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사회학석사 학위논문

The Importance of Social Support
for Divorced Marriage Migrant
Women in Korea:

Focusing on Social Support as Moderators
Between Divorce and Life Satisfaction

결혼이주여성의 이혼과 삶의 만족도:
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Abstract

The Importance of Social Support for Divorced Marriage Migrant Women in Korea: Focusing on Social Support as Moderators Between Divorce and Life Satisfaction

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This study was performed to identify the effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction of marriage migrant women residing in Korea. In addition, the moderating effects to these relations with variables that represent social support from Korean friends, same ethnicity friends, co-ethnic friends and lack of social support were tested for. Further, the protective effect of social support received from these social groups for the divorced group of marriage migrants is compared to its effect on the still married group. Data from the 2012 National Multicultural Family Survey was used for analysis. The results of study were as follows. Experience of divorce correlated negatively with perceived life satisfaction of marriage migrant women. Social

support from Korean friends, same nationality friends and co-ethnic friends are associated positively with levels of perceived life satisfaction for both the married and divorced while lack of social support is associated negatively with levels of perceived life satisfaction for both groups. These effects are greater for the divorced marriage migrant women. Further, social support received from Korean friends and co-ethnic friends weaken the negative effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction for the divorced, while lack of social support strengthens the negative effect. Social support from same ethnicity friends did not have a statistically significant moderating effect to life satisfaction for the divorced.

Keywords: marriage migrant women, migrant women, life satisfaction, subjective well-being, divorce, social support, community member

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Introduction

Escalating divorce can be recognized as one of the major life-changing events that has shifted family dynamics and personal lifestyles in the past century. Surprisingly, this rising trend is also reflected in marriages of marriage migrant women¹ residing in South Korea² who have initially crossed the sea to “tie the knot.” The observation is even more troubling due to the fact that recent studies show decline in divorce rates for Korean couples contrasted by a rising slope in international marriages (Kim, 2014). Official government records from Statistics Korea (2013) note that 9.1% of divorces in Korea occur from international marriages and 72.4% of those marriages is between a Korean husband and a non-Korean wife. With research revealing that 34.1% of marriage migrant women in Korea have considered divorce (Seol, 2006), there is cause for concern that divorce scene can expand in the future. The number of rising divorces among marriage migrant women in

¹ The term “marriage migrants” is defined by the Ministry of Justice (2008) as “non-Koreans who are in marital relationships or used to have marital relationships with Korean nationals” (Ministry of Justice, 2008). For the present study, “marriage migrant women” is used as a term to denote female marriage migrants who have married Korean men. The term “divorced marriage migrant women” is used to define marriage migrant women who have divorced their Korean husbands.

² Hereafter Korea refers to South Korea.

Korea calls for immediate attention to this distinct group of divorcees who can be labeled as the minority of minorities; as a woman, as a foreigner and as a divorced person.

Because marriage migrants settle in Korea to be permanent members of society, how they fare in their new location is extremely important. There are many factors one can look at to assess adjustment and satisfaction of marriage migrant women but many times, perceived life satisfaction score has been chosen by researchers as one of the most important indicators of successful settlement (Hsu, 2010). There is abundant research on life satisfaction for the married marriage migrant women in Korea (Han & Kim, 2012; Lee & Kim, 2010; Lee, 2010) but almost none for the divorced. Another important indicator of successful integration in a society can be assessed by the belongingness to a social network and social support received as a member (Shin, 2014). Again, research on social support and social network for married marriage migrant women have been carried out in many studies (Jang & Chiriboga, 2011; Hwang 2010) but not so much for the divorced.

In fact, there is alarmingly little research done on the divorced group of marriage migrant women in Korea. And even the limited number of studies existing do not address the current living conditions of the divorced. Instead,

most focus on social and economic factors leading up to divorce (Park, 2015; Lee, 2015) or on legal complications that may rise during the divorce procedure (Moon, 2010). The few research targeting life after divorce are small-group qualitative research (Han & Kim, 2012) or study on migrant women who return to their countries of origin (Choi, 2015). As of yet, there is no empirical research done on marriage migrants' lives after divorce in Korea.

