

Change and Challenge of Korean Family in the Era of Globalization: Centering Transnational Families

Kyounghee Kim*

I . Introduction: Globalization, Transnationalism and Transnational Families

This study examines issues and trends of transnational families, focusing on the phenomena of cross-border marriages and “wild goose family” (*kirogi kajok*) which have been emerging in the context of globalizing Korea.

Although there have been many debates revolving around the concept of globalization, it is generally understood as the process of increasing density and depth of economic and social interdependency with the development of transportation and communication technology and the global movement of capital and information (Carrington, 2001). While most of the discussions on globalization tend to concentrate on political and economic realms, there are a few in-depth analyses about relationship between globalization and everyday lives including family (Ziehl, 2003). Exceptionally, a few discussions on globalization and family can be found from European scholars like Giddens and Castells. Giddens argued that globalization demands a new definition for understanding private aspects in life such as family, gender role, sexuality and individual identity (Giddens, 2002). Castells forecasted that the traditional family with its basis on patriarchal family order would be challenged and the family would be changed into various forms of families formed by personal networks in the information society, closely relating to the globalization process (Castells, 1997). Although they give us an insight to understand macro tendency of family change in Western countries in the globalization process, they did not show diversity and details of influences of globalization on the family.

Recently, much research has paid attention to micro politics operating within family and household and social practice of the family at the transnational level (Yeoh et al., 2005). These studies understand the phenomenon of increasing global interaction of the family as transnationalism.¹⁾

Transnationalism is a theoretical standpoint with its interest in the movement within

*Associate professor at Chung-Ang University, Department of Sociology.

1) See for research on transnational families in Asian countries, *Global Networks* 5(4), 2005.

transnational space in the era of globalization, criticizing existing discussions on globalization for understanding the phenomenon of global interaction from one aspect, through separations of center-periphery; global-regional; and modern-traditional (Basche et al., 1994). Even though the concepts of transnationalism and globalization overlap in some aspects, they are defined differently.²⁾

From a transnational perspective, the family is a very flexible unit reconstructed by moving and crossing national borders instead of being restricted to one country of origin. This can be called transnational family. In the era of globalization, the meaning of migration as well as citizenship, community and region has been reconstructed. Migrants no longer settle eternally at one place to move from another; people maintain social relationships simultaneously in all places while gradually moving to multiple places for various periods of time as well as going back and forth between varieties of communities (Appadurai, 1997).

Looking at Korean society, changes of family in the era of globalization is obvious. Visible changes of family recently can be observed from the phenomena such as increasing of wild goose family as a split family for children's oversea education, increasing of marriage migration of Asian women to Korea, abolition of the Family-head System which had sustained a patriarchy in Korea, establishment of family policy which did not exist before, aging and low birth rate, late marriage and increment of single households. Even though the family has been endlessly changing along with social changes since long before, the fact that wild goose family and marriage migration are shaping at the transnational level crossing national borders, are considered to be very important phenomenon in understanding the relationship between globalization and family.

Transnational family comes from a coherent strategy to minimize danger of family and maximize benefits in transnational topography, craving for better future and pursuing special family project (Yeoh et al., 2005; Waters, 2005). Such family strategy appears not in a same way, but in complex ways, intricately interweaving with class, gender, ethnicity and the state in the era of globalization. Wild goose family represents a family strategy in

2) Basche et al. defined globalization as a phenomenon disseminating to various domains from certain center nation whereas transnationalism is a phenomenon crossing borders of nation states (Basche et al., 1994). Similarly, Gurarmizo and Smith define transnationalism to be in no need of center-periphery classification because the relations exceeding national borders maintain as agents are at anchor in many places, while globalization process is expanding to the periphery from the certain center. They classified transnationalism into 'transnationalism from below' and 'transnationalism from above'. They argued that globalization process has a close relationship with transnationalism from above; and transnationalism from below appears at the micro socio-cultural level like network, marriage relationship, remittance and gift delivery taking place during the migration process of individual and family (Gurarmizo and Smith, 1998).

which middle and higher class families pursue to maximize resource and opportunities in global economic system through children's oversea education. On the other hand, poor transnational families are reproducing their families in unequal global economy and transnational division of labor. Many women in poor nations are leaving for advance countries to search jobs like care workers and domestic workers or to marry. Marriage migration represents a family strategy in which women of poor nations leave for rich countries to escape economic hardships and to desire for class mobility (Charsley and Shaw, 2006; Yeoh et al., 2005).

