countries, this study focuses more on multicultural families consisting of Korean husbands, migrant wives from the Asian region, and their children. The meaning of multicultural families in this paper, thereby, is defined narrowly.

Established multicultural families. In general, there are no exact rules or standards to decide who constitutes the newly arrived immigrants or who the established immigrants are. However, it seems obvious that immigrants who just arrive at a host country are much less familiar with the host country's language, food, and culture, and they may need more time to acculturate into a new environment.

The meaning of less acculturated in a host society is closely related to several challenges that the immigrants or refugees soon face such as access to health care, language barriers, lack of employment skills, cultural disorientation, and transportation (Berry, 1997; 2002). In contrast, the longer length of residence in a host country often comes with immigrants' improved language skills and a better understanding of the culture and social system (Bae & Seo, 2011).

The distinction between recent and established immigrants is closely related to the length of residence in a host country (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015). With this standard, researchers can operationalize the term depending on their study purpose. For example, recent immigrants are conceptualized as those who have been in a host country less than 10 years; established immigrants are those who migrate to the host country and stayed more than 10 years (including second-generation immigrants) and who have been exposed to a sufficiently long, acculturative experience (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini,

2015). Likewise, Korean researchers break migrant women into five groups by the length of residence in Korea: Just arrived ~ less than 2years, 2 years ~ less than 5 years, 5 years ~ less than 10 years, and lastly, more than 10 years.

Thereby, the definition of ‘newly arrived’ and ‘established’ can be arbitrary, depending on which scholars use the term for their study purpose. In terms of multicultural families in Korea, since the history of multicultural families is relatively short, the established migrant women refer to married migrant women who stay more than 2 years but less than 15 years in Korea. A more detailed description of the definition of established multicultural families in this study is explained in the measurement section.

Difficulties experienced by reflective, established migrant wives. Much literature has illustrated that migrant women married to Korean men often encounter diverse challenges in the acculturation process in Korean society (Jeon et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2010). Such migrant women are separated from their original family and are detached from familiar social systems; for that reason, they easily find themselves isolated from support sources in a Korean society (H. J. Kim, 2012; Wall & José, 2004).

In the initial stage of settlement in Korean society, migrant wives’ lower level of Korean proficiency may hinder them from communicating with their spouse, children, and other family members such as parents-in-law. In particular, in married life in the early stage, spouses need to adjust to each other and deal with conflicts caused by different lifestyles even when they are a couple of the same ethnicity. However, for international couples, a conflict due to different cultural values may not be easily solved if communication is hampered by different language issues (H. J. Kim, 2012).

One report described migrant women's difficulties by using data from a national-level survey conducted in 2012 (Jeon et al., 2013). Migrant women married to Korean men reported low proficiency of Korean language as their most difficult problem (21.1%), followed by economic difficulties (19.8%), loneliness (14.2%), raising children and discrimination (7%), cultural differences (6.5%), family conflict (3.0%), food (2.0%), and weather (0.6%). One noticeable result is that a response to no difficulty at all scored 15.8%, a surprisingly high number.

When multicultural families become familiarized with Korean culture, other acculturation challenges appear. The low economic situation is one of the most difficult challenges to multicultural families. In fact, most multicultural families in Korea are considered economically disadvantaged (Jeon et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2010). About 60% of multicultural families replied that their monthly income was quite low; in particular, a majority said their average monthly income was 999,000 to 1,999,000 Korean Won (38.4%), and more than 20% answered it was below 1,000 Korean Won (21.3%) (Kim et al., 2010). This statistic is noticeable in that Korean's average monthly income was about 3,300,000 Korean Won (Kim et al., 2010). Therefore, the results imply that many migrant women are more likely to experience acculturative stress because of poverty.

Raising children is another difficulty that migrant women commonly experience (Rhee, 2012). Migrant women may not be well aware of information regarding pregnancy and parenting skills. Moreover, most of them are not familiar with how to access school information if their children enter preschool or elementary school. The main problem is a mother's confusion (migrant women) about her social identity; more specifically, they consider whether bicultural exposure for their children would be helpful

or if only Korean culture exposure would be more beneficial (Park et al., 2012; Rhee, 2012). In many cases, it is reported that such confusions lead migrant women to lower their self-efficacy and parenting efficacy (Kang, 2009; M. Lee, 2011; Y. Kim, 2008).

In particular, unlike most immigrant families who experience a negotiation in the process of their resettlement in a new society (Bonizzoni, 2014; Wall & Jose, 2004), multicultural families in Korea often tend to experience a different path. At the early stage of adaptation, the negotiation process tends to be easily ignored and it often remains even to the later stage of adaptation. This is mainly due to a patriarchal orientation in Korean families.

Most of the migrant women married to Korean men tend to occupy a vulnerable position as a newcomer from the starting point of marriage because they are expected to assimilate and play a role as a Korean (Chung & Yoo, 2013; H. J. Kim, 2012). Moreover, most married migrant women may experience a much less visible negotiation process for the division of household labor. In other words, unlike many immigrant families settling down in a new society who continuously negotiate and rebuild their gender relations (Bonizzoni, 2014), married migrant women come by themselves to Korea, which implies they are apart from their family-of-origin. In the case of division of household labor, Korean men tend to expect their foreign wives to take care of almost every domestic matter (Koo, 2007).

The unfairness of housework sharing becomes more visible when migrant women become employed. For example, due to the economic hardship of most multicultural families, many migrant wives are likely to choose employment (C. Park, 2013). Nevertheless, in a patriarchal environment in Korean families, most working migrant

women are still expected to fulfill their roles as mothers and wives including all of the housework.

So far, the discussion has been made regarding multicultural families' experience in their acculturation process in Korea based on the factual descriptions. From now on, the literature review focuses more on the empirical evidence so that we can assume and assess relationships among migrant wives' employment, perceived practical support from Korean husbands, and migrant wives' subjective satisfaction on life. Since the evidence should come from various sources dealing with cross-cultural studies, it is briefly introduced which resources and academic search engines were used in this study.

Approach to Evidence in Cross-Cultural Studies

It is difficult to obtain clear evidence when it comes to cross-cultural studies. In this context, I describe how I deal with such confusion dealing with evidence from cross-cultural studies. In order to determine the knowledge gap between what is already known and what needs to be further known in terms of multicultural families, particularly migrant women married to Korean men, a variety of sources from articles, newspapers, public reports, and books were reviewed.

Since this paper targets migrant women married to Korean men living in Korea, the main sources of literature were Korean journals such as *Korean Journal of Family Welfare*, *Korean Journal of Family Social Work*, *Korean Journal of Social Welfare*, *Korean Journal of Social Welfare Studies*, and *Korean Sociology*. The main terms searched were multicultural family, migrant women, and adaptation. For accessing these journals, two main Korean electronic channels, which are equivalent to EBSCOhost or scholar.google.com, were employed: www.dbpia.co.kr and www.kiss.co.kr. In addition,

some Korean administration departments' websites such as the Women and Family Department, the Health and Welfare Department, and the Korean Statistics publically provide some data and survey results regarding multicultural families in Korea, and those documents have also been reviewed.

Research from western countries has also been referred to for theories, models, or other empirical studies. Regarding such sources, websites of scholar.google.com and EBSCO host were searched. The chosen sources include both quantitative and qualitative studies. From now on, specific concepts, conceptual frameworks, and empirical evidence are presented in terms of life satisfaction, overall factors impacting the life satisfaction of migrant wives', immigrants' work and life satisfaction, and perceived practical social support from husbands and life satisfaction.

Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction is widely considered as a central aspect of human welfare (Jan & Masood, 2008). As a cognitive aspect, life satisfaction reflects one's personal well-being. Accordingly, individuals put comprehensive evaluation towards their life based on their personal judgment whether one is happy with one's life (Amit, 2010; Cheung & Lucas, 2014; Deiner, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; Y. Kim, 2012). In general, scholars have increasingly advocated for the use of life satisfaction in that life satisfaction is closely associated with a person's positive life outcomes and its great relevance to public policy (Cheung & Lucas, 2014).

As for immigrant studies, life satisfaction has been considered important to understand immigrants or refugees' adaptation in a host society. According to Berry (1997), who is a well-known immigrant scholar, adaptation refers to "the relatively stable

changes that take place in an individual or group in response to environmental demands,” which lead to the final and long-term outcomes (p. 20). In this context, life satisfaction is widely used as a measure of psychological adaptation. Under Berry (1997)’s terms, the psychological adaptation can be presented or measured by “a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health, and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context” (p. 14).

On the process of immigrants’ acculturation, adaptation can vary from poorly adapted to highly adapted, depending on how well individuals manage their acculturative challenges (Berry, 1997; 2002). Indeed, immigrants may face challenges such as language, a way of life, and culture when they arrive at a host society. Therefore, it has been important for researchers to examine how well immigrants deal with such challenges and how immigrants are psychologically healthy (Amit, 2010; Berry, 1997; Lowenstein & Katz, 2005; Y. Kim, 2012; Vohra & Adair, 2000).

For the immigrant group, therefore, it is meaningful to investigate their level of life satisfaction as a way of representing a level of adaptation towards a new social and cultural environment (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015; Jang & Seol, 2006; Safi, 2010; Sung et al., 2013; Y. Kim, 2012). In addition, since life satisfaction is a comprehensive evaluation reflected by immigrants’ subjective perspective towards their life in a host country, it is closely connected with social work practice where its values are in individuals’ adaptation within their environment (Y. Kim, 2012).

In terms of multicultural families in Korea, exploring migrant wives’ subjective happiness is very crucial for social work practitioners and policymakers because the level of satisfaction in life represents how well migrant women adapt in Korean society (Ayca

& Berry, 1996; Berry, 1997). Multicultural families in Korea typically refer to intermarriages composed of migrant wives and native husbands from two societies. Thereby, for the most migrant women, the international marriage entails emotional and physical separation from their family of origin (Chang, 2016). Consequently, the well-being of migrant wives is greatly influenced by the process of integration from the marital families and the Korean society (Chang, 2016).

In this context, among other important variables that indicate migrant wives' adaptation, seeking life satisfaction may be the most contributable factor to understand the multicultural families' life. Nonetheless, only little immigrant and family literature has examined the established migrant women's perception of happiness in life in Korea society. Now that Korean government prepares to enhance more concrete strategies for integration, the knowledge of migrant wives' life satisfaction and which factors predict it plays a great role in successful integration.

Relation with similar concepts. In line with life satisfaction, similar concepts have been given much attention by researchers. Terms like satisfaction, life satisfaction, or psychological well-being are often used interchangeably and treated similarly in the literature, although they are slightly different concepts (Forste & Fox, 2012).

Perhaps the most frequently used concept is marital satisfaction (Lee & Jeon, 2013; Kim & Kim, 2012). Given that the main purpose of migrant wives moving to Korea is marriage, investigating their marital satisfaction has also drawn researchers' attention. As several empirical studies have shown, there is a close correlation between marital satisfaction and life satisfaction, meaning that a higher level of marital satisfaction is closely related to a higher level of life satisfaction (Bae & Kim, 2012; Kim

& Kim, 2012). Other studies have adopted psychological well-being (Kim, Lim, & Jeong, 2013) or mental health (Bae & Seo, 2011) to measure how well migrant wives adapt to Korean society. Some studies have noticed negative results by using depression (H. S. Kim, 2011). All of the concepts, however, try to measure migrant wives' psychological adaptation both in a positive (e.g., life or marital satisfaction) and negative way (e.g., depression). This paper adopts a strength-based perspective to acknowledge multicultural families and migrant wives. Accordingly, this paper reviews literature focused on multicultural families' psychological well-being.

Advantages. Among the similar concepts used to measure immigrants' psychological adaptation, employing life satisfaction has several advantages. First, as a global assessment, life satisfaction measures one's subjective perception of life at a particular point in time, and the person evaluates feelings towards life ranged from negative to positive (Pavot & Diener, 1993; Sung et al., 2013). As a well-established tool for studying diverse populations, it is also useful to study immigrant populations (Sung et al., 2013).

Second, previous studies on migrant wives' adaptation mainly focused on marital satisfaction due to their immigration purpose. However, understanding how immigrants evaluate their overall life experience may provide a better description and implications beyond marital satisfaction or depression (Sung et al., 2013) because their daily life events may take place in different life domains. Namely, a person's satisfaction with work, neighbors, home, and marital life contributes to overall life satisfaction (Forste & Fox, 2012).

Limitations. Despite many immigrant studies using life satisfaction as a proxy for psychological adaptation (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015), as K. Kim (2012) has pointed out, life satisfaction is one way of measuring immigrants' social adaptation, implying life satisfaction itself cannot comprise multi-facet traits of social adaptation. In spite of such weakness, however, it is an embedded problem when researchers measure a certain concept with only one proxy variable. Nevertheless, this study still considers that life satisfaction can be the best way to measure the level of immigrants' social adaptation, which conveys significant insight for future study and implications. Also, given the close relation with similar concepts such as marital satisfaction or psychological well-being, this paper includes articles that use those concepts.

Single-item Measures of Life Satisfaction

In this section, a discussion of using single-item life satisfaction measures is described. Given that life satisfaction is an overarching construct and evaluates a person's subjective well-being in overall parts of their lives, multiple-item scales or questionnaires of life satisfaction measurement is preferred (Abdel-Khalek, 2006). This is because, as Cheung and Lucas (2014) well point out, "single-item measures are necessarily narrow in focus and may not be able to capture the breadth that can be assessed with multiple items" (p. 2810).

The 2012 National Survey for Multicultural Families (NSMF), which was used for data analysis in this study, provides a single-item of life satisfaction measurement (e.g., When you consider life as a whole, how satisfied are you with your present life?) with a 5-point scale (1, very dissatisfied to 5, very satisfied). The 2012 NSMF survey

measures many variables from thousands of respondents of multicultural families, residing in South Korea.

Often, such large-scale survey research or longitudinal studies uses single item-measures because the respondent burden is a primary concern (Cheung & Lucas, 2014; Lucas & Donnellan, 2012). One example of causing respondent burden is a situation where a respondent answers a long-length questionnaire, resulting in increased respondents' fatigue (Rolstad, Adler, & Rydén, 2011). The increased respondent burden is more likely to yield negative research outcomes such as lower-quality data, lower response rate, and reduced completion (Rolstad, Adler, & Rydén, 2011). Researchers, therefore, put efforts to minimize the respondent burden by using abridging questionnaires or using shorter instruments (Rolstad, Adler, & Rydén, 2011), and some researchers have argued that using shorten or a single-item measurement for large-scale community surveys is more economical (Abdel-Khalek, 2006).

However, one major criticism of much of the literature on using a single item measure is that it is not able to calculate internal consistency (mostly know as Cronbach's alpha) with single item measures. Recently, however, there has emerged an extensive body of empirical studies that validates life satisfaction scales of a single item (Abdel-Khalek, 2006; Cheung & Lucas, 2014; Kobau, Sniezek, Zack, Lucas, & Burns, 2010; Lucas & Donnellan, 2012).

Abdel-Khalek (2006) concluded that the temporal reliability and three types of validity (concurrent, convergent, and divergent) of a self-rating single-item of happiness measurement in the Arab context for the general population showed a good level of reliability and validity. Interestingly enough, Lucas and Donnellan (2012)'s study

suggested that single measures of life satisfaction might be more reliable than some studies indicate. They pointed out that the estimation of reliability is critical both in analysis and interpretation, but researchers who use single-item measures cannot compute the internal consistency because only one item exists in the measure (Lucas & Donnellan, 2012). For that reason, Lucas and Donnellan (2012) used longitudinal approaches with data from four-panel studies to assess reliability when single item measures are used. Findings showed estimates for single-item measures are acceptable levels of reliability and moderate levels of reliability across the four studies, with a standard of 0.70 cutoffs. Therefore, they argued there is evidence that the single-item measures are reliable.

These results are in agreement with Cheung and Lucas' (2014) findings which illustrated that single-item measures of life satisfaction showed a substantial degree of criterion validity. They examined the construct validity of a single-item measure of life satisfaction by comparing it to that of the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), which is considered a more established measure. The two measurements were compared by correlations between life satisfaction and theoretically relevant variables with data from US samples and German samples. In conclusion, Cheung and Lucas (2014) further supported that single-item measures of life satisfaction not only showed relatively high reliability, but also high validity when comparisons of the validity of single- and multiple-item measures of life satisfaction were made.

Additional concerns can be raised about the applications for immigrant populations of single-item life satisfaction measures, and whether the measure would be still reliable and valid. There are little studies that directly examine validity or reliability when scholars use a single item measure of life satisfaction in immigrant populations.

However, as the previous discussion indicates that single-item measures are preferable in a longitudinal study or a large-scale survey, some immigrant scholars who use national level data have assessed immigrant populations' life satisfaction with a single-item measure.

In reality, several Korean researchers have implemented empirical studies by using the single-item measurement of life satisfaction (Lee, H. K., 2013; Sung et al., 2013) when the data is a large-scale community survey. Therefore, based on evidence from previous studies that have justified the use of single-item measures of life satisfaction, this study uses measuring life satisfaction with a single-item measure provided by 2012 NSMF.

Overall Factors Impacting the Life Satisfaction of Married Migrant Women

Demographic factors. Clearly, research on immigrants (including multicultural families and migrant wives) has mainly studied their psychological adaptations (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015; Jung & Cho, 2016; Kim, Lim, & Jeong, 2013; Park & Jeong, 2011; Park & Um, 2009), and more recent research has explored the economic adaptation (H. K. Lee, 2013). The empirical evidence is not always consistent in regards to the immigrants' psychological well-being, particularly the level of life satisfaction.

In general, however, those who are women (Amit, 2010; Safi, 2010), younger (Safi, 2010), and have a higher educational level (Safi, 2010) report higher life satisfaction in the host society. As for migrant wives in Korea, demographic variables are not consistent: Age does not influence the level of life satisfaction (H. K. Lee, 2013; Sung et al., 2013), whereas older Han Chinese report higher levels of life satisfaction (Sung et al., 2013), or younger migrant wives showed higher life satisfaction (K. Kim,

2012). Those with better subjective health and higher Korean proficiency showed better life satisfaction (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015; Sung et al., 2013). Also, migrant wives with a college education had significantly decreased subjective happiness (H. K. Lee, 2013) and generally those with higher education report a lower life satisfaction level (K. Kim, 2012; Sung et al., 2013). In his article on Korean-Chinese' quality of life in Korea, Choi (2001; as cited in Sung et al., 2013) argued that those with a higher level of education are more likely to recognize discriminations in terms of gender inequality and employment, which eventually brings about a lower life quality.

Family-related factors. Immigrant studies generally report those with partners showed a higher level of life satisfaction (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015; Safi, 2010). As for migrant wives in Korea, given that they moved to Korea mainly for the purpose of marriage, marriage-related factors are expected to be closely associated with psychological well-being. In particular, the relationship with Korean husbands is expected to be an important predictor of life satisfaction. In reality, many Korean studies have found that those with a higher level of marital satisfaction showed a higher level of life satisfaction (Park & Jeong, 2011). Besides, social support from husbands played a very significant role in their life satisfaction, particularly emotional support (Park & Um, 2009) and informational support (K. Kim, 2012).