The Present Study

The present study, thus, was conducted as an attempt to address the lack of quantitative research on divorced group of marriage migrants by observing the relations between divorce, life satisfaction and social support. The study tests to see if divorce effects life satisfaction for marriage migrant women and if so, whether or not different types of social support will moderate this effect.

There were three major aims that guided this study. The first aim of this research was to examine the effect of divorce on life satisfaction of marriage migrant women. More accurately, whether or not divorce will have a negative association to life satisfaction was one of the questions addressed in this study. Literature on divorce and life satisfaction suggest both the positive and negative effects of divorce (Hughes, 1988). In the case of

marriage migrant women in Korea, there are other factors that complicate the event of divorce. Stress that can come from ending a marriage can be much more traumatic for marriage migrants who had aspired to fulfill certain goals before deciding to migrate, one of them being marriage (Park, 2015). They may also lose ties to resources needed to adjust more comfortably in Korea. However, there are also research giving evidence to experience of marital abuse and marital dissatisfaction for wives in international marriages (Woo & Ha, 2015). In this case, ending of a poor marriage may not hold a negative influence on an individual's subjective well-being.

The second aim of the study was to confirm the beneficial effect of social support on life satisfaction for divorced marriage migrant women. Because marriage migrants still in marriage receive social support from their Korean in-law families, social support from friends can become a secondary source (Hwang, 2010) for them. In contrast, social support from friends will be very important for the divorced due to the vulnerable situation they are in, away from their host families and severed from their new families in Korea.

The third aim of this study was to find out if social support will moderate the effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction of marriage migrant women. For the divorced marriage migrant women, changes in social

relationships are bound to happen. With family support from the in-laws in Korea no longer available, it can be assumed that they will now turn to receive social support from friends. In this study, social support from Korean friends and same ethnicity friends—the two dominant ethnicities marriage migrants in Korea receive social support from (Hwang, 2010)—will be assessed. The effect of receiving social support from co-ethnic friends and effect received from having no social support will be analyzed as well. Literature exists on the protective effect of social support received from Korean and same ethnicity friends for the migrants still in marriage but none exist for the divorced.

Literature Review and Theoretical Background

Life Satisfaction

Defining Life Satisfaction

Striving for happiness is a basic human drive that is universal. The literature uses a number of terms to indicate individuals' subjective well-being: quality of life, life satisfaction or happiness (Diener et al., 1985). In this paper, the term life satisfaction will be used mainly to describe subjective well-being while other terms will be used interchangeably. Life satisfaction is a major component acting as a comprehensive measure of “adjustment” and

“psychological well-being” for citizens. Life satisfaction is defined to be a cognitive evaluation of one's life, “global” well-being, happiness and satisfaction with life as a whole (Andrews & Robinson, 1991). In fact, one of the most prominent social indicators of well-being is life satisfaction (Diener, 1984). National mean levels of life satisfaction provide strong evidence for the validity of the scales in reflecting quality of life differences in societies (Diener, Inglehart & Tay, 2013). For instance, the average life satisfaction in countries correlates with good governance (Ott, 2011), civil rights (Diener et al., 1995) and healthy aging and longevity (Schnaiter, 2013). For these reasons, although complex, it is important to analyze various factors that might relate to overall perceived life satisfaction to enhance quality of life in a society.

Individual life satisfaction is closely related to demographic factors including gender, age, marital status, education level, religious affiliation and ethnicity (Park, Roh & Yeo, 2012) as well as other personal determinants including health status, working conditions and social support level (Waite & Gallagher, 2000). In examining life satisfaction across four sub-regions of Asia, factors such as marital status, standard of living and role of government was shown to have greater influence than income, which was attributed to Asian culture placing greater emphasis on family values over fulfillment of

individual success (Yee, Nai & Eu, 2015).

As mentioned earlier, subjective well-being affects healthy aging and longevity due to its close correlation to physical well-being. Although a controversial topic (Coyne & Tannen, 2010), life satisfaction and physical health are recognized for their strong association. Levels of life satisfaction is either considered a cause or an effect to levels of physical health, differentiated with the terms “top-down” and “bottom-up” effects (Kamel et al., 2013). Many times the study of “happiness” seems to take a secondary place in importance compared to studies on physical health but for a person to be healthy, having a healthy body isn’t quite enough. The World Health Organization defines health as a “state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 1948).” Feeling satisfied in one’s life will be undoubtedly vital and no less important than feeling physically healthy when functioning in social contexts.