From this background, this study will discuss transnational families of middle class and low class in Korea, which offers opportunities to examine the impact of globalization on family. The present study, though not an empirical research, tries to share research interests and future research topics regarding changes of family in the era of globalization.

II. Transnational Family Strategy of Koeran Middle Class: Wild Goose Family (*Kirogi kajok*)

1. Definition and Statistics of Wild Goose Family

Wild goose family is the term referred to as "a split-household transnational family"³⁾ in which mother and children are overseas for children's education while father stays in Korea, working and financially supporting their family, started being used in Korean society after mid 1990s. This term is derived from the symbolic meaning of the bird, wild goose. Wild goose is the gift given to a couple, wishing for eternal love at Korean traditional wedding and the bird has been recognized as a very devoted bird sacrificing oneself for children.

The phenomenon of 'early studying abroad' of elementary, middle, and high school students began to appear from the mid 1990s in Korea. Especially after 2000, when the Korean government took the liberalization measure for early study abroad in the stream of globalization, the number of students for early study abroad increased rapidly. According to the statistics of the Education Ministry in 2007, the number of students from elementary to high school leaving for foreign countries was 27,668, which were approximately 15 times more than 1,839 students in 1999. Over the past 5 years, the number of the students increased 176% from 10,132 in 2002 to 27,668 in 2007. The statistics shows that there were more elementary school students than middle or high school students leaving for foreign countries to study abroad.

From the table 2, preferred destinations for early study abroad were the United States,

3) This term is quoted from Yeoh et al. (2005) p. 308.

Kyounghee Kim

<table 1> Students Abroad by School (Unit: Number)⁴⁾

Year	Elementary School	Middle School	High School	Total
2002	3,464	3,301	3,367	10,132
2003	4,052	3,674	2,772	10,498
2004	6,276	5,568	4,602	16,446
2005	8,148	6,670	5,582	20,400
2006	13,814	9,246	6,451	29,511
2007	12,341	9,201	6,126	27,668

* excluded students who were accompanied with parents for migration and dispatch

Southeast Asia, China, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In 2007, there were 14,006 students leaving for the United States, 7,421 for Southeast Asia, 6,880 for China, 5,453 for Canada, 2,030 for Australia and 1,833 for New Zealand. In recent years, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore where English is used and international schools exist have attracted many families. In the early 2000s, most of students studying abroad came from high income professional families such as professors, doctors, lawyers, executives, etc. But as the importance of English proficiency for university entrance has increased in recent years, the phenomenon has disseminated to lower middle class families. To describe the phenomenon of the lower class families sending their children overseas for education, the word, “penguin daddy” was coined. Penguin daddies work in lower income jobs for many years without seeing their wives and children while wild goose daddies can afford the occasional plane ticket to visit their families overseas.

Similar cases of middle class family’s transnational strategy can be found in other Asian countries; for example, satellite kids and the astronaut family. Satellite kids are teenagers

<table 2> 2007 Year Departure for Early Studying Abroad by Nation⁵⁾

Category	Total	USA	Japan	France	Germany	Spain	China	Canada	Australia
Number (%)	43,415 (100.0)	14,006 (32.2)	810 (1.9)	126 (0.3)	252 (0.6)	59 (0.1)	6,880 (15.8)	5,453 (12.6)	2,030 (4.7)
Category	New Zealand	Russia	UK	Middle East	South East	Latin America	Uncertain	Other	
Number (%)	1,833 (4.2)	179 (0.4)	568 (1.3)	210 (0.5)	7,421 (17.1)	431 (1.0)	1,470 (3.4)	1,687 (3.9)	

* included students who were accompanied with parents for migration and dispatch

4) Data from <http://mailzine.chedi.re.kr> Forum on Education Policies, “Departure for Studying Abroad of Students from Elementary to High school”.