The presence of children. The presence of children is another significant predictor of immigrants' psychological well-being (Bartram, 2011). Although immigrant studies have documented the presence of children is not strongly associated with their psychological well-being (Safi, 2010), Korean studies have found the number of children and their ages influence the level of life satisfaction. It is commonly expected that having

children could play a positive role in migrant wives' adjustment due to their Korean husbands' and mother-in-law's strong expectations of family lineage (Sung et al., 2013). The evidence, however, showed differently that having children decreased migrant wives' life satisfaction possibly due to concerns about childrearing and the harshly competitive educational environment in Korean society (H. K. Lee, 2013). Having more children (e.g., the number of children) reduced their life satisfaction to almost all migrant wives (Sung et al., 2013).

According to Sung et al. (2013)'s account, during their pregnancy and the postpartum period, migrant wives may experience significant childrearing challenges due to their unfamiliarity with the health care system in Korea. In the period of children' pre-school or school years, most migrant wives further experience challenges due to the lack of information in the educational system in Korea. Those challenges without adequate supports may lead migrant wives to feel unsatisfied or less confident in their lives.

Social support by Korean husbands. Korean studies have shown that Korean husbands' support reduced wives depression (H. S. Kim, 2011; Kim, Lim, & Jeong, 2013), increased marital satisfaction (Kim & Kim, 2012) and personal subjective well-being (Park & Jeong, 2011). Having a good family or spousal relationship and a wide social network increased the migrant wives' life satisfaction (H. K. Lee, 2013).

Lee and Jeon (2013)'s study also emphasized the importance of husbands' support of migrant wives. Most migrant wives are apart from their original families and are not familiar with Korean culture, which puts them in a situation where they fully depend on their Korean husbands and his families. Such circumstance makes Korean husbands and their families the primary supporters when migrant wives face difficulties.

In particular, Korean husbands play a primary role in supporting migrant wives, even when they are under acculturative stress. In reality, spouses work as a supporter who resolves the conflicts with their wives. Korean husbands sometimes may cause a conflict situation, but they also provide solutions to migrant wives for resolving the conflicts. Y. Kim (2012) also found that the quality of family relationships increased migrant wives' life satisfaction.

Different sources of social support over time. Focused on social relations, Park and Um (2009) examined how social relations- both social supports and negative interactions- impact migrant wives' life satisfaction by using 250 migrant wives living in a rural area. The measurement of social relationships included family, neighborhood, friends from the same country, self-help groups, and social service workers.

They provide a significant insight into how to effectively intervene in order to improve the life satisfaction of migrant wives at different times. For example, many previous studies have shown that emotional support from Korean husbands and mothers-in-law play a significant role in migrant wives' life satisfaction (Chu, Park, Kim, & Park, 2008; Ham & Kang, 2015; Y. Kim, 2007, 2012). However, Park and Um (2009) found that informational support plays a key factor in emotional support. This result is consistent with much previous research that many female immigrants need a different type of social support from different sources over time in a host society (Lin & Ensel, 1999; Y. Kim, 2007).

Likewise, for married migrant women in Korea, recent arrivals are more likely to rely on their Korean husbands first in the unfamiliar environment in a host country. Later, as they are more likely to be acculturated both in language and culture in Korean

society, their needs change to a more specific and practical support which can impact their life satisfaction (Park & Um, 2009). Their study, therefore, gives us an important question regarding which factors account for differences in their life satisfaction depending on their adaptation stage.

Similar results were supported by K. Kim (2012). Unlike Park and Um (2009)'s study, the analysis was conducted using data from the 2009 Nationwide Multicultural Family Survey. K. Kim (2012) discovered family network was the only significant factor impacting life satisfaction in the early stage of marriage, but as the settlement period extends, other social network factors such as friends and neighbors also impacted their level of life satisfaction.

Community and broader factors. Immigrant studies have generally reported that interacting with community members positively associated with psychological well-being (Choi & Thomas, 2009; Lin & Ensel, 1999). As of migrant wives in Korea, K. Kim (2012) reported more frequent interactions with the neighborhood increased migrant wives' level of life satisfaction. In particular, migrant wives who are actively engaged with neighbors from their own ethnic groups help them to relieve their acculturation stress or marital conflict, which lead to improved life satisfaction. Furthermore, those with more utilization of a formal support system (e.g., local social workers or involved in community programs) showed a lower level of depression and a higher level of self-esteem (Lee & Kim, 2010).

As a broader factor, discrimination has consistently reported having an influence on migrant wives' psychological well-being. Immigrants' perceived discrimination negatively influence their mental health and stress (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015).

In Korean context, due to Korea's homogeneous ethnic history, a social stigma exists towards international marriage (Chung & Yoo, 2013; H. J. Kim, 2012). During the early years of international marriage, about two decades ago, most migrant women were viewed as victims because of their husbands' violence (H. J. Kim, 2012). Media coverage (e.g., "Battered foreign wives," 2003) paid close attention to such cases and contributed to producing negative images about international marriage.

The majority of the Korean public soon generalized it to all international couples, particularly Korean men and migrant women from Asian countries (Cheong, Song, Yoon, & Shim, 2011). The opposite situation has been found as well: Some Korean men who married migrant women were recognized as victims because some migrant women chose the marriage as a way of obtaining Korean citizenship; as soon as those migrant women achieved Korean citizenship, they ran away or became divorced (Cheong et al., 2011).

Such cases often happened in the past, and it still happens now although the number of cases has been reduced. However, it is risky to generalize from a few cases to all multicultural families because in the majority of multicultural families, both Korean husbands and migrant women put in an effort to adjust to each other for a successful married life and adaptation. Nevertheless, such negative images led to migrant women's discrimination experience in Korea; 41.3 % of migrant women reported that they have experienced discrimination (Jeon et al., 2013).

Socio-Economic-Status. Socio-economic-status factors play a key role in immigrants' adjustment and psychological well-being. Studies have consistently documented that immigrants who are financially secure or have a higher income level are more satisfied with their lives in a host society (Amit, 2010; Bartram, 2011, Sung et al.,

2013). Those with higher incomes report higher life satisfaction (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015). On the contrary, being marginalized because of poverty or living in unsafe neighborhoods affect the level of acculturative stress and negatively influence adaptation (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010).

Employment status also plays a key role in life satisfaction: Those who are not employed show significantly lower life satisfaction than those who are employed (Safi, 2010): Those with full-time and part-time occupations report higher life satisfaction than those who are unemployed (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015), which is associated with being more integrated into a host society (Amit & Riss, 2014). As for multicultural families in Korea, similar results have been found in most studies (H. K. Lee, 2013; Sung et al., 2013).

Acculturation-related factors. As acculturation-related factors, length of residence and Korean proficiency are discussed.

Length of residence. Overall, immigrant research has shown that length of residence is positively associated with life satisfaction (Amit, 2010). However, in a recent study, Safi (2010) found a quite different result. Her study was conducted in the European context by using data from the three rounds of the European Social Survey. In comparisons of life satisfaction between first- and second- generation immigrants and the natives in 13 European countries, Safi (2010) found that unlike recent immigrants' reports, immigrants' well-being decreases among groups who stayed '1–5 years', '5–10 years', and '11–20 years'. Even those who spent more than 20 years in the host country reported significantly lower life satisfaction than natives.

Similar with Safi (2010)'s finding, Korean immigrant studies reported that migrant wives who have a shorter marriage duration or a shorter residency in Korea showed a higher level of life satisfaction (Sung et al., 2013; Y. Kim, 2012) and a lower level of depression (Lim, 2010). This result was supported by Y. Kim (2012)'s study which revealed that the longer the length of residence, the lower the level of migrant wives' life satisfaction: Migrant wives staying less than 1 year reported a higher level of life satisfaction than those staying more than 10-years (Y. Kim, 2012).

The results suggest an important implication for the social work practice that various services should be considered for established immigrant groups to improve their quality of life. Sung et al. (2013)'s description helps us to understand why a longer length of residence or marriage duration is negatively associated with life satisfaction. Most migrant wives begin their married lives with high hopes of economic stability and stable marriage relationships. Over time, however, many become disappointed with their actual living conditions compared to their high expectations in Korean life. By realizing such gaps between real life and expectations, migrant wives become dissatisfied, resulting in negative adjustment (Sung et al., 2013).

Korean proficiency. Many studies have reported that learning a host country's language significantly reduces immigrants' acculturative stress and helps to support successful adaptation (Berry, 1997; Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008). In fact, this result has been supported by many studies of multicultural families in Korea (Kwon & Cha, 2007; H. M. Kim, 2013). Some studies have also reported that the acculturative stress caused by language is reduced over time since migrant women improve their

Korean language skills by building a social network with family members and friends (Seol, Kim, & Song, 2013).

Immigrants' Work and Life Satisfaction

Among the possible variables that may influence immigrant families' adaptation in the long run, employment, in general, has been shown to be an important contributor to psychological well-being. Despite the importance of employment in immigrant studies, in regards to the issue of multicultural families in Korea, considerations for employment have been made only quite recently (H. K. Lee, 2013). The issue of multicultural families has only about a twenty-year history, so a more living-related issue like learning the Korean language, Korean culture, and Korean system becomes a primary intervention for their acculturation. Furthermore, due to the marriage migrants' short history in Korea, reliable data that can be conducted to analyze their economic integration appeared only recently (H. K. Lee, 2013).

Immigrants' employment in a host society has been considered an economic adaptation, which takes place in the final stage of integration (Berry, 1997). Although employment is not something that all immigrant women experience in a host country, many still participate in the labor market both for their economic sufficiency and as a way of becoming more integrated into the host society.

Many studies have consistently reached a conclusion that immigrants' economic activity is closely related to their social adaptation (Park, Shin, & Lee, 2012; Stoloff, Glanville, & Bienenstock, 1999). In particular, when immigrants achieve economic self-sufficiency, social adaptation in other areas such as politics, culture, and education can be more easily obtained (Park, Shin, & Lee, 2012; Prairie Global Management, 2008).

Similarly, some studies have found that female immigrants' employment positively influences rebuilding a new social network in the host country, which is associated with increased support from their colleagues. In turn, working immigrants are more likely to overcome a feeling of helplessness, be satisfied with their lives, and improve their self-efficacy (Bae & Seo, 2011; Park & Seon, 2010; Seong, 2012; Stoloff, Glanville, & Bienenstock, 1999).

Although the attention to employment has been made quite recent, migrant wives' employment plays two critical roles in both an economic aspect and in social integration (Bae & Seo, 2011). Given that the majority of multicultural families are economically disadvantaged, working often enables them to overcome vulnerable socio-economic status by forging a social safety net at a family level. In terms of social integration, employment helps migrant women to adjust easily by interacting with the Korean system. Also, working in Korean society promotes married migrant women's mental health by reducing depression, alienation, and identity confusion. Moreover, they are more likely to rebuild their social network through their workplace; most of them lived in a vacuum during their initial settlement (Bae & Seo, 2011).

Studies of migrant wives' employment. During the last four to five years, multicultural families research on employment has rapidly increased. Most of the studies are policy-oriented reports that explore what programs help migrant wives to enter the job market (C. Park, 2013; Kim, Cho, & Min, 2010), migrant wives' needs for employment (Chun & Jang, 2013), what factors contribute to getting employed (Lee & Lee, 2012; Lee, Zhou, & Kim, 2014; Ryu, 2016), and the nature of employed migrant wives' working life (Lee & Lee, 2013; Park, Shin, & Lee, 2012).

In more detail, Seong (2012) provides illustrations of working migrant wives' lives by grouping based on results from in-depth interviews about what the work means to them. Working migrant women with various backgrounds and work experiences were recruited: 5 Vietnamese, 2 Philippine, 3 Japanese, 1 Peruvian, 1 Chinese, 1 Korean-Chinese, and 1 Indonesian: Nine worked full-time and six worked part-time. By utilizing grounded theory, mainly open coding and axis coding, Seong (2012) identified four categories of work-orientation: 1) work for a living, 2) work as a substitute for their dream fulfillment, 3) work for family happiness, and 4) work for self-extension.

Seong (2012)'s study brings a much greater understanding of what is the main purpose of work. In particular, given that there are many ingrained beliefs toward multicultural families' economic hardships, it is easy for policymakers and practitioners to neglect other reasons, but to have a limited view that their main purpose of work is only to avoid poverty. Such prejudice may produce wrong and partial solutions to help working migrant women, ignoring other various reasons (e.g., personal dream fulfillment or self-extension) of work for migrant women. Seong (2012)'s study provides crucial insights into what work means to migrant wives.

Such results are further supported by Park, Shin, and Lee (2012)'s study. In a qualitative study, they conducted in-depth interviews with 9 immigrant women. Using Giorgi's phenomenological research method, they examined immigrant women's real experience when they are working (Park, Shin, & Lee, 2012). The results generated six categories from 15 themes, and the categories can be found in the next four characteristics: 1) finding a way within the glassy maze, 2) sustaining a stance in the

strange workplace, 3) eventually forward to get a real goal, and 4) fixing herself as a Korean.

This indicates that the meaning of employment reflects not only economic goals but also the desire to be a member of Korean society. In other words, employment enables migrant wives to have a sense of belonging as a member of multicultural families by supporting them financially. In addition, they hope to be recognized as a member of Korean society by broadening their network.

Studies of employment and subjective well-being. While such studies contribute to the understanding of the meaning of employment for migrant wives, it is still unanswered how employment is associated with their subjective well-being. Despite the accumulated research on employment per se, relatively few studies have explored the impact of work in line with migrant wives' life satisfaction. Therefore, it is worthwhile to review each study in a little more depth.

Park and Seon (2010) initiated an empirical study of the relationship between migrant wives' employment and adaptation. They found that employed female immigrants who uphold regular positions showed higher levels of social adaptation than those who are in temporary positions, self-employed, non-work, or voluntary housewives. As the first study of examining a socio-economic factor in the Korean context, Park and Seon (2010)'s study is noticeable.

Soon, Bae and Seo (2011) further elaborated and developed the previous study. In examining the relationship between employment and mental health, they used social adaptation as a mediating factor, which is comprised of two items: Korean language

proficiency and length of residence in Korea. As for participants, 247 married migrant women who resided in three regions, Seoul, Incheon, and Gyeonggi-Do, were recruited.

Using PASW Statistics 18.0 and the AMOS 18.0 software, Bae and Seo (2011) found that social adaptation was a full mediator of the relationship between employment status and mental health. In other words, being employed enhances married migrant women's social adaptation, which in turn improves mental health. The study result is thought-provoking in that the employment per se does not contribute to a statistically significant explanation of migrant wives' mental health. Rather, both the level of Korean proficiency and length of residence explained their level of mental health.

Although their study was first conducted in regards to examining the relationship between employment and psychological well-being, it is still questionable that the causal relationship they set as a research question is proper. This is because, in reality, the opposite relationship also exists: The level of Korean proficiency or length of residence have often stated as independent variables, which determine migrant wives' employment (H. K. Lee, 2013).

H. J. Kim (2012) also found that employment status worked as a critical tool for elevating migrant women's social status and increasing their life satisfaction. Although the results cannot be generalized to the whole migrant women population because she interviewed those who worked as a program coordinator or a translator, and both were regarded as professionals, her study still provides an insight of a relationship between employment and life satisfaction.

The relationship between employment and psychological well-being has been further investigated by Bae and Kim (2012). Using the strength-based perspective, they

examine the influence of family income and job status on the level of family relationship satisfaction, and how social capital- a combination of trust, participation, and network- moderates such relationship. With data from the 2009 National Survey of Multicultural Families, they used a moderated regression analysis.

Interestingly, the empirical result showed a different conclusion than the previous studies (Bae & Seo, 2011; H. J. Kim, 2012; Park & Seon, 2010) in that employment was negatively associated with the level of family satisfaction. Namely, employed migrant wives reported a lower level of family satisfaction compared to those who were not employed. However, such a relationship was moderated by social capital factors such as the presence of reliable people (trust), the frequency of social activity (participation), and a level of experience on the educational support (network) according to Bae and Kim (2012)'s term.

In other words, even those who are employed, their level of family relationship improves in cases where they obtain proper social capital (e.g., trust, participation, or network). Such study results suggest that migrant wives' employment produces a negative influence on family relationships possibly due to a lack of time being with family members and stresses from the job. However, in order to acknowledge a more detailed picture, a qualitative approach is needed.

H. K. Lee (2013) explored whether migrant wives' employment status contributes to their subjective life satisfaction. Two datasets were used in her analysis: the 2009 National Survey of Multicultural Family State and the Social Survey 2009. For the analysis of life satisfaction, she used the Social Survey 2009, which includes information about Korean wives, as well as the information of married migrant wives. The study

outcomes indicated that migrant wives' employment does not show any influence on their life satisfaction.

However, only those who work at professional occupations have statistically significant higher levels of life satisfaction. This indicates that employment per se does not promote migrant wives' quality of life. Rather, a more influential predictor is the quality of work, meaning the type of occupations of migrant wives. The author points out her study results reflect a polarized occupational distribution of migrant wives, characterized by either "low-skilled production" or "heavy concentration in irregular occupations" (p. 222). Lastly, this indicates "employment per se cannot be a good indicator of the socioeconomic adjustment" (p. 222).

The aforementioned study results, however, are all based on a quantitative approach in terms of a methodological tool. Interestingly enough, qualitative outcomes, although the related literature is not shown a statistically significant relationship between migrant wives' employment and their perception of well-being due to its methodological traits mainly based on an in-depth interview, tells us a quite different story: Employment definitely empowers them, leads to a higher level of self-esteem (Seong, 2012), and urges them to become more integrated into Korean society (Park, Shin, & Lee, 2012). Such conflicting results indicate complexities of migrant women's employment.

Perceived Practical Social Support from Husbands and Life Satisfaction

Another primary factor that this study explores is perceived practical support from Korean husbands. Migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands is often classified under social support and understood as one type of social support. As many researchers have argued, social support plays a significant role in migrant wives'

perception of well-being. Among them, the role of Korean husbands deeply relates to migrant wives' psychological well-being. In much literature, husbands' support is often classified under the concept of social support that is comprised of families', friends', and neighbors' (H. Lim, 2010; Kim & Lee, 2010; O. Kim, 2007; S. Park, 2011). Likewise, many studies on multicultural families have often employed a concept of social support by measuring a total score of families', friends', and neighborhood' support.

Several Korean immigrant studies have argued that the Korean husbands' role to migrant wives' psychological adaptation should be separately examined given that most migrant wives come to Korea mainly for the purpose of marriage (Kim, Kim, & Shin, 2007; Y. Kim, 2007). As a source of social support, Korean husbands' contributions to migrant wives' adaptation may explain the most among any other type of resources.

For example, Kim, Kim, and Shin (2007)'s study examined Korean husbands' support separately by illustrating how the support accounted for migrant wives' sociocultural adaptation. In their research on Korean husbands' tangible support as a cooperative and supportive child-raising behavior, they found that Korean husbands' material help (child-rearing, in this case) and emotional support (e.g., emotional support, respect each other, and share the knowledge of child) produced a cooperative team for child-raising (Kim, Kim, & Shin, 2007). This result suggests that spousal support not only accounts for a considerable amount of variance in migrant wives' adaptation but also in practical and emotional aspects of migrant wives' adaptation.