In this global era, migration studies have put considerable weight on the importance of subjective well-being of migrants (Freeman, 2011). Literature emphasizing the importance of life satisfaction argue that too many times, the integration of migrants has been measured by an economic standpoint. However, for migrants, being subjectively satisfied in one’s life is

pivotal in the process of integration in the host country above any economic parameters (Amit, 2010). A research by Massey and Redstone (2006) demonstrated that migrants who reported higher levels of life satisfaction in the United States have more inclination to naturalize and settle permanently. In this way, often times, subjective parameters outweigh a person's decision to stay over objective ones.

Life Satisfaction for Marriage Migrant Women in Korea

Subjective well-being of migrants should be a cause for concern for all recipient nations because inevitably, after migrating, migrants create social ties and influence the communities in their new settlement. Marriage migrants who reported higher life satisfaction scores were found to be more socially connected (Lee, 2010), experienced more perceived social support (Lee & Kim, 2010) and felt subjectively healthier (Chae, 2009). It is by this perceived life satisfaction index migrant form their identities, which ultimately results in whether or not they become an adaptable social member (Richardson, 1967).

In order to assess the general well-being of marriage migrant women in Korea, it is necessary to observe their perceived life satisfaction scores and context-specific moderating factors. Previous research concludes significant relationships between life satisfaction and mental health, perceived physical

health, social capital, socioeconomic status and age (Palmore & Luikart, 1972; Hsu, 2010). This multilayered sociodemographic and psychological states that influence subjective well-being are further complicated for marriage migrant women in Korea. This is because migrant wives have endured major changes post-move. Thus, it can be assumed that these series of variations in their life contexts will have a direct impact on their life satisfaction in their new locations. A quantitative study on the life satisfaction of migrant women in Korea revealed such findings (Woo & Ha, 2015). For marriage migrant women in Korea, those who were religious, resided in their own houses and lived in Korea for less than five years had higher life satisfaction. In addition, the characteristics of the husbands also mattered. Women whose husbands were younger, had higher education, received higher monthly income reported higher life satisfaction. Having migrated to Korea to be wed to a Korean husband, marriage-related factors also affect life satisfaction for marriage migrants. Marital duration, marital satisfaction and marriage process are all contributing factors that affect feelings of their subjective well-being (Park, Kim & Nam, 2013).

Paying attention to fluctuations in perceived life satisfaction level is no less important than examining current satisfaction levels, for they can serve

as critical indexes to measure a migrant's social adaptation and cohesion (Amit, 2010; Massey & Redstone, 2006) in the long-term. For instance, for non-labor migrants like marriage migrant women, it was found that greater housing satisfaction led to an improvement in life satisfaction longitudinally rather than economic satisfaction (Switek, 2012). Other longitudinal studies point to major life events that can affect life satisfaction over the course of years. Interestingly, in contrast to positive life events like marriage that heightens life satisfaction initially but adapts after two years in average (Lucas et al., 2003), negative events like divorce showed a much slower rate of adaptation (Lucas, 2005) in overall subjective well-being. In fact, another study (Brock, Kuppens, Kim & Ed, 2014) examining the experience of positive emotion to levels of subjective well-being found that pressure to feel "happiness" might hold a harmful result for those experiencing negative emotions due to unfortunate life crises. Findings of this study demonstrated how cultural value placed on certain emotion states may shape the relationship between emotional experiences and perceived life satisfaction. Research shows that one's subjective life satisfaction partly depends upon the set of values that one endorses (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000) and many of these values are decided by the culture one resides in. If there is constant pressure to feel "happy" and "adjusted" for the migrants, the negativity of being divorced in a

collectivist culture might hold a great impact to their subjective well-being.

Is Divorce a Negative Event?

This comes to the question if divorce is really a negative and unfortunate event for marriage migrant women in Korea. For instance, divorce is not always linked to negative life satisfaction. There is a line of research (Bourassa, Sbarra & Whisman, 2015; Williams, 2003) that say a divorce after a very low quality marriage results in a higher life satisfaction afterwards. When comparing marriages of high marital satisfaction and low marital satisfaction, individuals in poor marriages reported increases in life satisfaction following divorce, whereas those in low-distress marriages reported declines in life satisfaction. (Amato & Marriott, 2007). For many, being married did not always link to a joyful status that improves quality of life.