5) Data from <http://mailzine.chedi.re.kr> Forum on Education Policies, “Departure for Studying Abroad of Students from Elementary to High school”.

who came to Canada from Hong Kong or Taiwan during the 1990s and live with siblings in a house their parents purchased. Soon after they let their children settle down, the parents went back to the country of origin to work, sending money for living and educational expenses to their children to Canada and visiting Canada once or twice during the year. The astronaut family is a family type arranged in the way that the man of the household (the astronaut) returns to Asia shortly after immigration to work and leaves his spouse and children in Canada. He visits periodically for family union in Canada after spending up to six months at a time away from his family (Waters, 2003: 220).

Overall, wild goose family is positioned in the context of transnational family strategies of middle class East Asian families to adapt global environment through children's oversea education.

2. Education as a Means for Class Reproduction of Middle Class

Korean wild goose family can be said as a transnational family strategy representing a transformed and re-shaped the ideology of familism in the context of globalization in order to pursue class differentiation. Several factors which are intricately interwoven have affected this transnational family strategy: globalization, the ideology of familism, and the importance of education as a means for social reproduction of the middle class family.

The family strategy of wild goose family was formed in the context of the globalization process characterized by dissemination of neo-liberal capitalism. The neo-liberal market emphasizing competitiveness and individualism has polarized the labor force between core workers and peripheral workers. The globalization process has also made English a hegemonic language in the world (S-k Kim, 2007). To be a core worker in the global labor market requires a globally competent person with English proficiency. Thus, central to acquiring cultural capital is studying abroad in English speaking countries. In addition, "exam hell" and the declining quality of public schools have caused parents to choose a split family for the sake of children's education overseas. Parents tend to believe that studying abroad at an early age makes their children competent in English and gives them an advantage in Korea's competitive education and labor market in the global environment. They also think that studying abroad might be an effective choice because private tuition and fees for cram schools are very expensive.

The families who afford overseas expenses are from the newly wealthy middle class who have emerged out of Korean economic growth from 1980s. For them, education is pivotal for social mobility. They strategically move and transnationalize their family to fulfill specific projects for family success in the long term, adapting to a changing world. Similar strategies of the middle class families in other Asian countries as well as in Korea to secure a better future have been related to the project of educating the children (Waters,

2002, 2003, 2005). She, in her several articles, shows well that Hong Kong Chinese middle class families have enacted familial tactic to acquire symbolic capital with international value through educating children overseas and it is a means to reproduce the social status and mobility of the family.

Another significant factor which makes wild goose family possible can be found from the feature of the ideology of familism in Korea. Although most of Korean family takes a nuclear family in the form, this is characterized by child-oriented family based on strong ideology of familism, rather than by couple-oriented. The ideology of familism in Korea has been a mechanism to maximize benefit of family through economic, emotional support and investment for family member. It has intensified or changed along with historical experiences in modern Korea like colonization, Korean war and industrialization (J Paik, 2007). In this process, the state did not afford social welfares and thus, family became a unit which undertook charges for all functions like welfare and economic survival, having developed and intensified the ideology of familism in an instrumental and selfish way. In particular, excessive investment for children's education represents a practice of such instrumental familism to pursue family's success for the future.

3. Issues of Transnational Family Strategy of Middle Class: Reconfiguration of Family dynamics and Global Citizenship

Over the past few years, wild goose family became one of major issues paid attention by media. Media coverage of wild goose families revealed the hardships of some of these families such as deviation of wild goose mothers and maladjustment of children overseas and in particular how wild goose fathers go through financial and psychological difficulties in Korea. Thus, wild goose family became an issue enough to spread a discourse of family crisis and raise relative deprivation of people who cannot send their children overseas.

The phenomenon of *kirogi* family seems to be paradoxical in that the family strategy is possible at the expense or sacrifice of family members. Husbands and wives are willing to separate and children have to experience the absence of their fathers. They all sacrifice the intimacy of family. Regarding this feature, Cho mentioned that wild goose family is "a weak family child-oriented and based on instable conjugal relations in order to pursue stable future of the family (U Cho, 2006)." In a similar vein, Choi in her study on wild goose fathers, also argued that such family is sustainable only through separation of family members (Choi, 2006).