The above study implicitly points out another important indication in multicultural families' research, which is the contribution of perceived practical support from Korean husbands as a distinguished type from the emotional support. So far, the

impact of Korean husbands' practical support on migrant wives' adaptation has had relatively little attention in Korean immigrant studies. Given that most multicultural studies in Korea have consistently highlighted Korean husbands' emotional support, it is even surprising that very little was found in the literature on the question of the role of tangible support such as helping with housework or child-rearing. Furthermore, research results even found that practical help –such as informational support- (Park & Um, 2009) better explained on migrant wives' adaptation than emotional support as migrant wives' length of residence gets longer (K. Kim, 2012; Park & Um, 2009).

While migrant wives stay longer in a host country, they may face new challenges to acculturate and integrate into a host society (Aycaan & Berry, 1996). For example, when migrant women's children become a preschool or school-aged, they may face significant child-rearing challenges due to their unfamiliarity with the Korean educational system (Kim, Cho, & Min, 2010; Sung et al., 2013). Or, as a process of socio-economic adjustment, more established migrant wives tend to experience work outside of the home, requiring a negotiation or discussion of household labor issues with their husbands (Kim, Cho, & Min, 2010; Lee et al., 2013).

In reality, as the importance of migrant wives' employment is rapidly growing, the role of Korean husbands within the family has become more crucial in that their practical support allows wives to lessen housework. In this context, perceived husbands' practical support such as helping with household labor or child-rearing can be used to explain migrant wives' long-term adaptation.

Meanwhile, this story is not only applied to working migrant wives but even to non-working migrant women. H. S. Kim (2009)'s study furnishes insight into how

domestic matters take up a significant part of female migrants' lives. H. S. Kim (2009) investigated why some migrant wives who wish to find jobs cannot be employed. The most frequently reported reason is child-raising (40.7%), followed by heavily imposed household labor (12.1%). Family member's objection to migrant women's employment was another reason (6.2%).

What is surprising is that domestic matters accounted for more than fifty percent whereas institutional issues such as 'not finding proper jobs' accounted for only 10% of the responses and lack of language proficiency was 10.3%. The results cannot be generalized because the study participants included only Chung-Cheong Buk-do, but it gives us a crucial message to assume that migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands significantly has an influence on migrant wives' life satisfaction. Also, the impacts are more likely to increase especially for working migrant wives who may struggle with work and family balance.

Thereby, this study includes migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands to expand our understanding of multicultural families' lives and to consider its consequences on migrant wives' subjective happiness in Korean society. Next, the focus moves to immigrant families and how migrant wives' perceived practical support from husbands has affected the wives' personal well-being.

Types and sources of social support. In order to enhance the understanding of perceived practical support that this paper adopts, it is helpful to review the theoretical foundation about social support. There are two approaches to understanding practical support. One is drawing a conceptual framework of types of social support (e.g., emotional, instrumental [= tangible, practical], informational, and companionate support)

and sources of social support (e.g., family members, friends, and neighbors), and the other is borrowing a concept from discussions on the division of household labor. The former approach enables us to understand the applications of social support into immigrant studies, whereas the latter approach broadens our understanding of the concept of practical support in more detail.

The table below illustrates various types of support-related concepts. Social support is a broad concept that consists of several sources and types. The top half of the table shows three terms that are often interchangeably used due to some degree of overlap in their characteristics (Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010; Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008). At the same time, however, the terms are based on different perspectives of the resources surrounding personal communities (Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010).

Table 1.

Support-related Concepts and Definitions

<u>Support-related concepts</u>	<u>Definitions</u>
Social support	The social resources that persons perceive to be available or that are actually provided to them by nonprofessionals in the context of both formal support groups and informal helping relationships.
Social network	A unit of a social structure composed of the individuals' social ties and the ties among them
Social integration	The extent to which an individual participates in private and public social interactions
Types of social support	Emotional, instrumental, informational, companionate, and esteem support
Perceived support	The individual's beliefs about the availability of varied types of support from network associates
Received support	Reports about the types of support received

Note: This table is originally reprinted from Gottlieb & Bergen (2010)'s article, but the contents are selectively included in this paper.

For example, a person with a greater number and density of social networks both in private and public domains shows a greater level of social integration (Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010). The social network is composed of social ties provided by social support from family members, friends, and neighbors (Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010).

Despite such interrelated traits, researchers have proposed different types of social support and social networks, and among their differentiation, some types of social networks have more benefit for understanding immigrant populations. For example, depending on whom an individual interacts with, social networks can be classified as bonding ties or bridging ties (Putnam, 2000). Bonding ties involve people from similar backgrounds while bridging ties involve people from different backgrounds (Gidengil & Stolle, 2009).

The two types of network have different impacts on immigrant populations. For the newly-arrived migrants, strong bonding ties with the same ethnic groups or family members (= sources from social support) significantly help immigrants' emotional stability (Gidengil & Stolle, 2009; Portes, 2000). However, such bonding ties may be less beneficial to a long-term adaptation because they limit new information about a host society (Bloemaraad, 2006; as cited in Gidengil & Stolle, 2009).

For instance, members from bonding ties may not be well aware of how to reach health-care workers when one of the members needs to see a doctor immediately. In this case, bridging ties such as social workers from a host country would be more helpful for adaptation in a host society since the ties are more likely to expose immigrants to new information about a host society (Gidengil & Stolle, 2009). Nevertheless, we know little

information of established migrant wives' perception of practical support within bonding ties.

In a number of studies on social support, several attempts have been made to classify social support by different types. Barrera (1986) claimed that identifying (1) the sources of support and (2) types of support was crucial depending on the study's purpose. According to Barrera (1986), the sources of support involved with different categories of social networks such as family members, friends, or neighbors: The types of support included emotional, instrumental (= tangible), informational, companionship, and esteem support.

In the same vein, Sherbourne and Stewart (1991) noticed the importance of the various dimensions of social support because they assumed each aspect of support might influence different outcomes. In their seminal article, Sherbourne and Stewart (1991) evaluated how each part of support related to the person's health outcomes. Functional support served different types of functions in interpersonal relationships. In particular, the functions are often classified into five types: (1) emotional support that involves caring, love, and empathy, (2) instrumental support (or tangible support), (3) information support that guides solutions or comments to a certain problem, (4) appraisal support, and (5) social companionship involving spending time with others in activities (Sherbourne & Stewart, 1991, p. 705). Similarly, Schaefer et al. (1992; as cited in Oakley, 1992) classified three types of support: Emotional, informational, and instrumental support.

Table 2.

A Typology of Four Defining Attributes of Social Support

<u>Types of Social Support</u>	<u>Concepts</u>
Emotional support	Provision of caring, empathy, love, and trust

Instrumental(=Tangible) support	Provision of tangible goods and services, or tangible aid such as financial assistance or performing assigned work for others
Informational support	Provision of assistance for one to problem-solve
Appraisal support	Provision of communication that is relevant to self-evaluation such as affirmational support

Note: This table is formulated on the basis of contents in Langford, Bowsler, Maloney, and Lillis (1997)'s study.

A typology obtained from the previous research on types of social support is summarized in Table 2. Among the types of social support, this paper focuses particularly on instrumental (= tangible) support and evaluates its influence on migrant wives' subjective well-being. This is because its concept and attribute are the most closely related to the definition this paper adopts. Although the existing body of research on multicultural families suggests that social support is an important factor to the immigrant population in their settling down in a host society, most immigrant studies in Korea do not consider tangible support that may contribute to multicultural families' adaptation.

In reality, perceived practical support has been used in many studies because some authors have mainly been interested in questions concerning practical support dimension. For instance, Wills and Cleary (1996) analyzed parental emotional and instrumental support and how they influence adolescents' substance use. The perceived practical support was gauged with items such as help with transportation, school work, and other demands. Another study conceptualized tangible support into financial aid from a formal support system such as the government (e.g., a beneficiary of a Social Security Retirement benefit) or material aid from their adult children (Wong, Yoo, &

Stewart, 2005). In view of all that has been mentioned so far, instrumental support is closely associated with tangible aid to individuals.

Perceived and received social support. Along with various aspects of social support types and sources, this study also notes a distinction between perceived and received support (see Table 1, two lines of the bottom of the table). This is because some researchers have argued that the measurement of perceived and received support should be distinguished in order to yield more accurate effects of support (Barrera, 1986; Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010). According to Gottlieb and Bergen (2010), perceived support is the individuals' subjective belief or faith about the availability of support from network members. Received support is individuals' reports about support received from family members, friends, or neighbors, but it does not necessarily indicate that the individuals' needs are being met (Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010; Helgeson, 1993). Thus, evidence from several studies suggests that perceived availability of social support better predicts individual's well-being than that of received support that they are actually given (Vedder, Boekaerts, & Seegers, 2005; Wethington & Kessler, 1986). Thereby, adopting perceived social support can better account for migrant wives' subjective happiness in life. In this context, this study also uses perceived practical support.

In short, the role of practical support that migrant wives perceived from their Korean husbands still remains a missing piece of the research on multicultural families. A further study with more focus on perceived practical support is suggested in the Korean context. In the next section, another framework for understanding perceived practical support, the division of household labor, is given. The discussion of division of

household labor provides greater insight into how perceived practical support can be measured and conceptualized in line with tangible support.

Perceived practical support in relation to housework. Another approach to understanding migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands within family life, which is distinct from emotional support, is to review the conceptual history of the perceived practical support that closely links to the household labor. For reference, the term 'perceived practical support' refers to husbands' contributions to housework and child-rearing within family life throughout the paper.

Housework involves routine activities such as cooking, laundry, shopping, and things related to childcare (Coltrane, 2000). The housework is so mundane and familiar; everyone has experience with housework (Davis & Greenstein, 2013), so it is rarely defined (Coltrane, 2010). Recently, however, Shelton and John (1996) proposed a theoretical definition, and according to their term, household labor generally refers to "unpaid work was done to maintain family members and/or a home" (p. 300).

The theoretical framework of perceived husbands' practical support is often understood as a division of household labor in line with family-work reconciliation. Studies on the division of household labor both housework and child-rearing, initiated from the early 1980s, when traditional role models (e.g., men for paid work and women for unpaid housework) began to change by the rapidly increasing rate of women's labor participation (Coltrane, 2000). Such a substantial shift challenged the traditional belief that housework is women's work, not a family responsibility (Coltrane, 2000).

Although women's employment enables them to renegotiate the arrangement of housework with husbands, women (especially wives and mothers) generally perform

more housework than men (Coltrane, 2000; Davis & Greenstein, 2013). As Bianchi et al. (2000) point out, women tend to dedicate more time to housework and perform traditional female tasks in childcare. For instance, concerning domestic labor, women are commonly responsible for daily routine tasks (e.g., cooking and laundry), whereas men are more likely to perform infrequent household maintenance chores (Hochschild, 1989). In childcare, women are more liable to make decisions to their children while men usually spend time playing with them (Doucet, 2006, p. 142, 198). Forste and Fox (2012) argue that within such a gendered division of domestic labor and childcare exists some variance, but general trends are clearly observed worldwide.

Going back to the definition of housework, perceived husbands' practical support in this paper is closely related to the housework discussion context, which refers to the ordinary activities of every life (Shelton & John, 1996). This paper's purpose, however, is not deeply involved in the debates of the household labor itself or how gender inequalities are embedded in multicultural families, but it is more related with borrowing the concept of perceived practical support. Therefore, in this paper, migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands is understood in the context of routine housework, which is dissimilar to emotional support.

A distinction between types of support concerning household labor is found in Erickson (2005)'s study although the term of emotional support has been made in a different perspective and different classification with what this dissertation refers to. Erickson (2005) proposed that emotional work is an important part of household labor, claiming that household labor should include not only instrumental task completion but also an emotional aspect.

Interestingly enough, the emotional part has shared characteristics with the emotional support that was described in the previous section. In her study (2005), housework was measured by assessing a relative amount that husbands and wives performed in five routine household tasks (e.g., grocery shopping, cooking meals, doing dishes, doing laundry, and cleaning the bathroom), whereas emotional work was measured by a level of engagement in behaviors such as (a) initiated talking, (b) listening closely to spouse' thoughts and feelings, and (c) recognizing the importance of spouse' feelings (Erickson, 2005, p. 342-343). Her study concluded that emotional work showed a different pattern to the performance of housework: Biological sex (female) predicted performing housework whereas respondents' construction of gender accounted for significant impact on emotional work.

Erickson (2005)'s study indicates that such distinction between emotional work and housework (e.g., physical activities) specifies the differing implications in that both variables were better explained by different predictors. Likewise, it is assumed that the role of tangible support needs to be separately examined since it may yield a different result from emotional support.

However, in Korean immigrant research, only little discussion on both household labor and husbands' practical support has been made, whereas most research has concentrated on the emotional aspect. In Korean context, it is required for investigating Korean husbands' tangible support practically. Thereby, this study incorporates a concept of migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands from the discussions about both functional social support (particularly drawn from the tangible support) and the division of household labor. Tangible support (or instrumental support)

generally refers to material assistance such as money, skills, services, and task-sharing (Shumaker & Brownell, 1984). This conceptualization is distinguished from other types of functional social support such as emotional or informational support (Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010). Likewise, much research on household labor focuses on the more restricted category of housework that mostly involves physical activities such as cleaning, laundry, and cooking (Lee & Waite, 2005).

Although it has been claimed in household labor discussion that other components of housework such as childcare (Coltrane, 2000) or emotional labor (Erickson, 2005) are important, only a few studies have included these components in measurements of household labor (Lee & Waite, 2005). In sum, discussions of both tangible support and household labor share a dimension of physical activities in defining practical support. Therefore, labeling migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands and exploring how it associates with migrant women's subjective satisfaction seems valid, and the conceptualizing argument for the perceived practical support in this paper can be justified by earlier research that deals with the concept of housework and child-rearing (Coltrane, 2000; Davis & Greenstein, 2013; Erickson, 2005; Forste & Fox, 2012).

Evidence of perceived practical support from Korean husbands on wives' psychological well-being. As the number of married women in the workforce has rapidly increased, the topic of the division of household labor has become popular in academic fields. Initially, neo-classical economists observed that the husband's and wife's different responsibilities in housework brought efficiencies of economic specification (Treas, 2010). Sociologists also found a wife's role within the household complemented a husband's role in the market, bringing a functional equilibrium in the family (Treas,

2010). Quite recently, feminists criticized against such gender role differences because it upholds a patriarchal system that disadvantaged women at home, at work, in politics, and even in the broader culture in society (Treas, 2010).

Early literature on the division of labor examined which variables best explain the allocation of domestic chores. The research focus moved soon from the factors explaining inequality in the division of household labor to marital quality such as marital satisfaction, wives' depression, and life satisfaction (Benin & Agostinelli, 1988).

Ross, Mirowsky, and Huber (1983)'s study found when husbands shared some housework, it reduced wives' depression compared to those who take the full responsibility of housework (as cited in Benin & Agostinelli, 1988). In addition, it is noticeable that even when wives are not employed, the husbands' share of household labor lessened wives' depression. Similarly, Benin and Agostinelli (1988) discovered when the division of family work is made in employed wives' favor, it positively increased their satisfaction. Also, when husbands share women's traditional house chores, wives are more satisfied.

Recent study results also support perceived husbands' practical support in family work as a meaningful predictor of the wives' psychological well-being (Forste & Fox, 2012; Oshio, Nozaki, & Kobayashi, 2013), and imbalanced division of housework results in health and well-being (Treas, 2010). Generally, an unfair perception or dissatisfaction with partners' contributions in housework raises a risk of depression (Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Noh, Wu, Speechley, & Kaspar, 1992), increases marital conflicts (Treas, 2010), and decreases marital quality (Oshio, Nozaki, & Kobayashi, 2013, Treas, 2010).

Oshio, Nozeki, and Kobayashi (2013) found that Asian wives from China, Japan, and Korea, all of which are non-Western socio-institutional backgrounds, have reported a higher marital satisfaction when their husbands were more involved in household labor. In a quite different perspective in terms of gender roles, Forste and Fox (2012) reported that the highest marital satisfaction was found in couples that followed traditional roles—man as a breadwinner and woman as a housewife. Nevertheless, among them, couples with both spouses being involved in household chores and family life reported the highest marital satisfaction.

This result indicates that although the highest marital satisfaction emerges to the families with traditional gender roles, husbands' higher level of engagement in household labor still works as a key contributor to improving wives' psychological satisfaction. Despite the wealth of literature on consequences of inequality in the division of household labor, the application for the immigrant populations has been limited (Dlamini, Anucha, & Wolfe, 2012).

Evidence from immigrant studies. A large body of research on perceived husbands' practical support has been illustrated that the higher level of family work involvement has produced positive ramifications on marital satisfaction (Forste & Fox, 2012), wives' satisfaction (Benin & Agostinelli, 1988), and lowering depression of wives (Noh, Wu, Speechley, & Kaspar, 1992). However, when it applies to immigrant families, the discussion should be understood in line with their unique circumstances as immigrants in a new society (Dlamini, Anucha, & Wolfe, 2012).

The most frequently mentioned difficulty that immigrant families experience in their family work is the absence of close kin networks (Bonizzoni, 2014; Wall & Jose,

2004). As Wall and Jose (2004) elucidated in their article, most immigrant families are under unfavorable conditions such as a lack of close kin networks for supporting childcare, unstable work conditions (long or atypical hours), and a dearth of information on integration services.

Bonizzoni (2014) also argued that immigrant families with pre-school aged children often experience limited access to child-care services (e.g., nurseries) due to its high costs or possibly due to irregular status. In the situation of immigrant families' lack of resources supporting child-care, perceived husbands' practical support regarding housework and child-rearing expect to play a greater role in adjusting a host society compared to the native families.

Another variation that immigrant families encounter is the shift in gender roles, resulting in a negotiation or a renegotiation of housework and child-rearing in a host society primarily when immigrant wives become employed (Dion & Dion, 2001; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010). In relation to husbands, most immigrant wives experience a gender-role change and assign housework to their husbands, which probably did not happen in their home country. In this context, Noh, Wu, Speechley, and Kaspar (1992) investigated how such confusion of gender roles influences immigrant families, in their case, Korean immigrant families in Toronto, Canada.

Noh and his colleagues (1992) discovered that stress is attributable to role overload between housework and child-care responsibilities and employment, which eventually yields a greater level of depression. One notable thing in their study results is that Korean female immigrants had a higher incidence of depression compared to males,

particularly with being employed. With a large epidemiological survey, employed female immigrants had eight times higher depression than their counterparts. Surprisingly enough, such outcomes contradict other research with samples from a community population, indicating better mental conditions among women who were employed (e.g., Gore & Mangione, 1983).

These findings can be interpreted that employment can be a stressful factor for Korean female immigrants since the traditional gender expectations still require them to fulfill domestic and parenting responsibilities. If the female immigrants manage the domestic responsibilities without making any negotiation with their family members, mainly husbands, employment is possibly associated with poorer mental health.

These results indicate that the immigrant families are more likely to face conflict dynamics within intimate partner relationships unless they renegotiate the traditional gender-role (e.g., women are primarily responsible for childrearing and household maintenance while, in turn, men are obliged to maintain financial security by earning an income) and reshape the allocation of housework (Grzywacz et al., 2007). The results apparently show the importance of perceived husbands' involvement in household labor, particularly in immigrant families.

In a study by Grzywacz and his colleagues (2007), they reported that traditional men's and women's daily roles are no longer workable after their immigration, mainly due to women's labor market participation. Wives' employment often created marital conflict due to altered gender-based norms surrounding division of household labor (Grzywacz et al., 2007). For example, women's less time and energy to devote to housework and child-rearing needs for their spouses' greater help in household labor.