Wild goose parents are demanded a new gender roles in the era of globalization. As Cho, in her research on the split Korean families composed of children and mother in the US argued, "the basic requirement for being a *kirogi kajok* is a composition of a mother who can speak English and a father who can provide sufficient financial support (Cho,

2006:159).” Sacrificial mothers who accompany their children overseas are willing to forego everything for the sake of their children’s educational goals and family success (S-K Kim, 2007; Cho, 2006; Waters, 2003). Fathers get to intensify their identities as breadwinners to sufficiently support their family overseas. In this sense, the transnational family appears to bring about the reconfiguration of family system.

Another issue raised in the phenomenon of wild goose family is about global citizenship and the future of the family. Actually, wild goose family is under experiment. Children of wild goose family as core members in practicing a transnational family strategy are not only Korean citizens but also transnational citizens. They would acquire or pursue to get citizenship from the countries residing if family project proceeds in the long term. Even after acquiring citizenship, they would keep economic, social, and emotional relations with home country. This appears to be different from the meaning of traditional citizenship emphasizing loyalty and identity for a nation. In the era of globalization, the citizenship is crossing borders of nations. Possessing multiple passports, transnational family comes to be able to accumulate economic and cultural capital (Waters, 2005). This phenomenon forecasts the emergence of ‘flexible citizenship’ which makes hybrid identities and existence capable of moving both physically and geographically possible (Ong, 1999).

III. Cross-border marriage: Marriage Migration

1. Definition and Statistics of Marriage Migration

This chapter discusses cross-border marriages as another transnational family strategy.

Since the mid 1990s, family-forming migration through cross-border marriages has increased in Asian countries including Korea. Cross-border marriages in Asia as well as international labor migration has become an important stream of the globalized migration.

Cross-border marriage represents one of transnational family strategies of low class derived from inequality in the global economy dependent on a transnational division of labor. To escape from economic hardship under the condition of uneven development, Asian women choose cross-border marriages as one of flexible family strategies (Wang and Chang, 2002: 94).

It appears to be new in that rapidly increasing international marriage since the mid 1990s transforms a conventional marriage custom that interethnic marriage was considered as ideal in the past.

Over the past ten years from 1997 to 2007, the number of international marriages increased approximately 20 times more compared to 12,448 cases in 1997. The proportion of international marriages in the total cases of marriages gradually increased from 3.2% in 1997 and reached at the peak, 13.6% in 2005. The proportion gradually decreased to 11.1%

<table 3> Number of Marriage Migrants by Year

(Unit: Number, %)

Year	Total Number of Marriage	International Marriage		Foreign Wife		Foreign Husband	
		No. of Marriage	Ratio	No. of Marriage	Ratio	No. of Marriage	Ratio
1997	388,591	12,448	3.2	9,266	2.4	3,182	0.8
1998	375,616	12,188	3.2	8,054	2.1	4,134	1.1
1999	362,673	10,570	2.9	5,775	1.6	4,795	1.3
2000	334,030	12,319	3.7	7,304	2.2	5,015	1.5
2001	320,063	15,234	4.8	10,006	3.1	5,228	1.6
2002	306,573	15,913	5.2	11,017	3.6	4,896	1.6
2003	304,932	25,658	8.4	19,214	6.3	6,444	2.1
2004	310,944	35,447	11.4	25,594	8.2	9,853	3.2
2005	316,375	43,121	13.6	31,180	9.9	11,941	3.8
2006	332,752	39,690	11.9	30,208	9.1	9,482	2.8
2007	345,592	38,491	11.1	29,140	8.4	9,351	2.7
1997 ~2007	3,698,141	261,079	7.1	186,758	5.1	74,321	2.0

Data: Statistics Korea, 2008, Population Trend (Marriage), quoted from Ministry of Administration and Security, 2008. 5

in 2007. In 2007, the proportion of marriages with foreign women among the total international marriages is about 3 times higher than that of marriages with foreign men.

Looking at the trend of international marriage by nations, out of international marriages, the proportion of marriage to foreign women was 72%. Most of the foreign brides came from developing countries in East and South Asia. Over three quarters of these are from China, Vietnam and Japan. The proportion of marriage to women from China was 66.2% (20,635), from Vietnam 18.7% (5,822), and from Japan 4.0% (1,255). In particular, marriages to women from Vietnam increased 136.5% in 2005 compared to the numbers in 2004, while the number of Chinese women increased 11.1% compared to the previous year.