When the wives get the partners' reluctance in response to their asking, the women may feel frustrated (Grzywacz et al., 2007). Accordingly, immigrant families' maintenance of a household in a new society may raise problems to adjust in a host society, which may produce negative psychological well-being if the challenges remain unsolved.

I. Lim (1997)'s study explored how Korean immigrant couples in the United States deal with work and family life in a new environment. In particular, the study focused on working wives' challenges to male dominance and unequal division of household labor. With a small sample of Korean working immigrant families, she interviewed both husbands and wives. Her study explained how immigrant families changed and adjusted their gender roles by including (1) working wives' resignation to unequal division of family work, (2) Korean embedded cultural values regarding women's endurance and sacrifice, (3) understanding husbands' time shortage and fatigue, and (4) husband's reluctance to participate in family work.

The interesting part of their study is that the Korean immigrant women wanted to modify only some aspects of Korean husbands' behavior, not hoping for a fundamental change in terms of the marital hierarchy (Dion & Dion, 2001; I. Lim, 1997). This result indicates that employed Korean immigrant wives recognize the inequality at home and want to change the allocation of household labor, but their ultimate goal is to induce their husbands to become involved in family work, not subvert the marital hierarchy itself. Although the study did not examine the extent to which the husbands' involvement in housework enhanced immigrant wives' subjective well-being, the study did address the importance of husbands' participation in housework.

In respect to immigrant families, the perceived husbands' practical support can be understood as a process of acculturation because the traditional gender roles tend to change after migration in a host society. Taken together, previous immigrant studies discovered an importance of husbands' role in family life, particularly in child-rearing due to the absence of available resources such as kin networks. Also, a shift of gender roles often emerges when female immigrants get employed. For the increased earnings derived from wives' work, immigrant families may adopt strategies that deal with housework and childrearing from out-sourcing resources (e.g., hiring housework helper or babysitter) (Wall & Jose, 2004). However, in reality, not many immigrant families are affordable to use the outsourced service (Wall & Jose, 2004). In this context, most existing studies provide evidence that the change of allocation is closely related to immigrant families' marital satisfaction or marital conflicts.

Despite the significance of the earlier immigrant studies on household labor, the outcomes are mainly from western countries, requiring Korean context evidence. Although a concept of marital satisfaction generally correlates closely with life satisfaction, it also requires investigating the impact of life satisfaction that evaluates overall areas in life.

Evidence from Korean studies. Although earlier studies have demonstrated how perceived husbands' practical support plays out in both non-immigrant and immigrant families, only a few Korean immigrant studies have focused on the perceived husbands' practical support targeting multicultural families in Korea. This is quite surprising that empirical evidence of migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands has rarely been explored since many Korean immigrant researchers have consistently

addressed the significance of perceived practical support from Korean husbands, as well as the family-work reconciliation policies for the multicultural families.

However, only a few Korean researchers provide evidence on a relationship between perceived practical support and a migrant wife's adaptation. Kim, Kim, and Shin (2007) examined how migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands accounted for migrant wives' sociocultural adaptation. They conceptualized the perceived practical support as a cooperative and a supportive child-raising behavior. The study involved 102 migrant wives with children, but the range of children's age did not specify. They found that Korean husbands' both practical (child-rearing, in this case) and emotional supports (e.g., emotional support, respect each other, and share the knowledge of child) produced a cooperative team for child-raising.

This outcome indicates that spousal support not only accounts for a great amount of variability in migrant wives' adaptation but also in both perceived practical and emotional aspects of migrant wives' adaptation. Nevertheless, their study provides only a partial element of Korean husbands' practical support, because only child-rearing was involved. In order to understand more comprehensive multicultural families' lives, migrant wives' perceived practical supports from Korean husbands with both helping with household labor and child-rearing should be included in the analysis.

Kim and Kim (2012)'s study further facilitated how gender identity associated with migrant wives' subjective perception of well-being. According to their definition, gender identity is the acceptance of the expected emotions or attitudes as male or female. More in detail, persons formulate their gender identity depending on the degree of similarities with the role that society requires and expects of them (Kim & Kim, 2012).

Such gender identity has traditionally been classified into only two categories-- masculinity or femininity. As gender roles have changed due to the rapid increase of education and employment of women, a new idea, androgyny has emerged. The idea encompasses characteristics of both masculinity and femininity; and it reports that a person with androgyny showed a more competent and accomplished psychological life (Bem, 1974; as cited in Kim & Kim, 2012). In other words, persons with androgyny tend to have a more flexible human relationship in that they can facilitate both masculinity and femininity in accordance with changes in times and circumstances.

With the 359 migrant wives' survey responses residing in several areas, Kim and Kim (2012) revealed an interesting result. Migrant women with androgyny reported higher levels of marital satisfaction, whereas neither masculinity nor femininity displayed a statistically significant impact on their marital satisfaction. The finding suggests that migrant wives with identities that include both gender roles tend to be more adaptive in Korean society. In turn, this study has important implications for developing our knowledge of migrant wives' psychological well-being by including gender role identity. Nevertheless, it still does not provide an answer regarding Korean husbands' role in the family in a practical way.

Chapter Four Methods

This study aims to examine the association between migrant wives' life satisfaction and married migrant women's (1) employment status (2) perceived practical support from Korean husbands of household labor, and (3) perceived practical support of child-rearing. The following hypothesis is as follows.

Research Hypothesis

Hypothesis. When controlling for age, the number of children, educational level, average monthly income level, Korean proficiency, length of residence, level of satisfaction with Korean husbands, level of social support, level of social involvement, and discrimination, it is predicted that migrant wives who are employed, have a higher level of perceived practical support in household labor and in household labor child-caring from Korean husbands will have a higher level of life satisfaction.

Research Design

Using a quantitative approach, this study's research design was a cross-sectional study using data from the 2012 National Survey of Multicultural Families (*see*, Appendix A). Cross-sectional studies examine a phenomenon by taking a cross-section of data at one point in time (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Even though cross-sectional studies have limits in inferring definitive or conclusive causality, they can have value in building a profession's scientific knowledge base (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Since this study used an existing dataset, it is helpful to review the possible strengths and weaknesses of using secondary analysis.

Possible strengths. A secondary analysis benefits researchers in various ways. The most obvious advantage is that it is cheaper and faster compared to conducting an

original survey (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). In addition, the archived data are more likely to be generated by studies that received well-funded federal research grants; thereby, it is likely used a more rigorous sampling approach with a higher response rate (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Given that most social work research studies access a small number of variables, the collected data generated by well-funded and large-scale studies provide many more variables that researchers are able to access (Rubin & Babbie, 2008).

Using an existing dataset is much less costly than collecting data in terms of creating a survey and recruiting participants. For example, the population of this study included migrant wives coming from 10 different Asian countries using different languages. Thereby, the usage of existing data frees the researchers from the culturally-sensitive translation issues in the survey. Despite such advantages of secondary data analysis, it also contains inherent problems.

Possible weaknesses. Researchers are obviously limited to the data that had been collected when conducting a secondary analysis (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Such issues may be associated with validity problems. A researcher may encounter problems when variables that the researcher is hoping to analyze do not match the variables of the existing data (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). When a defined concept between a researcher and an agency' or government's existing data does not match exactly, the researcher may have a serious validity problem. In addition, although a secondary analysis provides cost-savings, some huge datasets can overwhelm researchers who do not have much experience handling data with many variables or with multiple waves (Rubin & Babbie, 2008).

Data description. The dataset was drawn from a sample of multicultural families surveyed in the 2012 National Survey on Multicultural Families (NSMF). NSMF is the first comprehensive national data on multicultural families in Korea. Under the Multicultural Family Support Act of 2008, the NSMF was firstly implemented in 2009 and again in 2012.

Multicultural Family Support Act (MFSA) specifies a multicultural family if the family meets either criterion: (1) There is a family member who is a *marriage migrant* in accordance with the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea and (2) there is a family member who has acquired Korean nationality in accordance with the Nationality Act through birth, naturalization through parents, and naturalization (e.g. article 2(Birth), article 3(Naturalization through parents), and article 4(Naturalization)) (Chung et al., 2016). Therefore, if either one aforementioned criterion has been met, a family is referred to multicultural families. The survey investigated the multicultural family's householders and household members (e.g., spouses and children aged between 9 and 24) who resided in the Republic of Korea during the survey period (from July 10th to July 31st, 2012).

As three years elapsed, the latest dataset was released in January 2013 and was used in this study. Given that migrant families were more established, the analysis of the 2012 NSMF data was expected to contribute to more accurate results by reflecting the lives of established multicultural families (Jeon et al., 2013).

The questionnaire consisted of four different sections depending on the types of respondents: (1) The first section was the overall questionnaire for the householders, (2) the second section was for the married foreign spouses (both male and female), (3) the

third section was for the Korean spouses (both male and female), and (4) the last section was for children aged 9 to 24 years old. Each different section of the questionnaire had different data sets. I used the first and second questionnaire section, which corresponded to the first and second data set since this study needed information on demographics (from the first data set) and experiences from migrant wives (from the second data set).

In more detail, the first section of the questionnaire, 10 demographic questions were asked such as age, the first entry year in Korea, educational level, and monthly income. In the section for married immigrants and naturalized persons, the second data set, 112 questions were asked such as marital status, family relationship satisfaction, and economic activities. In the questionnaire of the immigrants' and naturalized persons' spouses, the third data set, 53 questions were included such as marital status, family relationship satisfaction, and economic activity. Data from the children aged 9 to 24 included 71 items such as Korean language use and school violence experience (Jeon et al., 2013).

One thing needs to be pointed out in terms of the definition of multicultural families. As a national-level survey, the 2012 NSMF defined multicultural families in a broad way in terms of sex (including both female and male married migrants), country of origin, and age, including an overall content. However, in this study, the multicultural families were operationalized in a narrower way (e.g. female marriage migrants coming from Asian countries). For this reason, among the whole 2012 NSMF data, study participants that fit with this study purpose needed to be extracted. The process and standards of extraction for finding study participants are more elaborated on in the next section.

Study Participants

The population of the 2012 NSMF was defined as multicultural households and household members (spouses, child(ren) age of 9 to 24 years old) set by the Multicultural Family Support Act. More in detail, the households and household members were identified either when there were marriage migrants in family members or when there were naturalized family members residing in Korea during the survey period (Chung et al., 2016). Based on Population and Housing Census data as of November, 2010, the population of multicultural families in Korea was estimated 275,527 households (Shin et al., 2013).

A two-stage extraction was used. The first step extraction (extraction unit: Eub, Myeon, and Dong) was randomly selected, but in order to reflect well about the multicultural distribution of the population, the implicit clustering was used by the clustering analysis result as a classification index (Jeon et al., 2013, p. 751). As a result, 850 administrative districts were selected out of 3,470 districts (Eub, Myeon, and Dong, all referring to the Korean administrative districts) nationwide using the implicit stratification, which accounts for about 25 percent. The 3,470 districts were identified when there was at least 1 person of multicultural families from Eub, Myeon, and Dong.

Next, based on the first extraction, which was identified as 850 administrative districts, a list of 71,933 (person) was obtained as a sampling frame for the second extraction of the sampling. Stratified sampling was carried out with 34 stratifications on standards of (1) the administrative districts (Eub, Myeon, and Dong) and (2) 17 countries of origin (Jeon et al., 2013). The sample size was 26,098 households, and 15,529 of them had completed the survey. The response rate was 59.5 percent (Chung et al., 2016).

According to a report from the 2012 Korean national survey of multicultural families, the final sample was 15,314 households (Jeon et al., 2013, p. i). Among all of the data collected for multicultural families in 2012, this study selected participants that fit with the purpose of this study. The specific details of study participants are found below.

Inclusion criteria. Identified by the same household members' number, merged data of (1) householders (from the first data set) and (2) migrant wives (from the second data set) was used in the analysis. The target population of this study was narrowly identified as multicultural families consisting of a Korean man, a migrant woman from an Asian country, and their children, but the main unit of analysis was migrant wives. The second dataset included an entire population of migrant spouses including both migrant wives and migrant husbands, but data from migrant wives was only extracted from the second dataset, excluding male migrants. More detailed inclusion descriptions were as follows.

Country of origin. Married migrant women from Asian countries were included in this study. According to the 2012 NSMF classifications, countries of origin included 17 different answer choices: China (including Chosun-Jok), Taiwan/Hong Kong, Japan, Mongolia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Russia, USA, Canada, Southeast Asia and others, Southern Asia and others, Western Europe, and the others. Among the 17 countries, this study included migrant women coming from Asian countries. In this paper, Asian countries were defined as the following: China, China (Chosun-Jok), Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mongolia, Vietnam, Philippines, Thailand,

Cambodia, Southeast Asia others, and Southern Asian countries. The aforementioned 10 countries were included in the analysis.

Marital status and living arrangement. Only *married* migrant women were included. Thereby, never married, divorced, or widowed women were excluded. Also, among the married migrant women, those currently living with Korean husbands in Korea were included since this study examined the role of perceived practical support from Korean husbands, and how the support influenced migrant wives' life satisfaction.

Migrant wives with children. Married migrant wives with children needed to be defined more specifically. Migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands included both the division of household labor and child-caring, so it was questioned who referred to a child (or children) for the child-caring part.

According to the Child Welfare Law in Korea, it defines children as those who are under 18 years of age, and they need to be protected by their legal guardians (Ministry of Government Legislation, 2017), although such legal standard is not always adopted in research. In general, researchers in the field of immigrant studies define children depending on the study purposes (Park & Sarkar, 2007). For example, Park and Sarkar (2007) recruited Korean immigrant parents who had a child between ages of 6-18 in their study on parents' attitudes towards language maintenance for their children. Y. Kim (2008) evaluated the effectiveness of parenting program to multicultural families in Korea, and 13 married wives whose children were in childhood (between 3 to 13 years of age) were recruited as study participants.

This study included migrant wives who had at least one child (or children) between the ages of 1 to 19 in 2010. Although the Child Welfare Law set those who

were under 18 years of age as minors legally, in reality in Korea, it is common that most parents are still responsible for their child(ren) until they graduate high school, which is the age of 19. Since this study tried to capture a more realistic life in Korean society, it was reasonable to set the children's upper bound of age to 19.

In terms of child-caring, parents tend to have more workloads in regards to child-rearing-related tasks when they have a younger child(ren); as the child(ren) grows older, their parental roles might be reduced, but other types of care issues such as attending parental meetings at schools are still required. In other words, adolescents should be identified as dependents on families in that parents still need to take care of them. For those who have more than two children, this study included migrant wives when their youngest child was under 19, regardless of the ages of the oldest child(ren). For example, a migrant wife had three children aged 12, 21, and 24, respectively. In this case, this woman was included as a study participant since the youngest one was 12 years-old although the other two children were both above 19.

Age. There was a possibility that some migrant wives had a late child. Thereby, migrant wives' age also needed to be specified as a standard of the inclusion criteria. This study decided to include migrant wives aged under 60. Given that a migrant wife gave birth in their late 30's or early 40's, it was reasonable to assume that their current age in 2010 (when the survey was conducted) became around 60 when their youngest child became 19.

Length of residence. This study focused on established multicultural families in Korean society. Thereby, migrant wives' length of residence in Korea also played a significant role to set the inclusion criteria. In this study, migrant wives who resided in

Korea more than 2 years but less than 15 years were included, and the multicultural families who met the criterion were defined as established multicultural families. This study assumed that multicultural families were likely to acculturate into Korean society and become familiar with Korean language, culture, and systems in their first two years. Given that the history of multicultural families is relatively short, the upper bound to the length of residence was set to 15.

Exclusion criteria. Among the whole 2012 NSMF households, intermarried couples between Korean women and foreign husbands were excluded from this study. Data from children were also excluded. Lastly, since this study examined the impact of migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands, (1) migrant wives living alone and (2) divorced or widowed migrant wives, and (3) living separately with spouses were excluded from the study participants.

Data Collection

With questionnaire in 10 different languages, trained interviewers visited the target households and conducted the survey. Statistics Korea (2015) hired and trained the interviewers. Employment announcement for hiring interviewers posted through 'Survey Management System' at 5 provincial offices and 49 offices under the Statistics Korea. Qualifications of the interviewers were those who had a sense of responsibility and could devote their time to the interview during the survey period. Then, the interviewers were hired by Statistics Korea and allocated for carrying out the survey.

Before the survey period, interviewers were required to take a two-day interviewer training program for the survey, and they had to fully understand a questionnaire's content (Statistics Korea, 2015). Interviewers also needed to follow

guidelines when they were visiting and conducting the survey (Statistics Korea, 2015). For example, there was a guideline when asking sensitive questions such as education level, marital status, or income; in that case, interviewers should try to ask with the same tone so that respondents could answer the questions in a comfortable mood (Statistics Korea, 2015).

With a face-to-face method, it took about an hour to an hour and a half per household to complete the survey (Jeon et al., 2013). The trained interviewers conducted surveys and collected questionnaires from foreign spouses, Korean spouses, and their children (Shin et al., 2013). The survey was carried out from July 10th to July 31st, 2012 (Jeon et al., 2013).

Measurement

Dependent variable. The perceived life satisfaction of migrant wives was used as the primary dependent variable in this study. Although measuring life satisfaction with multiple items was considered as an ideal way to evaluate overall life satisfaction (Sung et al., 2013), the 2012 NSMF used a single item to assess migrant wives' life satisfaction. However, some researchers used a single-item measurement in life satisfaction (Mammen, Bauer, & Lass, 2009), and they found that the measurement had acceptable levels of reliability and validity (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999; Sung et al., 2013). Several previous Korean studies also used a single-item scale to measure migrant wives' life satisfaction (Lee, H. K., 2013; Sung et al., 2013).

In turn, this study used migrant wives' perceived overall life satisfaction assessed by a single item. The level of overall life satisfaction was measured by one item with a 5-point Likert scale which asked participants "How satisfied are you with your current

life when you consider your life overall?” (1= very satisfied to 5= very dissatisfied). In the analysis, the level of life satisfaction was re-coded, with 1 indicating *very dissatisfied* and 5 meaning *very satisfied*. A higher score indicated a greater overall satisfaction level in life.

Independent variables. Two independent variables were selected: (1) Employment and (2) migrant wives’ perceived practical support from Korean husbands.

Employment. In the 2012 NSMF questionnaire, there was a subsection about migrant wives’ economic activities. In the survey, respondents (married migrant wives) were asked to report their economic activity, “Did you work more than one hour to earn money in the past week or over 18 hours in a family-run shop, factory, or farm without paying money?” The response categories included dichotomous options *worked* and *not worked*. Those who reported *worked* had contingency questions in economic activities. The questions were, “What is the main thing you are doing?”, “How many hours did you actually work in your workplace during the past week?”, and “What is your employment occupations?” This study used a dichotomous question as a measurement of employment. In the analysis, the employment status was transformed into a dummy variable, with 0 indicating *not worked* and 1 meaning *worked*.

Migrant wives’ perceived practical support from Korean husbands. In the analysis, the two components of household labor and child-rearing were entered into the model. The detailed question asked of migrant wives was the following: “Who performed more household labor? Please select the appropriate number for each question.” The division of household labor was measured by two items—household labor and child-caring, respectively-- with a 5-point Likert scale. The response categories

included (1) *I always do it myself*, (2) *I often do it myself*, (3) *I do it equally divided*, (4) *My spouse often does it*, and (5) *My spouse always does it*. Each item score ranged from 1 to 5, indicating a higher score means a higher level of Korean husbands' practical support.

Control variables. In order to examine the impact of employment and migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands on migrant women's life satisfaction, other variables that were possibly correlated with the dependent variable were controlled. Demographic variables and socioeconomic status variable were used as control variables that correlated with migrant wives' life satisfaction. Based on the literature review, migrant wives' (1) age, (2) the number of children, (3) educational level, (4) average annual income in Korean society, (5) level of Korean proficiency, and (6) length of residence were included as control variables.

Age. Respondents were asked about their birth year. Thereby, migrant wives' age was computed based on the information. Migrant wives were also asked a dichotomous question about the presence of children, but it needed to be counted for creating the number of children. Thereby, the number of children was counted with a process of restructuring SPSS data from long format to wide format.

Education. With regards to educational level, respondents were asked several types of questions about their educational achievements. In this study, recipients' completed educational level was used. When an educational system from kindergarten to college was not consistent with the Korean educational system, the respondents were asked a total number of years of education they completed. The years were then transformed into an educational level that fitted with the Korean educational system (Jeon

et al., 2013). Seven categorical choices that followed with Korean educational system were used: *Never attended school, Elementary School, Middle School, High school, University (a two-year college), University (a four-year college), and Graduate school and more than graduate school.*

Income. Respondents were asked about their annual income, “What is the households’ monthly average income over the past year?” The response categories included 9 answer choices, and the currency was Korean won. The exchange rate was 1 U.S. dollar approximately equaled 1,070 Korean won: (1) *below 500,000 won* (2) *500,000~ less than 1,000,000 won*, (3) *1,000,000~ less than 2,000,000 won*, (4) *2,000,000 ~ less than 3,000,000 won*, (5) *3,000,000~ less than 4,000,000 won*, (6) *4,000,000~ less than 5,000,000 won*, (7) *5,000,000~ less than 6,000,000 won*, (8) *6,000,000~ less than 7,000,000 won*, and (9) *more than 7,000,000 won.*

Korean proficiency. Respondents were asked, “How fluent is your Korean?” with four dimensions: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Using a 5-point Likert scale, participants indicated their proficiency from 1 (very good) to 5 (very poor). In the analysis, the self-assessment of the four dimensions was re-coded, indicating 1 means *very poor* and 5 means *very good*. The possible sum of the level of Korean proficiency ranged from 4 to 20, with a higher score indicating a higher level of Korean proficiency. The length of residency was computed based on the information about respondents’ initial entry year.

Family and community variables. Four family and community variables were included: (1) The level of relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands, (2) the level of the social network, (3) the level of social involvement. The first three variables were

explained within mezzo-level, and lastly, (4) discrimination at a macro level was controlled as a predictor that associated with life satisfaction.

Relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands. The level of relationship satisfaction with the Korean husbands was measured as a single-item with a 5-point Likert scale which asked participants, “How satisfied are you with your spouse?” (1= very satisfied to 5= very dissatisfied). The response categories included *very satisfied*, *satisfied*, *neutral*, *dissatisfied*, and *very dissatisfied*. The response choice was re-coded from 1 (very dissatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied) in the analysis. A higher score indicated greater relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands.

Social network. Next, migrant wives were asked in assessing their social network, “Under the following circumstances, which of the following would you like to discuss with (a. Persons from the same country, b. Korean, c. Other foreigners, and d. No one)? Please select all and mark where you apply (except family members).” Four situations were given: (1) A person who discusses when there is a difficult situation in an individual or in a family, (2) a person who discusses when there is a job issue, (3) a person who discusses children’s education, and (4) a person who shares leisure and hobbies. In each situation, migrant wives marked across all cases among the four answer choices from their social network: (a) Persons from the same country, (b) Korean, (c) Other foreigners, and (d) No one. Among the four situations, two situations of (2) a person who discusses when there is a job issue and (3) a person who discusses children’s education were given one more response choice, *not applicable* since there were migrant women who were not employed or did not have a child. The level of the social network was measured by the summing of each answer choice in four different situations. With the summing of all

marked answers, possible sums of the score ranged from 0 to 16, with a higher score indicated a higher level of social network among migrant wives.

Social involvement. Social involvement was measured by asking “Have you participated in any of the following meetings or activities?” The response choice was (1) Yes and (2) No. For those who responded to *yes*, contingency questions were asked in 5 different dimensions. The 5 different sub-sections included: (a) Parents’ meeting at child’ school, (b) Meeting with the same ethnic friends, (c) Community activities, (d) Volunteer or hobby activities, and (e) Group activities (private organizations, political parties, trade unions, etc.). The answer choice was a categorical *Yes* or *No* except for the first sub-section, parents’ meeting at child’ school, which consisted of three choices: *Yes*, *No*, *Not Applicable* (Yes=1, No=2, and Not Applicable= 0). Since this study’s participants were only included migrant wives having at least one child, little responses to ‘not applicable’ were found. The level of social involvement was computed with the information of *having participated* or *not participated* and summed the scores in five sections. In the analysis, the answer choice of No (=2) was re-coded to 0, with 1 indicating *have participated* and 0 indicating *have not participated*. Among those who answered ‘have participated’, the possible total score of social involvement ranged from 0 to 5, with a higher score indicating a higher level of social involvement.

Discrimination. Regarding discrimination experiences, migrant wives were asked: “Have you ever been discriminated against or ignored as a foreigner while living in Korea?” The response choice was a dichotomous answer: (1) Yes and (2) No. In the analysis, the answer choice was re-coded to 0 (No, *I have never been discriminated*) and

1 (Yes, *I have been discriminated*). Table 3 presents variables that were included in the analysis model.

Table 3.

Variables, Contents, and Measurements

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Measurement</u>
Dependent	Life Satisfaction	A 5-point Liker scale 1(<i>not very satisfied</i>) to 5(<i>very satisfied</i>)
Independent	Employment	Dummy 0(<i>not working</i>)/ 1(<i>working</i>)
	Perceived Practical Support from Korean Husbands (1) Household Labor (2) Child –caring	A 5-point Liker scale 1(<i>I always do it myself</i>) to 5(<i>My spouse always does it</i>)
Control	Demographic	
	Age	Continuous (<i>year</i>)
	The Number of Children	Continuous (<i>person</i>)
	Education level(completed)	Ordinal 1 (<i>Never attended school</i>) to 7(<i>More than graduate school</i>)
	Household income level (Monthly)	Ordinal 1(<i>Below 500,000 Korean won</i>) to 9(<i>More than 7,000,000 won</i>)
	Korean proficiency	A Summary score 4 to 20 (<i>A higher score means a higher level of Korean proficiency</i>)
	Length of residence	Continuous (<i>year</i>)
Family and community variables	Level of satisfaction with Korean husbands	A 5-point Liker scale 1(<i>not very satisfied</i>) to 5(<i>very satisfied</i>)
	Level of social support(excluded family members)	A Summary score 0 to 16 (<i>A higher score means a higher level of social network</i>)
	Level of social involvement	A Summary score 0 to 5 (<i>A higher score means a higher level of social involvement</i>)

Discrimination Experience	Dummy 0(<i>not experienced</i>)/ 1(<i>Have been experienced</i>)
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Note. Supplemental information regarding the variables can be found in the 2012 NSMF questionnaire, and the specific contents included in this dissertation was attached to the section of supplemental materials (Appendix A).

Data Analysis

IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, 19.0 version) was used to analyze all analyses. The level of significance for hypothesis tests was set at .05 level.

Descriptive analysis. Descriptive analysis was conducted to describe the demographic profile of the study participants as well as understand participants' experience in employment and family work. For categorical variables, frequency (%) was presented. For ordinal and continuous variables, mean, standard deviation (SD), and range were reported.

Thereby, demographic variables such as age, the number of children, Korean proficiency, and the length of residency, mean, standard deviation, and range (minimum and maximum) were presented, and educational level, country of origin, and average monthly income were used frequency. Migrant wives' working characteristics, social network, and social involvement characteristics were presented by using descriptive statistics. Table 4 presents a specific content of descriptive statistics on each variable.

Table 4.

Descriptive Analysis Information

<u>Information</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Analysis</u>
Demographic	Age	Means, S.D., Range(Maximum & Minimum)
	Educational level	Frequency in each item
	The number of children	Means, S.D., Range(Maximum & Minimum)

	Country of origin Korean proficiency	Frequency in each item Means, S.D., Range(Maximum & Minimum)
	Length of residence	Means, S.D., Range(Maximum & Minimum)
	Average Monthly Income level	Frequency in each item
Employment & Perceived practical support from Korean husbands	Employment Working status Working hours	Frequency in each item Means, S.D., Range(Maximum & Minimum)
	Division of household labor Housework Child-caring	Frequency in each item
Social Network	Social network from Korean, people from same ethnicities, or other foreigners A person to discuss when something is wrong with you or your family members A person who discusses a job A person to discuss the child's education A person who is with a leisure or a hobby	Frequency in each item
Social Involvement	Social involvement experience Parents' meeting at your child's school Meeting with the same ethnic friends Community activities Volunteer, hobby activities Group activities	Frequency in each item

Note. Supplemental information regarding the variables can be found in the 2012 NSMF questionnaire, and the specific contents included in this dissertation was attached to the section of supplemental materials (Appendix A).

Hypothesis. Migrant wives' life satisfaction can be predicted by their working status and migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands both in household labor and child-caring, when controlling for age, the number of children, educational level, average monthly income, Korean proficiency, length of residence, the level of satisfaction with Korean husbands, the level of social network, the level of social involvement, and discrimination. It was hypothesized that migrant wives who were employed, had a higher level of perceived practical support from Korean husbands in household labor, had a higher level of perceived practical support from Korean husbands in child-caring, were younger, had less children, had a lower level of educational level, had a higher income, had a higher level of Korean proficiency, had a shorter length of residence, had a higher level of satisfaction with Korean husbands, had a higher level of social network and social involvement, and had not experienced discrimination, showed a higher level of life satisfaction. Before the regression test, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was conducted in order to measure the strength and direction of the association between each variable and dependent variable.

Hierarchical multiple regression. For testing the hypothesis above, hierarchical multiple regression (HMR) analysis was used. Hierarchical regression has been designed to test theory-based hypotheses (Cohen, 2001; Wampolod & Freund, 1987). Researchers examine the influence of several predictors in a sequential way (Petrocelli, 2003). They typically have theoretically based plan for the order of predictors and put a set of predictors at different steps (Petrocelli, 2003). HMR enters a set of predictor variables that need to control for when testing the independent variables; for example, a researcher

put all demographic variables in a first step, all potentially confounding variables in a second step, and the independent variable as a third step.

In HMR, changes in $R^2(\Delta R^2)$ statistics are computed by adding a different set of predictors. In other words, the statistic shows between a set of predictors that entered in later step and a set of predictors that entered in former step (Petrocelli, 2003). Therefore, checking the R^2 changes and its corresponding F changes with a p-value is important for researchers who use hierarchical regression (Petrocelli, 2003; Wampold & Freund, 1987).

In this study, demographic variables entered in the first step of analysis (e.g., age, the number of children, educational level, average monthly income, Korean proficiency, and the length of residence in Korea). In the second step, family and community variables such as relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands, the level of the social network, the level of social involvement, and discrimination experience were entered. As the third step in HMR, a set of independent variables --working status, migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands in household labor, and perceived practical support from Korean husbands in child-caring -- were entered. For dependent variable, migrant wives' life satisfaction was entered. Also, methods for inspecting multicollinearity among the variables were used by checking both tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF).

This study used listwise deletion when there were missing values. As the most common solution to missing values, listwise deletion is considered conservative method because it does not "make up" data (Acock, 2005, p. 1015). However, listwise deletion results in about 20% ~50% losses of data, so it is not an optimal strategy when the sample

size is not sufficiently large (Acock, 2005). Since this study used the national survey dataset, it obtained sufficiently large sample size to use listwise deletion.

Human Subjects Review (IRB)

This study uses a secondary analysis. In turn, IRB process was exempted.

Chapter Five Results

Descriptive Statistics

Demographic background. Table 5 presents demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of migrant wives included in the analysis.

Table 5.

Weighted Descriptive Statistics for Demographic Variables (N=100,082)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Percent (n)</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Min (s.d.), Max</u>
Age(years)		35.50	18 (6.75), 59
Country of origin			
China	21.7 (21,697)		
China (Chosun-Jok)	25.2 (25,184)		
Taiwan, Hong Kong	.5 (467)		
Mongol	2.1 (2,089)		
Vietnam	34.4 (34,442)		
Philippines	9.5 (9,545)		
Thailand	1.9 (1,940)		
Cambodia	3.7 (3,671)		
South-Eastern Asian countries (etc.)	.6 (554)		
Southern countries (etc.)	.5 (493)		
Education level			
Never attended school	1.6 (1,625)		
Below elementary school	8.6 (8,637)		
Middle school completed	25.6 (25,654)		
High school completed	46.7 (46,699)		
University completed (a two-year course college)	8.1 (8,119)		
University completed (a four-year-course college)	8.7 (8,675)		
More than a graduate school	.7 (637)		
Length of residence (years)		7.56	3 (3.33), 15
Korean proficiency (score)		14.03	4 (4.22), 20
Household income (Korean Won) (n= 91,569)			
Below 500,000	1.6 (1,497)		
500,000~ less than 1,000,000	5.5 (4,992)		
1,000,000~ less than 2,000,000 won	32.6 (29,884)		
2,000,000 ~ less than 3,000,000	37.9 (34,662)		

3,000,000~ less than 4,000,000	15.4 (14,085)
4,000,000~ less than 5,000,000	4.0 (3,680)
5,000,000~ less than 6,000,000	1.4 (1,265)
6,000,000~ less than 7,000,000	.6 (558)
More than 7,000,000	1.0 (945)

Note: Age, country of origin, education, length of residence, Korean proficiency, N= 100,082 (no missing); Household income, n= 91,569 (missing= 8,513)

In this study, 100,082 respondents met the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The average age of migrant wives in this study was 35.50 (SD= 6.75, range: 18~59). The majority of migrant wives were from China (21.7% + 25.2% = 46.9%, n= 46,881). This study separately presented Chosun-Jok women (Korean Chinese, 25.2% (n= 25,184)) since they were of Korean descent living in China. Since the culture of Chosun-Jok is similar to that of Korea, they face fewer language barriers. Migrant wives from Vietnam accounted for 34.4 percent (n= 34,442) of the sample, followed by women from the Philippines (9.5%, n=9,545), Cambodia (3.7%, n= 3,671), Mongol (2.1%, n=2,089), and Thailand (1.9%, n=1,940).

In regards to educational level, the majority of migrant wives reported that they had a high school diploma or below (82.5%, n= 82,615). Nearly half of the migrant wives completed high school (46.7%, n=46,699). One-quarter (25.6%) had a middle school diploma and 8.6 percent of migrant wives completed sixth grade or less, indicating this substantial subpopulation may face a particularly long and challenging economic integration. Only 16.8 percent of migrant wives had a college diploma (8.1%, n= two-year college, and 8.7%, four-year college), and just 0.6 percent had a graduate diploma.

Migrant wives' average length of residency was 7.56 years (SD= 3.33, range: 3~15 year). This study included established migrant wives who lived in Korea more than 3 years but less than 15 years. In terms of Korean proficiency, with scores ranging from 4 (= the lowest proficiency) to 20 (= the highest proficiency), migrant wives' average Korean proficiency score was 14.03 (SD= 4.22).

In terms of the average household monthly income among study participants, most study participants responded that their monthly household income was under 3,000,000 Korean won (1.6% +5.5% +32.6% +37.9% = 77.6%) (i.e., Currency rate on April, 2018: 1USD = 1,070 KRW). In particular, 37.9 percent of migrant wives responded that their monthly household income was between 2,000,000 ~ 3,000,000 Korean won (n= 34,661). A similar proportion of migrant wives indicated that their monthly household income was between 1,000,000 ~ 2,000,000 Korean won (32.6%, n= 29,884). A small proportion of migrant wives reported that their monthly household income was between 3,000,000 ~ 4,000,000 Korean won (15.4%, n=14,085). Given that the average monthly income of Koreans was 406,000,000 Korean won in 2011, when the NSMF2012 was conducted, most multicultural families had lower monthly average income compared to other Koreans families. Only 7 percent of migrant wives reported that their monthly household income was above 4,000,000 Korean won (4.0+1.4+0.6+1.0= 7.0%, n=6,448).

Work life. This section presents detailed descriptive statistics on migrant wives' employment. Table 6 displays employment information for the migrant wives.

Table 6.

Weighted Descriptive Statistics for Employment Variables (N=100,082)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Percent(n)</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Min (s.d.), Max</u>
Work status (Dummy) (n=100,082)			
Working	45.3 (45,383)		
Not working	54.7 (54,699)		
Only those who were employed (n= 45,383)			
Working hours (hours)		43.45	0 (17.30), 105
Work status			
Regular employee	29.8 (13,681)		
Temporary employee	34.9 (16,008)		
Daily worker	16.3 (7,452)		
Employer	.8 (379)		
Own-account worker	4.5 (2,082)		
Unpaid family worker	13.6 (6,238)		
Monthly income(migrant wives, Korean Won)			
Below 500,000	25.3 (11,581)		
500,000~less than 1,000,000	36.4 (16,706)		
1,000,000~ less than 1,500,000	27.9 (12,781)		
1,500,000 ~ less than 2,000,000	7.7 (3,533)		
2,500,000~ less than 3,000,000	1.4 (620)		
3,000,000~ less than 3,500,000	.5 (173)		
3,500,000~ less than 4,000,000	.4 (173)		
More than 4,000,000	.2 (94)		
Only those who were not employed (n=54,699)			
Desire for future employment			
Yes	89.2(48,398)		
No	10.8 (5,844)		
Reasons for not currently working			
Do not want to work	1.9 (1,006)		
Hard to find out jobs that matched aptitude	3.2 (1,734)		
Do not have a job that meets desired wage or working condition	2.1 (1,146)		
No one to take care of the housework	4.1 (2,228)		

Have to do child-caring	76.1(41,279)
Poor Korean proficiency	2.7 (1,445)
The opposite of Korean husbands or families	1.5 (792)
Lack of education, skills, and experiences	.8 (432)
Poor health condition	2.4 (1,320)
Being pregnant	3.7 (2,033)
Others	1.5 (827)

Note: n=100,082, Regular employee (Workers with a term of employment of one year or more, those who do not specify a contract term but who are expected to continue working if they are hired as regular employees); Temporary employee (Workers whose employment term is at least one month but less than one year); Daily worker (Workers whose employment term is less than one month); Employer (Those who hire one or more employees who work continuously); Own-account worker (Those who do not hire a continuously working employee but work alone or with unpaid family workers); Unpaid family worker (Those who is a family member or a relative of a self-employed person and who is engaged in a business for 18 hours or more per week without receiving wages).