Cross-border marriage has been a widespread phenomenon in other Asian countries as well as in Korea (Davin, 2007; Suzuki, 2003; Wang and Chang, 2002; Burgess, 2004). In Japan, mass immigrant marriage partners have come from the Philippines, Korea, China, Taiwan, and other South-East Asian countries since the 1980s. In 1990s, the number of female migrant partners came to Japan increased 5 times more than that in 1980s (Wang and Chang, 2002: 94). In 2000, one in 22 (4.5%) of all marriages involved a non-Japanese.

Change and Challenge of Korean Family in the Era of Globalization

<table 4> Number of Immigrant Women Married to Korean Men by Country

(Unit: number, %)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Proportion	Proportion of Change
Total	7,304	10,006	11,017	19,214	25,594	31,180	100.0	21.8
China	3,586	7,001	7,041	13,373	18,527	20,635	66.2	11.4
Vietnam	95	134	476	1,403	2,462	5,822	18.7	136.5
Japan	1,131	976	959	1,242	1,224	1,255	4.0	2.5
Philippines	1,358	510	850	944	964	997	3.2	3.4
Mongolia	77	118	195	318	504	561	1.8	11.3
Uzbekistan	43	66	183	329	247	333	1.1	34.8
U.S.A	235	265	267	323	344	285	0.9	-17.2
Thailand	270	185	330	346	326	270	0.9	-17.2
Other	509	751	716	936	996	1,022	3.3	2.6

Data from Presidential Advisory Committee on Poverty and Discrimination, 2006, Current Status of Marriage Immigrant Women's Families. (in Korean)

In absolute numbers, this represents a 500 per cent increase over 20 years (Burgess, 2004: 225). Similarly, over the past ten years, more than 300,000 women from Southeast Asia and Mainland China have migrated into Taiwan (Sheu, 2007: 179).

2. Dimensions of Cross-border Marriages: Class, Ethnicity, the State and Gender

Although marriage migration already has proceeded through out a century, the recent marriage migration prompted by cross-border marriages of women from Asian nations can be seen as a new phenomenon emerging in the era of globalization. Understanding this new feature of marriage migration requires to explore intricate relations between class, gender, ethnicity, and the state in the process of globalization.

In the beginning of the 20th century, it was general for single male migrant workers to bring wives from their home land through photo exchange. So the term 'picture bride' was recognized as the pronoun of international marriage. At that time, an international marriage through picture bride was a family strategy to maintain ethnic homogeneity and also to solve the difficulty in finding partners in foreign marriage market due to low status of male migrant workers. In other hand, receiving countries institutionalized such picture bride with the intention of protecting native women from migrated male workers from underdeveloped countries (H Kim, 2006).

Since 1980s, marriage migration in Asia, however, has been changing from interethnic marriage to multi-national one (Yoon, 2008; Wang and Chang, 2002; H-S Kim, 2008). This

change is linked to the change of government's migration and diplomatic policies. Marriage migration in Korea started with international marriage between Japanese woman and Korean man through a religious organization, Unification Church in 1980s. From the early 1990s established Korea-China diplomatic contract, Korean government began to allow employment migration from Asian countries and after then, marriage migration of Chinese Koreans and Hans in China increased. After abolishing Korea-China memorandum on July 1st 2003, international marriage with Chinese Korean has been increasing more rapidly because the legislature for international marriage between Chinese and Korean was amended to allow marriage registration in any country, Korea or China (Presidential Advisory Committee on Poverty and Discrimination, 2006). Since the mid 1990s, female marriage partners began to come from Philippines, Thailand, Mongolia, Vietnam and Russia to Korea.

Most of the migrant women for marriage to Korea are from developing countries, where are experiencing domestic economic restructuring due to the pressure of global economic restructuring resulted in massive unemployment and poverty of poor agricultural workers. In this process, women are choosing marriage migration as a means to escape economic hardship because it is considered as a legitimate method with relatively low cost and economic profit. In addition, international marriage market has intensively been commodified because marriage recruiters, lawyers, travel agencies, brokers plays the role of "important gatekeepers in global migration process whether it is illegal or legal (Wang and Chang, 2002:94)." Such increase of international marriage is recognized as "a new phenomenon to create great profit in the process of organized movement of women in large scale to solve local unbalance of potential marriage population (H Kim, 2006:11)."

Even in receiving countries, marriage migration is considered as a strategy to reproduce the family of poor men in rural areas. As agriculture was degraded as a peripheral industry starting from 1990s, men in rural area were placed in very disadvantageous position in marriage market. It is noteworthy that such strategy has been supported and progressed by the government program, 'marriage project for rural bachelors' in 1990s. Local governments recognized marriage migration as means to solve domestic unbalance of marriage demand and supply as well as low childbirth problem. Among overall marriages of 8,027 cases of agriculture and fishery workers in 2005, the number of international marriage was 2,885, which took up one third of the overall marriages. Family formed through an international marriage became a new family type of farming and fishing communities.

Whereas marriage migration was devised mostly to reproduce family of rural community until the mid 1990s, marriage migration to urban region has been increasing since the late 1990s. As low birth rate in Korea becomes a serious social problem,

Change and Challenge of Korean Family in the Era of Globalization

<table 5> Number of Immigrant Women Married to Rural Men by Country

(Unit: number, %)

	2004	2005
Total	1,814 (100.0)	2885 (100.0)
Vietnam	560 (30.9)	1535 (53.2)
China	879 (48.5)	984 (34.1)
Philippine	195 (10.7)	198 (6.9)
Other	180 (9.9)	168 (5.8)

Data from Presidential Advisory Committee on Poverty and Discrimination, 2006, Current Status of Marriage Immigrant Women's Families. (in Korean)

marriage migration started to be used as a means to solve the problem. However, there occurred problems that marriage qualification could not be controlled and subjectivities of Korean men and human rights of female foreign partners were neglected. Excessive involvement of matchmaking agencies and brokers pursuing commercial profits has deepened these problems. They have been abusing international marriage as means for remarriage of problematic men. According to the survey result of the reality of marriage migration conducted by Ministry of Health and Welfare in 2005, many migrant women were suffering from domestic violence and discord with members of family-in-law as well as husband's emotional instability. The survey result shows that people incapable of marriage due to alcoholic, abnormal sexual behavior, habitual violence put into the international marriage market.⁶⁾ Some of international marriage ended up in divorce. The divorce rate of these couples from 2003 to 2004 increased 176.3% and increased 51.7% in 2005, 64.1% in 2006, and 44.5% in 2007, compared to the previous years.⁷⁾

Hardships female migrant partners are experiencing in their family lives appears to be inconsistent with recent postmodern tendency of Korean families like marriage postpone or avoidance, no child, equal and intimate partnership. In some sense, marriage migration would play a role in reproducing a patriarchal family on the other side. Hyun Mee Kim in her research on cross-border marriage of Vietnamese women argued that commercialization of international marriage, promoted by rapidly increasing marriage brokers and agencies in Korea and Vietnam, reinforces hierarchy between Korean male and Vietnamese wife because Korean men assume they buy obedient and young wives.

Migration policy of Korea has a some what exclusive and patriarchal characteristic that does not grant migrants full citizenship. Experiencing economic crisis in late 1990s, the

6) As for domestic violence experienced by female migrants, lingual violence (31%) was the most common, and there were physical violence (26.5%), sexual violence (23.1%), threatening (18.4%).

7) Data from 2008 Population Statistics collected by Ministry of Administration and Security.

Korean government started accepting migrant workers to meet labor shortage with an anti-settlement policy to accept only single migrants without family. However, marriage migrants are different from migrant workers in that they became the first migrant settlers who could form family. Yet their domestic settlement is only permitted as the dependants of Korean citizen. As Korean Nationality Act was revised in 1998, a foreign national wife came to be able to apply for naturalization once she has resided in the territory of Korea for more than 2 years in total with the permission of their spouse. Nevertheless, such Korean Nationality Act has been abused as a means for Korean man to control foreign wife in the process of commercialized international marriage. The husband or family-in-law often hesitates to apply for the naturalization of foreign wife in order to control her. After all, the patriarchal national law does not give migration women full citizenship.