Nearly half of the migrant wives in this study had jobs (45.3%, n= 45,383) at the time of the survey, and the other half reported that they did not work (54.7%, n= 54,699). Among those who were employed, the largest group were temporary employees (34.9%, n= 16,008), followed by regular employees (29.8%, n= 13,681) and daily workers (16.3%, n= 7,452).

Among the migrant wives who were employed, nearly 90 percent reported that their monthly income was below 1,500,000 Korean won (89.6%, n= 41,068). Over one-third of employed migrant wives (36.5 %, n= 16,706) reported that their monthly income was 500,000 to 1,000,000, followed by 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 (27.9%, n= 12,871) and below 500,000 (25.3%, n=11,581). Only 7.7 percent of working migrant wives reported their monthly income was 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 (n= 3,533). Less than 3 percent of working migrant wives reported that their monthly income were more than 2,500,000 Korean won.

Over half of migrant wives in this study were not employed, and the majority of them responded that they were willing to have a job in the future (89.2%, n= 48,398). The primary barrier to having a job was child-care (76.1%, n= 41,279), followed by housework issues (4.1%, n= 2,228), being pregnant (3.7%, n=2,033), and difficulty in finding jobs that matched their aptitude (2.1%, n=1,146).

Familial life. This section illustrates migrant wives' familial life. Table 7 displays information about migrant wives' family life.

Table 7.

Weighted Descriptive Statistics for Family Life Variables (N=100,082)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Percent(n)</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Min(s.d),Max</u>
The number of children (person)		1.49	1 (.63), 5
One	57.7(57,760)		
Two	36.3(36,329)		
Three	5.4 (5,358)		
Four	.6 (590)		
Five	.0 (45)		
Relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands (mean)		4.08	1 (.93), 5
Perceived practical support_Housework (score)		1.74	1 (1.03), 5
I do myself	60.1 (60,175)		
I tend to do myself	13.2 (13,239)		
Do it equally divided	21.8 (21,801)		
My spouse tends to do it	2.4 (2,450)		
My spouse does it	2.4 (2,417)		
Perceived practical support_Child-care (score)		1.95	1 (1.08), 5
I do myself	49.3 (49,313)		
I tend to do myself	15.2 (15,257)		
Do it equally divided	29.2 (29,233)		
My spouse tends to do it	3.5 (3,490)		
My spouse does it	2.8 (2,752)		
Not Applicable(N.A.)	.0 (38)		

Note: N=100,082

The majority of migrant wives had one child (57.7%, n=57,760), and just over one-third had two children (36.3%, n= 36,329). A small proportion had three children

(5.4%, n= 5,358), and only 0.6 percent (n= 45) had four children. The average score for relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands was 4.08 (SD= 1.08); possible scores ranged from 1 (= very dissatisfied) to 5 (= very satisfied). Thus, most migrant wives indicated they were satisfied with their relationships with their Korean husbands.

When it comes to perceived practical support from Korean husbands with household labor, sixty percent of migrant wives reported that they independently handled the household labor (60.1%, n= 60,175), and 15.2 percent responded that they did most of the household labor (n= 13,239). One in five migrant wives reported that equally shared in household labor with their Korean husbands (21.8%, n= 21,801). Only 2.4 percent of migrant wives reported that their husbands did most (2.4%, n= 2,450) or all (2.4%, n= 2,417) of the household labor.

Similarly, nearly half of migrant wives reported that fully (49.3%, n= 49,313) or mostly (15.2%, n=15,257) managed the childcare by themselves. Nearly 30 percent of migrant wives reported that their Korean husbands were equally involved in child-care, but only 6.3 percent reported that their husbands mostly (3.5 %, n= 3,490) or fully (2.8%, n= 2,752) took care of child care responsibilities.

Social networks and broader level information. Table 8 presents migrant wives' social relationships and discrimination experiences in Korea.

Table 8.

Weighted Descriptive Statistics for Social Network and Involvement Experience

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Percent (n)</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Min (s.d.), Max</u>
Social network (score, n= 76,174)		3.30	0 (1.63), 12
Family matter issue			
No one	20.9 (20,927)		
Korean	73.1 (73,194)		

A person from the same country	5.8 (5,815)		
Other foreigners	.1 (147)		
Working matter issue			
No one	21.9 (16,662)		
Korean	72.9 (55,538)		
A person from the same country	5.1 (3,901)		
Other foreigners	.1 (68)		
Not applicable	23.9 (23,908)		
Child education issue			
No one	20.2 (20,191)		
Korean	74.7 (74,694)		
A person from the same country	5.0 (5,039)		
Other foreigners	.1 (121)		
Not applicable	.0 (38)		
Doing hobby together			
No one	35.4 (35,464)		
Korean	59.6 (59,663)		
A person from the same country	4.6 (4,586)		
Other foreigners	.4 (369)		
Social involvement experience (score, n=100,015)		1.13	0 (1.05), 5
Parents' meeting at child's school			
Yes	17.3 (17,260)		
No	82.7 (82,755)		
N.A	.1 (67)		
Meeting with the same ethnic friends			
Yes	58.4 (58,467)		
No	41.6 (41,615)		
Community activities			
Yes	15.2 (15,214)		
No	84.8 (84,868)		
Volunteer, hobby activities			
Yes	17.9 (17,912)		
No	82.1 (82,170)		
Group activities (Private organizations, political parties, and trade union, etc.).			
Yes	4.6 (4,611)		

	No	95.4 (95,472)
Discrimination experience (Dummy)		
Have been experienced		42.2 (42,243)
Never been experienced		57.8 (57,840)

Note: Social network (n= 76, 174), Social involvement (n= 100,015)

In terms of social networks, migrant wives interacted most frequently with Koreans across all sub-sections. In particular, when migrant wives had child education issues, most discussed the issue with Korean people (74.7%) rather than with persons from their country of origin (5.0%) or other foreigners (0.1 %). Similarly, most migrant wives discussed job issues with Koreans the most (73.1%), rather than with other networks (person from the same country and other foreigners). When migrant wives had family issues, they utilized Korean networks the most (73.1%); only 5.8 percent discussed their issue with persons from the same country of origin. Interestingly, even when they did a hobby, they interacted mostly with Korean people (59.6%) rather than persons from the same country (4.6%) or other foreigners (0.4%).

One noticeable result was that many migrant wives reported that they had *no one* to discuss things with when they had issues in their families (20.9%), with children (20.2%), or with work (21.9%). Over one- third (35.4%) of migrant wives also reported that they did not have anyone to do hobbies with together. This result reflects the weakness of social networks of migrant wives in Korean society.

Participation in five types of community meetings were examined: (1) parents' meeting at the child's school, (2) meetings with the same ethnic friends, (3) community activities, (4) volunteer or hobby activities, and (5) group activities such as private organizations, political parties, and trade unions. Nearly 60 percent of migrant wives (58.4%) participated in meetings with friends from the same country of origin. However,

the majority of migrant wives reported that their social involvement experiences were lacking in the other four sections: only 4.6 percent attended group activities, 17.9 percent were involved in volunteering or hobbies, 15.2 percent were involved with community activities, and 17.3 percent of migrant wives attended parents' meetings at their children's school. In the case of discrimination experiences, 42.2 percent of migrant wives reported that they experienced discrimination in Korean society (n= 42,243), but more than half had not experienced discrimination in Korea (57.8%, n= 57,840).

Life satisfaction. Table 9 addressed descriptive statistics for life satisfaction.

Table 9.

Weighted Descriptive Statistic for Life Satisfaction (N=100,082)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Percent (n)</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Min (s.d.), Max,</u>
Life satisfaction(score)		3.68	1 (.92), 5
Very dissatisfied	1.3 (1,272)		
Dissatisfied	4.6 (4,578)		
Neutral	42.0 (41,995)		
Satisfied	29.3 (29,343)		
Very satisfied	22.9 (22,894)		
Total	100.0 (100,082)		

Note: N=100,082

Over half of migrant wives reported that they were satisfied with their lives in Korea [29.3% (satisfied) + 22.9% (very satisfied) = 55.2%]. On the other hand, only 5.9 percent of migrant wives reported being dissatisfied (4.6%) or very dissatisfied (1.3%) with their lives. More than 40 percent of migrant wives reported being neutral with their lives.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Result

Correlation matrix. Pearson's correlation was conducted to capture relationships between the predictors.

Table 10.

Correlation Matrix

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1	---													
2	-.67**	---												
3	-.13**	.039**	---											
4	.129**	.044**	-.005	---										
5	.035**	.201**	.004	.184**	---									
6	-.080**	.544**	.204**	.090**	.212**	---								
7	.046**	.293**	.036**	.104**	.203**	.420**	---							
8	.062**	.014**	-.019**	.048**	.090**	.048**	.072**	---						
9	.081**	.097**	.130**	.077**	.182**	.208**	.107**	.264**	---					
10	-.105**	.022**	-.015**	.012**	.042**	.037**	-.046**	.021**	.031**	---				
11	.464**	-.055**	-.002	.106**	.039**	-.093**	.048**	.030**	.026**	-.101**	---			
12	-.071**	.176**	-.031**	.188**	-.008*	.194**	.068**	.037**	.036**	.032**	-.081**	---		
13	.009*	-.029**	-.043**	.039**	-.021**	-.047**	-.093**	.030**	-.003	.002	.014**	.151**	---	
14	.008*	.000	-.007	.028**	-.043**	-.042**	-.107**	.041**	.041**	.026**	-.011**	.170**	.597**	---

Note: 1. life satisfaction; 2. age; 3. the number of children; 4. household income (monthly); 5. educational level; 6. Length of residence; 7. Korean proficiency; 8. social support; 9. social involvement; 10. discrimination experiences; 11. relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands; 12. employment; 13. perceived practical support_housework ; 14. Perceived practical support_child-caring. ** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). N= 69,719 (listwise deletion)

Table 10 shows correlation coefficients between the independent variables ranging from $-.005$ (monthly household income and the number of children) to $.597$ (migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands in child-care and perceived practical support from Korean husbands in housework). According to Abu-Bader (2010), a coefficient that is greater than $.80$ ($r > .80$) indicates a multicollinearity problem.

Migrant wives' life satisfaction was positively correlated with household income, educational level, Korean proficiency level, social network, social involvement, relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands, perceived practical support _housework, and perceived practical support _child care, and was negatively correlated with age, the number of children, and length of residency, discrimination experience, and employment status.

Migrant wives' age was negatively correlated with their level of life satisfaction, indicating that older migrant wives were less likely to be satisfied with their lives from younger migrant wives ($r = -.067, p < .01$). The number of children was negatively associated with migrant wives' level of life satisfaction, indicating that migrant wives with more children were less likely to be satisfied with their lives ($r = -.013, p < .01$). In addition, migrant wives with more children showed that they were more likely to do household labor ($r = -.043, p < .01$).

As much previous literature has demonstrated empirically, this study also found a positive correlation between migrant wives' monthly household income and their level of life satisfaction ($r = .129, p < .01$). Migrant wives with a higher level of household income were more likely to be employed ($r = .188, p < .01$), perceived more practical support in

household labor from their Korean husbands ($r = .039, p < .01$), and perceived more practical support with child-care ($r = .028, p < .01$). A higher level of household income was also positively correlated with migrant wives' social network ($r = .048, p < .01$) and social involvement ($r = .077, p < .01$).

Migrant wives' educational level ($r = .035, p < .01$) and Korean proficiency ($r = .046, p < .01$) were also positively associated with their level of life satisfaction. Although these two have often been used as proxy variables to indicate increased chances of immigrants' economic integration (Berry, 1997), this study supports only one variable—Korean proficiency. In other words, migrant wives with a better Korean proficiency were more likely to be employed ($r = .068, p < .01$), but those with a higher education degree were less likely to be employed ($r = -.008, p < .05$). Migrant wives who stayed longer in Korea were less likely to satisfy their lives ($r = -.080, p < .01$). Similarly, migrant wives with a longer stay in Korea were less likely to be satisfied with their relationship with their Korean husbands ($r = -.093, p < .01$), and they were more likely to experience discrimination in Korean society ($r = .037, p < .01$).

Broader level variables such as social network, social involvement, and discrimination experiences closely correlated with migrant wives' level of life satisfaction. There were positive correlations between migrant wives' social network ($r = .062, p < .01$) and involvement ($r = .081, p < .01$) and their life satisfaction. However, there was a negative correlation between migrant wives' discrimination experience and their life satisfaction, implying that migrant wives who experienced discrimination were less likely to be satisfied with their lives ($r = -.105, p < .01$).

In terms of employment, there was a negative correlation between migrant wives' working and life satisfaction, indicating employed migrant wives were less satisfied with their life ($r = -.071, p < .01$). There was a weak but significant correlation between perceived practical support from husbands and migrant wives' life satisfaction. Perceived practical support from husbands with household labor was positively associated with migrant wives' life satisfaction ($r = .009, p < .05$). Similarly, there was a positive relationship between perceived practical support with child-care and migrant wives' life satisfaction ($r = .008, p < .05$).

Hierarchical multiple regression. In order to answer the research hypothesis, hierarchical multiple regression was conducted. The results of the hierarchical multiple regression are presented in Table 11. After listwise deletion, the number of migrant wives included in this analysis was 69,719.

In the first step of the analysis, socio-demographic variables were included: age, the number of children, educational level, length of residency, Korean proficiency, and monthly household income. The first model was statistically significant and explained 3.3 percent of the variance in migrant wives' life satisfaction ($F(6, 69712) = 396.753, p < .001$).

In the next step, variables related to family and social relationships were entered, and all of the variables showed a statistically significant impact on life satisfaction. Variables entered in the second step explained an additional 20.3 % of the variation in migrant wives' life satisfaction. The change in R^2 was significant ($F(4, 69708) = 4630.915, p < .001$). The final model of this study was significant and accounted for 23.8 % of the variance in the prediction of life satisfaction ($F(3, 69705) = 57.766, p$

< .001). Although the addition of employment and perceived practical support of husbands to the regression model explained only .002%, the change of *R* was also significant. In terms of collinearity among variables, values of VIF that exceed 10 are often regarded as indicating multicollinearity. The values of VIF of all variables were under 2, meaning that there is no collinearity issue in this analysis model.

Table 11.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results (n=69,719)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model3	
	β (Beta)	<i>t</i>	β (Beta)	<i>t</i>	β (Beta)	<i>t</i>
Constant	3.320	146.031**	1.798		1.786	71.295**
Age	-.006 (-.043)	-9.486**	-.004 (-.032)	-8.124**	-.004 (-.029)	-7.125**
The number of children	.013 (.009)	2.287*	-.015 (-.010)	-2.941**	-.019 (-.013)	-3.830**
Household income (Monthly)	.096 (.127)	33.500**	.060 (.079)	23.189**	.066 (.087)	25.141**
Educational level	.022 (.026)	6.721**	.002 (.002)	.535**	-.001 (-.001)	-.408
The length of residency	-.030 (-.112)	-23.133**	-.015 (-.056)	-12.814**	-.013 (-.049)	-11.040**
Korean proficiency	.019 (.087)	20.880**	.008 (.038)	10.161**	.008 (.038)	10.277**
Social support			.016 (.029)	8.277**	.017 (.029)	8.503**
Social involvement			.060 (.069)	19.411**	.059 (.068)	19.114**
Discrimination experience			-.111 (-.060)	-18.058**	-.110 (-.060)	-17.999**
Relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands			.417 (.438)	129.622**	.414 (.435)	128.401**
Employment					-.083 (-.045)	-12.789**
Perceived practical support_House work					-.006 (-.007)	-1.784+
Perceived practical support_Child-caring					.018 (.022)	5.203**
<i>R</i>	.182		.486		.488	
<i>R</i> ²	.033		.236		.238	
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.033		.236		.238	

R^2 change	.033**	.203**	.002**
F	396.753**	4630.915**	59.766**

Note: + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

The study found that migrant wives who were younger ($\beta = -.004, p < .001$), had less number of children ($\beta = -.019, p < .001$), had a higher level of Korean proficiency ($\beta = .008, p < .001$), had a shorter period of stay in Korea ($\beta = -.013, p < .001$), and had a higher level of household income ($\beta = .066, p < .001$) showed a higher level of life satisfaction, all of which supported hypothesis drawn from previous studies and theories. However, migrant wives' education level did not show any significant influence on their life satisfaction.

In addition, migrant wives who had a higher level of relationship with their Korean husbands ($\beta = .414, p < .001$), were more frequently participated in community activities ($\beta = .059, p < .001$), had more social networks ($\beta = .017, p < .001$), and had no discrimination experience ($\beta = -.110, p < .001$) showed a higher level of life satisfaction, which supported hypothesis. Even for established migrant wives in this study, a level of relationship satisfaction with their Korean husbands showed the strongest factor (Beta= .435), rather than bridging ties such as social network (Beta= .029) or social involvements (Beta= .068).

Study results showed that employed migrant wives had a lower level of life satisfaction, level of life satisfaction ($\beta = -.083, p < .001$), and this result did not support the hypothesis. Migrant wives who reported more perceived practical support from their Korean husbands in child-care showed a higher level of life satisfaction ($\beta = .018, p < .001$), but perceived practical support in housework negatively associated with migrant wives' life satisfaction ($\beta = -.006, p < .10$). This result supported the hypothesis on

perceived practical support in child-care but did not support in housework. It implies that distinguishing different types of perceived practical support from Korean husbands is important in multicultural families in that the role of each perceived practical support showed a different impact on migrant wives' life satisfaction.

Chapter Six Conclusion

Using data from the 2012 National Survey on Multicultural Families, this study examined how migrant wives' employment and perceived practical support from Korean husbands to family life influenced established migrant women's life satisfaction. The hierarchical regression result showed that migrant wives who were younger, had less number of children, had a less stay, had more household income, had more social supports and involvements, had no experience with discrimination, had a higher satisfaction with relationship with Korean husbands, were not working, and had a higher level of perceived practical support from Korean husbands in child-care showed higher level of life satisfaction.

Migrant wives' ages were significant and statistically associated with their perception of life satisfaction, indicating that younger migrants were more satisfied with their lives than older migrant wives ($\beta = -.004, p < .001$). Although the impact of immigrants' ages on their life satisfaction has not always been consistent, the literature reports that younger immigrants tend to be more satisfied with their lives (K. Kim, 2012; Safi, 2010).

The number of children was negatively related to migrant wives' level of life satisfaction ($\beta = -.019, p < .001$). In line with the Korean context, this result seems to reflect migrant wives' concerns about child-rearing. For example, migrant wives may be concerned about education in children's school years possibly due to the competitive environment in Korean society or the lack of information on education (H. K. Lee, 2013; Sung et al., 2013).

Prior literature on migrant wives reported that generally, those with higher education showed a lower level of life satisfaction in Korean society (K. Kim, 2012). On the other hand, some Korean researchers also reported the opposite results that migrant wives with higher educational level decreased their satisfaction (H. K. Lee, 2013, Y. Kim, 2012). This is because migrant wives who have a higher level of education are more likely to perceive discrimination or gender inequality in Korean society (Sung et al., 2013). However, no statistically significant results were found in this sample, which needs to be further investigated. In this sample, it is assumed that migrant wives' education levels might not be practically applied to their lives. For example, a migrant wife's higher educational level might not be connected to a better job status or economic status, so its impact might not be shown.