3. Prospect for a Multi-cultural Society

Marriage migrants are forming multi-cultural families, which are created by partners with different nationalities and cultures. However, Korean society still demands foreign female marriage partners to adapt to Korean culture and norms rather than tolerating multi-cultural aspects of the family. According to the survey result of Ministry of Health and Welfare, the biggest hardships for marriage migrants are language problems and discomfort caused by cultural difference in their lives. The survey results also show that many children from multi-cultural families have been experiencing early social isolation due to 'discrimination' and 'elimination' from attitudes of teachers and textbook which do not tolerate multi-culture.

As multi-cultural families are increasing gradually, it is necessary to recognize women migrants are not passive people adjusting to national inequality and patriarchal hierarchy, but active agents to attempt to maintain both cultural and social identity with home land and identity as citizen of the nation emigrated to and they live in transnational space rather than in certain nation. Although negative aspects of marriage migration are brought out at the present, it is rather hasty to diagnose that all migrated families have problems; it is still in experimental stage of finding out whether the multi-cultural families formed by them have the potential of cracking patriarchal family order. Such crack would be possible through empowerment of female migrants, acceptance of multi-culture as well as change in instrumental migration policies of the government. In particular, the government has to get rid of the instrumental perspective of marriage migration only for solving reproduction problems. Social rights and empowerment of women migrants and their children have to be considered as more important social issue. Korean society could respond change and challenge of family in the era of globalization through transnational way of thinking.

Overall, the phenomenon of marriage migration argued so far calls for reconsideration

of the meaning of marriage and family, social rights, immigration integration into the Korean society from the expanded perspective considering relations between class, ethnicity, global economy, gender.

IV. Conclusion

This study has discussed trends and issues of wild goose family and cross-border marriages of Korea as transnational family strategies to figure out challenge and change of family in the era of globalization.

This concluding chapter will suggest future research topics raised from the major argument of this study.

Korean wild goose family can be understood as a transnational family strategy of middle class for reproducing their class, based on strong Korean ideology of familism in the globalization process. The phenomenon of wild goose family highlights the importance of education, as the most important cultural capital for social reproduction of middle and higher class. On the other hand, marriage migration can be understood as family strategy chosen by women from poor countries in Southeast Asia, to pursue class mobility and to economic well-being.

Marriage migration appears to be new in the sense recent marriage migration forms multi-cultural family created by migrants with different ethnicities and cultures, unlike interethnic marriage for the past century. However, there still is prevalent ethno-centric attitudes towards multi-cultural families in Korea, a receiving country. Future research and policy concern need to examine how Korean society would change, along with increasing of multi-cultural families. Children from wild goose family show the possibility of growing up as transnational citizens with multiple identities in transnational space. However, it is difficult to judge what identities transnational citizen would have and how one would act cross national borders. This would also be a future research topic as well as a social issue.

The phenomena of wild goose family and marriage migration have been reconfiguring family system surrounding gender roles, couple relationship, children-parents relationship and such. As discussed earlier, wild goose family appears to be contradictory, for it is paradoxically based on sacrifice within family members. Mother and father are demanded with new gender roles as children supporters necessary for global education. Also spouses and children are willing to live separately, sacrificing intimacy of family. While Korean family has been changing in post modern way in one hand, marriage migrated women are linked to reproduction of traditional patriarchal family on the other hand. Further analysis on how these transnational families would reconstruct patriarchal system is left as a future

research subject.

Since this study is not an empirical research, it shows the limitation of not being able to analyze more detailed contents of these families. Thus, empirical research about micro politics and practices surrounding transnational family needs to be carried out in the future. Moreover, there need comparative studies on transnational families among East Asian countries with similar, yet different experiences of family in the era of globalization.

References

- Appadurai, A. (1997) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minnesota Press.
- Basch, L., N. Blick, N., and C. Blanc (1994) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, Basle: Gordon & Breach.
- Burgess, Chris (2004) '(Re)constructing Identities: International Marriage Migrants as Potential Agents of Social Change in a Globalising Japan,' *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 28.
- Carrington, Victoria, 'Globalization, Family and Nation State: Reframing "Family" in New Times,' *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, vol. 22(2).
- Castells, M. (1997) *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. vol. I The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford: Polity Press.
- Charsley, Katharine and Alison Shaw (2006) 'South Asian Transnational Marriages in Comparative Perspective,' *Global Networks*, vol. 6(4).
- Cho, Uhn (2005) 'Korean Families on the Forefront of Globalization: A Case Study on New Global Family with Mother and Children,' *Economy and Society*, vol. 64(winter), Korean Association of Industrial Sociology. (in Korean)
- Choi, Yang-Suk (2006), 'The Phenomenon of "Geese-Families" : Marital Separation between Geese-fathers and Geese-mothers,' *Journal of Family and Culture* 18(2): 37-65.
- Davin, Delia (2007) 'Marriage Migration in China and East Asia,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 16(50).
- Giddens, A. (2002) *Runway World-How Globalisation Is Reshaping Our Lives*, London: Profile Books.
- Guarmizo, L. and M. Smith (1998) 'The Locations of Transnationalism,' in Smith, M. and L. Guarmizo, *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Kim, Hye-Soon (2008) 'Migrant Brides and Making of a Multicultural Society: Sociological Approach to Recent Discourse on Multicultural Korea,' *Korean Journal of Sociology* 42(2): 36-71. (in Korean)
- Kim, Hyun Mee (2006) 'Global Gender Politics of Cross-Border Marriage: With a Focus on Marriages between Korean Men and Vietnamese Women,' *Economy and Society*, vol. 70(summer), Korean Association of Industrial Sociology. (in Korean)
- Kim, Seung-kyung (1997) 'Globalization and Transnational Korean Families: Kirogi Kajok,' Presented in Asian-Pacific Conference (Unpublished).
- Lee, Hye-Kyung (2005) 'Adjustment of Korean Immigrant and Overseas Students in Australia,' *Korean Journal of Demography* 28(2): 63-95. (in Korean)
- Ly, Phuong (2005) 'A Wrenching Choice.', Washington Post. January 9.
- Ministry of Health and Welfare (2005) *Survey on International Marriage and Policy Alternatives for*

Change and Challenge of Korean Family in the Era of Globalization

Immigrant Women. (in Korean)

- Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Paik, Jina (2007) 'Family Experiences of Married Women in Korea,' Discourse 201, vol. 10(3), *Korean Association of History Studies.* (in Korean)
- Pettman, Jan Jindy (2003) 'Gendering Globalization in Asia through Miracle and Crisis,' *Gender, Technology and Development*, vol. 7(2).
- Presidential Advisory Committee on Poverty and Discrimination (2006) *Current Status of Marriage Immigrant Women's Families.* (in Korean)
- Sheu, Yea-huay (2007) 'Full Responsibility with Partial Citizenship: Immigrant Wives in Taiwan,' *Social Policy and Administration* 41(2): 179-196.
- Suzuki, Nobue (2003) 'Transgressing Victims: Reading Narratives of Filipina Brides in Japan,' *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 35(3).
- Wang, Hong-zen and Shu-ming Chang (2002) 'The Commodification of International Marriages: Cross-border Marriage Business in Taiwan and Viet Nam,' *International Migration*, vol. 40(6).
- Waters, Johanna L. (2002) 'Flexible Families? "Astronaut" Households and the Experiences of Lone Mothers in Vancouver, British Columbia,' *Social and Cultural Geography*, vol. 3(2).
- Waters, Johanna (2003) 'Flexible Citizens? Transnationalism and Citizenship amongst Economic Immigrants in Vancouver,' *The Canadian Geographer*, vol. 47(3).
- Waters, Johanna (2005) 'Transnational Family Strategies and Education in the Contemporary Chinese Diaspora,' *Global Networks*, vol. 5(4).
- Yeoh, Brenda S. A. and Shirlena Huang and Theodora Lam (2005) 'Transnationalizing the "Asian" Family: Imaginaries, Intimacies and Strategic Intentions,' *Global Networks*, vol. 5(4).
- Yoon, In-Jin (2008) 'Korean Diaspora and Transnationalism: The Experience of Korean Chines,' *Culture, History and Geography* 20(1): 1-18. (in Korean)
- Ziehl, Susan (2003) 'Forging the Links: Globalization and Family Patterns,' *Society in Transition*, vol. 34(2).