Monthly household income positively influenced migrant wives' level of life satisfaction ($\beta = .066, p < .001$). This result is consistent with previous studies, confirming the importance of economic stability for determining migrant wives' life satisfaction (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015). Migrant wives' level of life satisfaction was significantly and positively affected by the level of Korean proficiency ($\beta = .008, p < .001$). As acculturation theory explains, migrant wives with more fluent Korean proficiency had a higher level of life satisfaction.

Several Korean researchers explained that migrant wives often come to Korea with a high hope for new life, but over time, they tend to face the gap between their expectations and real-life conditions such as lower economic conditions, conflicts with Korean husbands, and lack of social support (Sung et al., 2013). Such changes over time can make them feel more disappointed and even less satisfied with their lives in Korean

society. This study result also supports the previous findings. Particularly, the correlation result showed that as migrant wives stayed longer, they were more likely to get discriminated ($r=.037$, $p<.01$) and were less likely to be satisfied with their Korean husbands ($r= -.093$, $p< .01$).

Migrant wives who had a longer period of stay in Korea showed a lower level of life satisfaction, which is different from the results generally observed from the USA and other Western countries ($\beta = -.013$, $p < .001$) (Amit, 2010). As for migrant wives in Korea, however, studies found that recently arrived migrant wives tend to report a higher level of life satisfaction compared with earlier arrivals. This study result also reinforces the previous Korean evidence in that migrant wives' longer length of residence reduced the level of satisfaction.

The concentration of policies and programs for recent arrivals may be another explanation for why migrant wives with a shorter length of residency have a higher level of life satisfaction. Given that actual policy for multicultural families in Korea was enacted in 2008, it can be assumed that many programs and services were initiated for newly arrived migrants to help with their early stage of adaptation. On the other hand, established migrant wives may feel they receive less attention compared to new arrivals or may not be content with services in response to their needs (H. K. Lee, 2013).

In regards to family and social relationships, a higher level of relationship satisfaction with Korean husbands was significantly and positively associated with migrant wives' life satisfaction ($\beta = .414$, $p < .001$). This result reinforces what previous research has shown regarding migrant wives having a good spousal relationship reporting higher levels of life satisfaction (Sung et al. 2013). This was the strongest predictor of

migrant wives' life satisfaction. It also bolsters family systems theory. As the circumplex model pointed out, a strong level of family cohesion positively influences family members' ability to adjust to the demands of new environmental situations (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1984).

Migrant wives who more frequently participated in community activities such as parents' meetings or volunteering were more satisfied with their lives ($\beta = .059, p < .001$). Similarly, those who had more social networks such as Korean friends and other foreign friends reported that they felt higher satisfaction in their lives ($\beta = .017, p < .001$). In other words, the more often migrant wives interacted with their friends, Korean friends, or other friends, the more they were satisfied with their lives. These results supported previous literature in that immigrants' higher levels of social networks and involvements in a host society are positively associated with their psychological well-being (Putnam, 2000). Particularly, some researchers argued that those two predictors, as a broader level factor, play a greater role in immigrants' later stage of integration into host societies (Putnam, 2000). In regards to discrimination, those who experienced discrimination in Korea felt less satisfied with their lives ($\beta = -.110, p < .001$).

Being employed in Korean society was negatively associated with migrant wives' level of life satisfaction ($\beta = -.083, p < .001$). In relation to the previous findings on a relationship between immigrants' employment and life satisfaction in a host society, employment has been a critical and positive factor for life satisfaction (Bae & Seo, 2011; H. J. Kim, 2012; Park & Seon, 2010).

However, some studies have shown that migrant wives' employment has a negative impact on family satisfaction (Bae & Kim, 2012) or there are no differences in migrant wives' life satisfaction between those who are employed and those who are not (H. K. Lee, 2013). In a study of H. K. Lee (2013), she also reported that migrant wives' employment per se might not be the good predictor to explain their life satisfaction. Rather, migrant wives' level of life satisfaction was explained by the quality of job (e.g., low-skilled occupations or professional occupations).

Nevertheless, this study showed that working migrant wives had lower levels of life satisfaction than those who were not working. It is assumed that they might be more likely to get triple burden in terms of work, housework, and child-care, which eventually reduced their life satisfaction.

In relation to the question on how migrant wives' perceived practical support influence on their life satisfaction in Korean society, migrant wives who reported more perceived practical support from their Korean husbands showed a higher level of life satisfaction ($\beta = .018, p < .001$). When migrant wives perceived their husbands' practical support in child-care being higher, they were more satisfied with their lives. This result is consistent with other previous immigrant studies and also supports modified resource theory in cultural context (Rodman, 1972). In particular, several immigrant scholars argued that immigrant families often experience unfavorable conditions when their children become pre-school or school age since many experience a lack of close kin networks for supporting childcare in a new environment (Bonizzoni, 2014; Wall & Jose, 2004).

In addition, as noted earlier, this study found that migrant wives with more children had a lower level of life satisfaction. In this context, it is assumed that perceived practical support from husbands with childcare could reduce migrant wives' burden or anxiety related to child-care, which may enhance their psychological well-being.

Compared with the result of migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands, an interesting result was found in relation to household labor. Based on resource theory, previous empirical evidence has been found that greater spouse involvement in household labor increased wives' marital satisfaction. However, in this study, migrant wives' perceived practical support from husbands with household labor did not show any significant impact on their level of life satisfaction at the 0.05 level whereas husbands' support with child-care significantly increased migrant wives' level of life satisfaction.

Nevertheless, migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands in housework showed a negative impact on migrant wives' life satisfaction at .10 level. It is speculated that Korean husbands tend to have more conservative attitudes to housework rather than child-caring. Under the patriarchal family structure and social system in Korea, Korean husbands can easily consider that housework duties have remained migrant wives' main responsibilities. Thereby, even if Korean husbands manage household labor, they may complain about doing it or show negative expressions towards their wives, which can eventually reduce migrant wives' life satisfaction.

A multivariate analysis examined how migrant wives' perceived practical support from husbands and employment and its association with their life satisfaction as an indicator of a later stage of adaptation, when controlling for age, number of children,

educational level, average monthly income level, Korean proficiency, length of residence, level of satisfaction with Korean husbands, level of social support, level of social involvement, and discrimination. This study explored the factors influencing established migrant wives' overall satisfaction with life in Korea and further focused on whether migrant wives' employment and perceived practical support from Korean husbands contributed towards their life satisfaction.

As noted earlier, those two factors—employment and perceived practical support from Korean husbands in child-care—were closely associated with migrant wives' life satisfaction, and they also closely related with migrant wives' length of residency. In other words, established migrant wives had more chances to get employed as they stayed longer in Korea, but at the same time, they tended to perceive less practical support from husbands in terms of household labor and child-care.

Social Work Implications

Based on the empirical findings related to migrant wives' life satisfaction in this study, several social work policies and practice implications for multicultural families, particularly focusing on migrant wives, were discussed.

Social work policies. At the national level, policies for multicultural families were enacted in 2008, namely, the Support for Multicultural Families Act (SMFA). SMFA is considered a key policy in that the act directly assists multicultural families (H. O. Lee, 2012). The policy seeks to enhance social integration by providing services to support multicultural families' successful adaptation in Korea (H. O. Lee, 2012; Ji et al., 2009).

Along with SMFA, additional mid-term and long-term plans have been implemented including *The First Plan for Multicultural Families Policies 2010-2012*, and *The Second Plan for Multicultural Families Policies 2013-2017* (Multicultural Families Policy Committee, 2013). *The Third Plan for Multicultural Families Policies* begins in 2018 and is expected to reflect established multicultural families' diverse needs and changes (e.g., changed family compositions) (Korea Women's Policy Institute, 2016; Multicultural Families Policy Committee, 2013). In other words, SMFA provided overall provisions for multicultural families' successful adaptation along with their life cycle, whereas the continual plans contain a more specific strategy for changing needs and life events depending on their length of residency in Korean society.

The results of this study also support policy designs for multicultural families depending on the needs at different adaptation stages. As migrant wives stayed longer in Korean society, their level of life satisfaction decreased, indicating their longer-term adaptation needs more adequate interventions and services. In this context, Korean governments' constant efforts to design longer-term policy for established multicultural families seem prudent. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether the policies designed for the established migrant wives truly are reflected and implemented in response to their needs.

One of the social work policy efforts for multicultural families is migrant wives' employment as a way of supporting economic integration and economic independence in Korea (Korean Institute for Healthy Family, 2017). Most employment policies include job placement services, job training and vocational programs, and vouchers to cover the training costs (Korean Institute for Healthy Family, 2017). However, it is hard to find practical support for employed migrant wives when they confront difficulties such as

conflicts with coworkers (e.g., different cultural understanding), discrimination, or lack of job skills. As this study result addressed, employed migrant wives showed a lower level of life satisfaction, indicating a more appropriate intervention for employed migrant wives is required to help them adjust to their job environment as well.

Another implication of this study is that patriarchal philosophy still remains influential in Korea. Based largely on long-established beliefs in certain prescribed gender roles in Korea, the service provisions of a married migrant women's successful adaptation focuses mainly on performing their roles as a housewife (domestic service) or a mother (child-rearing), following traditional Korean expectations. This implies that a married migrant women's primary status in Korea is explicitly understood as a wife by their relation to Korean men, not as an independent agent, which may not be properly applied to established multicultural families.

In this context, the study results on migrant wives' family lives provide insight into current policy directions. For example, migrant wives with more children had a lower level of life satisfaction, but a higher level of perceived practical support from Korean husbands in child-rearing increased migrant wives' life satisfaction. Also, migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands was also closely related to migrant wives' employment under the patriarchal environment of the Korean society. Even when migrant wives entered the labor market, many of them still remained responsible for childcare and all household duties (Grzywacz et al., 2007). Nevertheless, existing policy has focused on migrant wives alone and often disregarded the role of Korean husbands. Given that women's employment, in general, is not apart from family work, the study results support family-work reconciliation policies such as counseling

programs, parenting programs, and fostering social networks among working parents (Korean Institute for Healthy Family, 2017).

Lastly, developing multicultural families' social networks should be importantly considered and reflected in family policies. The study participants included migrant wives who lived in Korea more than 3 years and less than 15 years. The results showed that good relationships with Korean husbands were still the most significant and strongest factor in determining the levels of migrant wives' life satisfaction compared to their participation to community activities or social interactions with other people except family members. Although both social networks and social engagement significantly increased migrant wives' levels of life satisfaction, their relative impacts were much smaller than Korean husbands' emotional support.

Interestingly enough, much immigrant research has consistently shown that immigrants' social networks and involvement in a host society are critical in their adaptation and become even more important the longer they stay. Some researchers have argued that those factors (bridging ties) become more influential to immigrants' psychological well-being rather than familial support (bonding ties), particularly in the later stage of adaptation (Putnam, 2000). Thereby, policies to build and strengthen migrant wives' social networks and involvement should be considered. Such policies can be made by building strong relationships between multicultural families' service organizations and other community partners.

Social work practices. In the social work field, understanding acculturation processes of immigrants and refugees became an important issue since their adaptation processes in a host country are closely related to social work services provisions

(Williams, 2006). In particular, in Korea, service provisions for multicultural families are offered by Multicultural Family Support Centers, which are mainly staffed by social workers. In addition, based on multicultural families, particularly migrant women's needs to adapt to Korea, adequate and proper service provisions need to be designed.

By serving multicultural families, the Korean government officially assigned Multicultural Family Support Centers (MFSCs) under the Support for Multicultural Families Act enacted in 2008. As a result, more than 170 MFSCs opened nationwide. As of 2017, there are 217 MFSCs. Such number is noticeable because, before the SMFA, only a few local community centers provided services such as Korean language classes or child-rearing support programs (Chung & Yoo, 2013).

Programs served by MFSCs have expanded, including Korean language classes, job training, counseling, support groups, family life education, and classes about the legal, economic, and social systems in Korea with no or minimal costs (Chung & Yoo, 2013). In addition to such mandatory service provisions, local centers were allowed to design a specialized program based on the unique demands of local communities (Guide for Multicultural Family Support Centers, 2010; as cited in Chung & Yoo, 2013).

Still, however, Korean language classes or Korean cooking classes may be helpful at the early stage of adaptation, but in the long run, other service programs such as developing social networks, particularly bridging networks, or job training programs may be more useful for migrant women's adaptation (Ryan, 2007; Ryan et al., 2008). For instance, in the case of Korean language, most programs are designed for newly arrived migrant women. It is unclear whether they provide advanced language courses for established migrant wives depending on their needs for employment, Korean social

systems, or parental school meetings (H. K. Lee, 2013). Given that the level of Korean proficiency also increased migrant wives' level of satisfaction in life, advanced language programs would be helpful for established migrant wives.

Social work practitioners of MFSCs can build strong partnerships with local centers so that migrant wives can easily access resources in response to their needs. For example, social workers may guide migrant wives to local labor centers that can enable them to navigate job information. In addition, constant counseling programs for employed migrant wives can help their work when they face conflicting situations which may be caused by cultural differences, lack of understanding of the work environment, or even family conflicts caused by employment.

Ready access to counseling is also needed by utilizing internet or phone approach so that migrant wives feel comfortable and can easily contact centers and receive appropriate services immediately. Specifically, social workers can encourage migrant wives to utilize the web portal (Danuri: www.liveinkorea.kr) or the application (apps) for smartphone users that the Korean government officially provide for multicultural families.

In addition, this study showed the importance of migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands, particularly in the area of child-care. The practical support plays a critical role to improve migrant wives' life satisfaction. However, given that most programs for multicultural families are limited only to migrant wives, much less attention is given to Korean husbands in terms of practical programs or service provisions.

In addition, given Korean patriarchal traditions, many Korean men are less likely to take care of and show concern for children's issues compared to their spouses. Also, most Korean men may not be aware of how they deal with the cultural differences or domestic matters (e.g., child-care). Thereby, for multicultural families, it requires a greater understanding of partners owing to cultural differences, and particularly Korean husbands should change their mind from traditional roles in family dynamics to more egalitarian roles in dealing with family matters. In this context, social work practitioners can offer counseling programs (with a family education instructor) for both migrant wives and Korean husbands so that Korean husbands are more actively involved with domestic matters and child-care. Practitioners can also provide coaching and education programs on parent-child relationships under the multicultural environment for Korean husbands.

In reality, local community centers put efforts to forge multicultural families' bi-cultural environments for multicultural children by providing bilingual environmental programs, constant evaluations of the children's language ability, and parent-child relations coaching programs. However, those programs cannot be fully achieved without Korean husbands' practical support. Moreover, in terms of perceived practical support in housework, it may be hard for Korean husbands to change their old awareness towards family roles into the equally shared household labor or child care, particularly at the first stage of marriage, since most of the Korean husbands are under patriarchal traditions.

In terms of migrant wives' social relationships and interactions, social work practitioners can help migrant wives to become more involved in community events or activities in order to enhance their social relationships. As the hierarchical regression

results showed, social networks and social participation had benefits of migrant wives' life satisfaction. However, the descriptive results also showed that many migrant wives neither have large social networks nor community involvement. Social work practitioners can utilize community connections and introduce adequate provisions for migrant wives so that they can become more involved in meaningful community activities. It is also critical to foster migrant wives' capabilities to navigate community resources independently. More broadly, creating supportive community environments are also important strategies to enhance multicultural families' adaptation.

In regards to social work education, social work students in Korea should understand the overall knowledge about multiculturalism, history of multicultural families in Korea, and traits of migrant wives and children. It is also required for them to explore his or her recognition towards multiculturalism. Being aware of cultural biases is important for social work students especially when they go out to the MFSCs where various clients with different cultural backgrounds exist since trained students can be more non-judgmental and open-minded when they work with clients. Given that there is a rapid increase in multicultural families, general social workers in local centers have more chances to work with clients with different cultural backgrounds. Thereby, social work students should be trained from their college by taking cultural classes or practicum course.

Discussion

Measurement. Since this study used a secondary data, there were measurement issues due to the given dataset. The measurement issue here is not involved in creating a survey, but how well the existing items can be used to indicate the key variables.

Migrant wives' perceived practical support. Under the restricted environment of an existing dataset, measuring husbands' practical support involves several critical issues in this study.

Unlike other studies that created original surveys that have various sub-areas of physical activities such as “(a) cooking, (b) cleaning, (c) shopping for groceries and household goods, (d) doing dishes, and (e) laundry” (Coltrane, 2000, p. 1210), the 2012 NSMF provides only a single item of the husbands' practical support without asking about diverse tasks. Rather, Korean researchers who were designing the NSMF survey included a child-rearing component as well as a household labor component under the concept of the division of household labor.

This approach to measuring household tasks and child-rearing into a single household labor variable in the NSMF seems to reflect unique characteristics that immigrant populations experience in a new host society (Dlamini, Anucha, & Wolfe, 2012). Much of the literature repeatedly points out unfavorable child-rearing conditions since immigrant families' move to the host societies as they often involve a loss of a close kin-network and limited access to child-care services (Bonizzoni, 2014; Wall & Jose, 2004). Accordingly, a child-rearing component is often considered an important item under the whole housework concept that immigrant researchers frequently include in their definition of household labor (Dion & Dion, 2001; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010; Noh et al., 1992).

Given that (1) “measures of support can be customized to the research context of interest” (Gottlieb & Bergen, 2010, p. 513), (2) some researchers point out the importance of including other components such as child-rearing into household labor

(Coltrane, 2000; Lee & Waite, 2005), and (3) immigrant studies often include child-rearing as a critical portion that consists of household labor (Noh et al., 1992), this study included both household labor and child-caring in measuring the level of Korean husbands' practical support.

The next consideration is to measure the household labor by considering the housework done by the husbands or the hours spent by the husbands. Again, since this study used an existing dataset, the measurement was already fixed to the housework done by husbands.

Life satisfaction. This study used a single-item measurement with a given dataset. Regarding measurement of life satisfaction, it is addressed as a limitation of this study.

Limitations. The 2012 NSMF, which was used in this study, only provides a single-item measurement for life satisfaction. When using secondary data, "knowing that the problems may exist" can help researchers judge their potential impact on the research (Rubin & Babbie, 2008, p. 397). The advantages and disadvantages of using a single-item measurement of life satisfaction were discussed earlier, including the fact that some researchers have validated a single-item scale's utility for measuring life satisfaction. However, using a single-item scale of life satisfaction still remains a limitation in this study.

For example, this study showed migrant wives' holistic evaluations of life satisfaction levels but could not capture multiple components arising from life, and how migrant wives are satisfied with their lives in each domain such as work, family relations, and community. Particularly, some migrant wives from different cultural backgrounds may have a different meaning of satisfaction culturally or some may evaluate their life

satisfaction in a more socially desirable way. Thereby, in order to capture migrant wives' life satisfaction in Korean society, their evaluations in various domains can provide more accurate descriptions of migrant wives' lives. Social work policymakers and practitioners also can get more fruitful information and design in each life domain.

Another limitation is the lack of clarification in several terms of the survey. For example, the term, child-care from the 2012 NSMF, should be carefully interpreted. In the survey, respondents were asked about two types of household labor: the division of household labor and child-care. However, the survey did not specify the extent of children whether it refers to school-aged children only or it may include overall children when migrant wives have any offspring. Also, the term housework was not clearly specified (e.g., cooking, laundry, or cleaning), but it had a holistic meaning of housework literally.

The conceptual issue here closely involves whether the child-rearing dimension should be considered as a part of household labor since the majority of household labor literature has restricted its definition only to the physical activities. Based on the aforementioned discussion, in measuring practical support it seems cogent to include household labor alone. In reality, when researchers investigate husbands' involvement in household labor, they tend to separately define household labor and child-rearing (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1993). Thereby, many housework studies adopt only one dimension either housework or child-rearing (Kim, Kim, & Shin, 2007), but a majority of studies on household labor include only housework rather than the child-care component.

Lastly, this study also has the common limitation of cross-sectional studies. In order to conclude a more accurate causal relationship between migrant wives' life satisfaction and its associated factors, a longitudinal research design is suggested.

Future study suggestions. Based on the limitations that described above, future study is suggested. First, investigating a moderating or mediating effect of perceived practical support is required. Since this study entered both employment and perceived practical support in one equation model, it is hard to answer the question of how perceived practical support from Korean husbands moderates the relation between migrant wives' employment and their life satisfaction. When the role of perceived practical support, as a moderator, is tested in the relation between employment and life satisfaction, social work practitioners can build strategies that promote employed migrant wives' life satisfaction.

A focus group of migrant wives will be another critical part that should be conducted in the next study. This study with national dataset helps to understand overall factors that were associated to established multicultural families' well-being, but a focus group approach can help researchers to capture a specific meaning of acculturation or a more detailed adaptation process, which eventually leads to improve established migrant wives' well-being in their later stage in Korean society. Particularly, migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands can be more accurately captured throughout migrant wives' voice, which still needs to be investigated. Instead of using an already established dataset that this study adopted, researchers can develop a detailed scale of perceived practical support, which will help clarifications of the concept of perceived practical support.

Although the study results showed the importance of social networks and community involvement, it is difficult for practitioners to create practical programs or services to enlarge migrant wives' social networks and involvements. For example, information such as social network's strength, types of social networks, or social relations' difficulties possibly caused by cultural differences can help practitioners to get ideas of developing strategies of enlarging social networks. In other words, migrant wives' voice can help researchers to capture how migrant wives try to expand community involvements or what will be the difficulties to get involved in community activities or social networks (e.g., hard to find out a way to access information such as community centers, jobs, or local events). That way, local community practitioners can develop and create a more practical program that reflected migrant wives' needs.

Similarly, the study showed quite opposite results in regards to migrant wives' perceived practical support from Korean husbands. Whereas perceived practical support in child-rearing increased migrant wives' life satisfaction ($\beta = .018, p < .001$), Korean husbands' involvement in household labor did not show any significant impact on migrant wives' life satisfaction at .05 level and rather it even negatively influenced migrant wives' life satisfaction at .10 level ($\beta = -.006, p < .10$) which was not supported in previous research and my hypothesis. Throughout in-depth interviews with migrant wives, researchers might listen to the answers why household labor was negatively associated with migrant wives' life satisfaction. For now, it is just assumed that housework is more familiar to migrant wives and more likely to be done by themselves when compared to child-care. If Korean husbands help out with the housework but make

negative expressions more often, migrant wives perhaps might not be happy with the help and may decide that it is better to manage the housework themselves.

Child-care, on the other hand, requires emotional and practical support from Korean husbands. In addition, migrant wives, who relatively are less familiar with Korean systems, might depend on their Korean husbands. For example, when a baby suddenly gets sick, she has to find a hospital near her home, and Korean husband can take them to the hospital. However, the above description is just one possible assumption. Thereby, migrant wives' descriptions can provide a fruitful information of why a certain result supports or does not support from previous research. That way, researchers are able to understand migrant wives' adaptation under the cultural context, and in this case, in the Korean context.

Next, although this study focused on established migrant wives, a more specified distinction between recently and established groups is suggested in order to investigate the unique needs of migrant wives at different stages. Depending on the length of residency, a two-group comparison between recently arrived and established groups can be separately studied. The associated factors to life satisfaction may be different by two groups, which need to be further investigated. This study also suggests using both positive and negative outcomes, rather than using one dependent variable.

Lastly, rather than national level approach, community-based approach is required in the next study in order to reflect and apply specific established multicultural families' needs to policies and practices. This is because regional conditions, depending on whether it is a big city or a countryside, might be different characteristics in terms of resources such as employment opportunities, types of service provisions, and social

networks. For example, a migrant wife who tries to get a job in the countryside might confront a real issue if there are fewer employment opportunities, a higher level of discrimination towards multicultural families, and less adequate service programs. Or, migrant wives who live in countryside experience difficulty in accessing the service provisions, possibly due to lack of public transportation, which requires completely different practical approaches and solutions to satisfy migrant wives' needs and finally enhance multicultural families' integration in Korean society. Particularly, evidence of reflective of regional characteristics on multicultural families can provide more effective strategies and approaches to community social work practitioners.

In sum, multicultural families in Korea have been an increasingly important phenomenon in Korean society. Investigating life satisfaction helps policymakers to promote immigrant populations' quality of life, thereby, the use of life satisfaction is increasingly advocated in public policy design. Likewise, assessing migrant wives' life satisfaction in Korean society is critical in that it reflects their evaluation of the host society (Fozdar, 2008; Maxwell, 2010, as cited in H.K. Lee, 2013).

Migrant wives' evaluation of their life satisfaction can be an indicator of how well they adjust in Korean society over time, and this study has particularly focused on migrant wives' later stage of adaptation. Based on the empirical findings related to migrant wives' life satisfaction in this study, several social work policies and practice implications for multicultural families, particularly focusing on migrant wives, were addressed. This study added an important contribution to current Korean policies and practices for multicultural families by highlighting the importance of the relationship between established migrant wives' work and family life and their life satisfaction.

Appendix A: 2012 National Multicultural Family Survey (Questionnaire)

2012 National Survey of Multicultural Families (1. Household Section)
Descriptions
<p>The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the National Statistical Office are conducting surveys on 「National Survey of Multicultural Families」 in order to identify the current life of multicultural families. The results are used as critical data in the establishment and evaluation of the policies relating to the multicultural families.</p> <p>This survey is conducted for multicultural families residing in the Republic of Korea in accordance with Article 4 of the Multicultural Family Support Act (Actual Survey). When enumerators visit your place during the survey period (July, 10th ~ July, 31st, 2012), we cordially request your full cooperation in the survey. Your sincere response will be highly appreciated.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> The data collected in this survey shall be kept strictly confidential according to Article 33 (Protection of Confidentiality) and Article 39 (Penalty) of Statistics Act, Korea in terms of the response contents and personal privacy.</p> <p>*Coverage section should be completed by enumerators only.</p> <p>*<i>Notes</i>: The questionnaire in this section was different from the original version. The questionnaire consisted of items only used in this dissertation. The original questionnaire was asked in Korean, and I translated items that included in the paper.</p>

Household Composition

Household Members

Respond to the following questions about household members who live in your home, mainly the married migrants and naturalized persons.

*If you have more than two nationalities, please check under your current nationality.

Household number	Relations with married migrants and naturalized persons	Gender	Date of Birth	Level of education	Nationality		Initial entry year	Marital status
					Current nationality * <input type="checkbox"/>	Nationality at birth		

1()								
2()								
3()								
4()								
5()								
6()								
7()								
8()								

<Relations with marriage migrants and naturalized persons>	<Gender>	<Initial entry year>
①Marriage migrants and naturalized persons (Questionnaire 2) ②Spouses who married immigrants and naturalized persons (Questionnaire 3)	①Male ②Female	①Not applicable ②() year
③Children of marriage migrants and naturalized persons (Questionnaire 4)	<Date of birth>	<Marital Status>
④Children's spouses of marriage migrants and naturalized persons ⑤Parents of marriage migrants and naturalized persons	____ Year ____ Month ____ Date	①Unmarried ②Having a spouse
⑥Parents of spouses who married immigrants and naturalized persons	<Education>	③Widowed
⑦Grandchildren of marriage migrants and naturalized persons	①Never attended school (Including preschool)	④Divorced
⑧Grandchildren's spouses of marriage migrants and naturalized persons	①Elementary School	
⑨Grandchildren's spouses of marriage migrants and naturalized persons	②Middle School	
⑩Grandparents of marriage migrants and naturalized persons	③High school	
⑪Grandparents of spouses who married immigrants and naturalized persons	④University (a two-year course college)	
⑫Siblings of spouses who married immigrants and naturalized persons	⑤University (a four-year-course college)	
⑬Siblings' spouses of spouses who married immigrants and naturalized persons	⑥More than a graduate school	
⑭Siblings' children of spouses who married immigrants and naturalized persons		
⑮Other ()		

Household Composition	Household: Living unit with one or two people staying together for living such as cooking or sleeping
	The number of household members is given in the order of meeting when investigator visits a household, and the relationship refers to a relationship with marriage migrants and naturalized persons
	* Household owner: a person who represents the household irrespective of family relations registration or family relationship in residence registration or householder
Initial Entry Year	The time of first entry into Korea for settlement or employment, excluding travel

Household Characteristics

Average Monthly Income

1. What is the monthly average income of households during the past year (January 1, 2011, ~ June 30, 2012)?

*Income is calculated from pre-tax income (including bonuses, property income, transfer income, etc.). (*Approximately, 1 dollar equals 1,070 Korean Won*)\

- ① below 500,000 Korean Won
- ② 500,000~ less than 1,000,000 Korean Won
- ③ 1,000,000~ less than 2,000,000 Korean Won
- ④ 2,000,000~ less than 3,000,000 Korean Won
- ⑤ 3,000,000~ less than 4,000,000 Korean Won
- ⑥ 4,000,000~ less than 5,000,000 Korean Won
- ⑦ 5,000,000~ less than 6,000,000 Korean Won
- ⑧ 6,000,000~ less than 7,000,000 Korean Won

⑨more than 7,000,000 Korean Won

Please fill in the name and contact number of the person who responded.

(The contact number is for inquiry if you have additional questions about the response and is not used for other purposes.)

Respondent's Name	Respondent contact number	
	Cellphone	() -
	House	() -

Thank you for your cooperation

2012 National Survey of Multicultural Families (2. Migrant Wives)
Descriptions
<p>The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the National Statistical Office are conducting surveys on 「National Survey of Multicultural Families」 in order to identify the current life of multicultural families. The results are used as critical data in the establishment and evaluation of the policies relating to the multicultural families.</p> <p>This survey is conducted for multicultural families residing in the Republic of Korea in accordance with Article 4 of the Multicultural Family Support Act (Actual Survey). When enumerators visit your place during the survey period (July, 10th ~ July, 31st, 2012), we cordially request your full cooperation in the survey. Your sincere response will be highly appreciated.</p> <p>■ The data collected in this survey shall be kept strictly confidential according to Article 33 (Protection of Confidentiality) and Article 39 (Penalty) of Statistics Act, Korea in terms of the response contents and personal privacy.</p> <p>*Coverage section should be completed by enumerators only.</p> <p>*Notes: The questionnaire in this section was different from the original version. The questionnaire consisted of items only used in this dissertation. The original questionnaire was asked in Korean, and I translated items that included in the paper.</p>

Married Life and Family Relationship

Marital Status

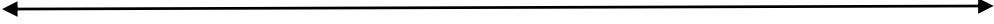
1. Which of the following is your current marital status?

- ① Unmarried
- ② Having a spouse
- ③ Widowed
- ④ Divorced · Separation

Division of Household Labor

2. Who do you usually do in your household? Please select the appropriate number for each question.

1) Housework	2) Child Care	(o) Not Applicable



①
I do myself

②

③
Do it equally divided


④

⑤
My spouse does it

Decision Making

3. Who in your family usually decides on the following tasks listed in the example? Please select the appropriate number for each question.

1) Child education	2) Property management	3) Spending on living expenses	(o) Not Applicable



①
I completely decide myself

②


③
Decide equally

④

⑤
My spouse completely decides

Relationship Satisfaction with Husbands

4. How satisfied are you with your relationship with your spouse? Please select the appropriate number for each question.

					
①	②	③	④	⑤	(o) Not Applicable
Very Satisfied		Neutral		Very Dissatisfied	

Social Life and Supporting Services

Social Network

1. Who are you with in the following situations? Please select all (except family).

	Persons from the same country	Korean	Other foreigners	No one	N.A
1) A person to discuss when something is wrong with you or your family	①	②	③	④	/
2) A person who discusses a job	①	②	③	④	○
3) A person to discuss the child's education	①	②	③	④	○
4) A person who joins together with hobby	①	②	③	④	/

Participation

2. Have you participated in any of the following meetings or activities?

Parents' meeting at child's school	Meeting with the same ethnic friends	Community activities	Volunteer, hobby activities	Group activities (private organizations, political parties, trade unions, etc.)
<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Not Applicable	<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No

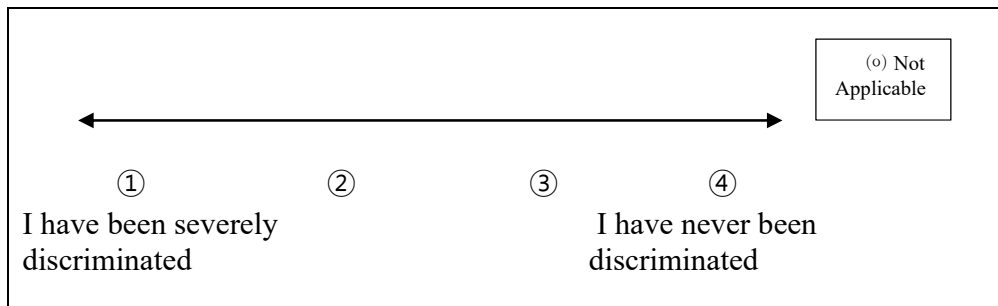
Social Discrimination Experience

3. Have you ever been discriminated against or ignored as a foreigner while living in Korea?

Yes

3-1. How much did you discriminate in the following places? Please select the appropriate number for each question.

In the street or neighborhood	In the shops, restaurants, banks, etc.	Public institution (from the government office police station)	At Work / Work	At schools or child care facilities



②No

Economic Activity Status

Economic Activity

1. Have you worked more than one hour to earn money **during the past week (July 1 - July 7, 2012)** or worked more than 18 hours in a family-run shop, factory, or farm without receiving any money?

* If you have worked for more than one hour and got paid throughout a side job or a part-time job, it means ‘you worked’.

①Worked → go to question 1-1., 1-2., 1-3., 1-4.

②I did not work.

1-1. What is the main thing you are doing?

1)Working Department	
2)Position (position)	
3)The type of work you are doing	

1-2. How many hours did you work **during the past week (July 1 ~ July 7, 2012)** in the workplace?

_____ hours

1-3. What is the employment status?

①Regular employee

(Workers with a term of employment of one year or more, those who do not specify a contract term but who are expected to continue working if they are hired as regular employees)

② Temporary employee

(Workers whose employment term is at least one month but less than one year)

③ Daily worker (Workers whose employment term is less than one month)

④ Employer (Those who hire one or more employees who work continuously)

⑤ Own-account worker

(Those who do not hire a continuously working employee but work alone or with unpaid family workers)

⑥ Unpaid family worker

(Those who is a family member or a relative of a self-employed person and who is engaged in a business for 18 hours or more per week without receiving wages)

1-4. What is the biggest difficulty you have felt while you are working in Korea?

Please select only one.

① Difficult to communicate in Korean

② A hard and dangerous job

③ Too much longer working time

- ④Receive a little money
- ⑤Conflicts with your boss or colleagues
- ⑥Discrimination against foreigners
- ⑦Child-care
- ⑧Difficulty in doing with housework
- ⑨Other()
- ⊙Not much difficulty

Other General Information

Korean Proficiency

1. How fluent is your Korean? Please select the appropriate number for each question.

1)Speaking	2)Listening	3)Reading	4)Writing

①
Very Good
②
③
Average
④
⑤
Very Poor

Life Satisfaction

2. When you consider life as a whole, how satisfied are you with your present life?

Please mark the corresponding number.

A horizontal scale for life satisfaction. It consists of a long horizontal line with arrows at both ends. Below the line, five points are marked with circled numbers: ①, ②, ③, ④, and ⑤. Below the number ① is the text "Very Satisfied". Below the number ③ is the text "Neutral". Below the number ⑤ is the text "Very Dissatisfied".

Thank you for your cooperation

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Curriculum Vitae

Hyemin Son

EDUCATION

- PhD Indiana University – Purdue University, Indianapolis
Dissertation: Established multicultural families' work and life: The impact of employment and perceived Korean husbands' practical support on migrant wives' life satisfaction
- M.A
2010 Seoul National University, Korea
Dissertation: The impact of labor market participation period on the quality of jobs: Focusing on types of occupation (in Korean)
- B.A
2007 Dongduk Women's University, Korea

CURRENT CERTIFICATES

- 2008 Licensed Social Worker (1st grade)
Korea Society of Social Welfare, Seoul, Korea
- 2008 Licensed Child Care Teacher (1st grade)
Korea Child Care Agency, Seoul, Korea

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

- 2014-2015 Korea Labor Institute, Se-jong, Korea
Research Assistant
Responsibilities included for conducting data analysis, writing results for publications, and conducting translation
- 2012-2014 Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis
Research Assistant
Responsibilities included developing a questionnaire, developing presentations for symposia and conference, collecting data, and analyzing data
- 2009 Seoul Cyber University, Seoul, Korea
Teaching Assistant
Course
Introduction to Social Welfare

PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

- Presentations
Son, H. (2014, April). Examining Acculturation in Korea: Multicultural families' acculturation strategy and adaptation. The

18th Annual Ph.D. Spring Symposium, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.

Lin, I-H., & Son, H. (2014, March). Perceived community opportunity, social support, and civic engagement of older adults. BPD Annual Conference in Louisville, KY.

Chen, H., Lin, I-H., & Son, H. (2012, April). The civic engagement of older adults in Indianapolis: Influence of individual, community, and social factors. The 16th Annual Ph.D. Spring Symposium, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.

Publications

Son, H. (2007), A study on meaning and issues of social investment strategy as alternative welfare model. *Monthly Welfare Trends*, 108, 38-42. (in Korean)

RESEARCH PROJECTS

- 2014-2015 Korea Labor Institute, Se-jong, Korea
A study on the reform plan of public employment service delivery system
A study on the development plan for the supply and demand of Korea's marine industry
- 2012-2014 Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis
Measuring Generalist Practice Skills in Social Work: Instrument Development and Validation) (PI: Dr. Cathy King Pike)
Service Needs for Burmese Refugees in Indianapolis (PI: Hea-won Kim)
Civic Engagement of Older Adults in Indianapolis: Influence of Individual, Community, and Social Factors) (PI: Hea-won Kim)
- 2008 Seoul National University & Social Welfare Research Center
Hope-start program (PI: Bong-Ju, Lee)
- 2004 Dongduk Women's University & People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, Seoul, Korea
A month-long campaign for research assistance and minimum living expenses (PI: Gi-Cheol, Nam)

PROFESSIONAL INTERNSHIPS

- 2009 Banpo Social Welfare Center, Seoul, Korea
Practicum
Thesis: The relative deprivation of low-income children and the role of community care centers

2006 E-Land Wolgok Social Welfare Center, Seoul, Korea
Practicum

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

2006 YWCA, Seoul, Korea

2004-2005 People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, Seoul, Korea

2003 Seong-buk Community Center, Seoul, Korea