On the other line of research, the positive effect of marriage on well-being has been documented extensively. For example, married people tend to experience better health and survive longer (Waite & Gallagher, 2000). Part of the correlations result from the fact that those who are subjectively and physically healthy are selected into marriage but studies show that the positive effect of marriage remains after the selection is taken into account (Waite &

Gallagher, 2000). Even when testing for the relieving effect that comes when breaking off from a bad marriage on two waves of the National Survey of Families and Households in America, there was only limited evidence found that people from unsatisfied marriage experienced a less negative effect on subjective well-being and no correlation found for it resulting in a positive effect (Kalmjin & Monden, 2006).

How can we then assess the resulting “damage” or “non-damage” of divorce accurately? To answer this question, the interaction effects of the positive side and negative side of being in marriage and out of it will need to be assessed. Kalmjin and Monden (2006) suggests an “escape hypothesis” that looks at three different effects of divorce—the crisis effect, the loss of resource effect and the relief effect—on a person’s well-being. The crisis effect will be the distressing and stressful side of a divorce, which will reduce one’s life satisfaction (Lucas, 2005). The end of marriage equals a loss of resource, which can result in declined well-being as well (Lucas, 2005). The relief effect posits that end of marriage can be a relief in ending marital dissatisfaction and other marital problems (Williams, 2003). The formula to find out the net positive or negative gain from a divorce will then depend on the interaction of these three effects. For instance, for people in a poor marriage, divorce will

bring both negative and positive effects on life satisfaction for it can mean an onset of a crisis in life accompanied by a loss of resources but also an event that provides relief and release from marital burdens.

Marriage migrant women commonly face disappointments and unexpected outcomes in their marriage that collide with their aspirations and hopes behind initial decisions to migrate. Marriage brokers entice marriage migrant women with exaggerated portrayals of a good life with a good husband in Korea, while hiding information such as the men's age, education, the housing situation or disabilities (Nam, 2010). Common marital problems acknowledged in previous studies include marital abuse (Kim & Choi, 2011), stress from having to take care of the elderly or the disabled in the house (Jeong & Kim, 2010) and collision with the patriarchal Korean family system (Lee, 2013). Decision to marry is often decided by a few prior face-to-face encounters if at most (Freeman, 2011) and the age and cultural gap between the partners are elements that may cause marital conflicts (Choi, 2012), which in turn can affect marital satisfaction (Moon, 2016). Women married into strong patriarchal families are hindered in their social activities and participation because the in-laws and husbands forbid them to engage in outside activities (Seol, 2006; Seol, 2005). Thus, when comparing marital

satisfaction of Korean men and migrant brides, men's marital satisfaction is much higher than the women's as well as the perceived life satisfaction scores (Park, Y. J. & Chun, M. H. (2012). Breaking off from these unfair and dissatisfactory marital conditions can grant a relief effect to the divorced.

On other hand, despite the various obstacles and risks associated with tying the knot in a foreign land, most marriage migrant women have reported a relatively high marital satisfaction in numerous research (Choi, 2012; Moon, 2016). Migrant brides depend on their husbands to provide them with cultural knowledge (Kim, 2011), language aid (Kim, 2009) and other help including being taken to the hospital or to the immigration office (Freeman, 2011). Also, for marriage migrant women, remittance, or the money sent back to the homeland, is perceived as one of their most important concerns (Lim, 2013). Many times, this remittance provided by the husband is enough money to support the host family migrant women left behind (Freeman, 2011). To add, marital satisfaction has been termed the most important factor for subjective well-being of marriage migrant women in Korea in previous studies (Moon, 2016; Ju & Lee, 2014). For these reasons, failed marriage will cause a detrimental effect to marriage migrants' life quality.

It is also common for the divorced to feel stigmatized by their failed

marriage, which can cast a negative effect in subjective well-being. They may feel a restriction in building relationships due to the pertaining nature in society to stigmatize the divorced (Kitson and Marvin, 1982). Although divorce has become more common, many people still report difficulties in retaining the same level of social support and friendship networks after a divorce (Kitson and Morgan, 1990). To add, by Western standards, Korea is more prone to stereotyping and stigmatizing the divorced in society.

Marriage migrant women who are divorced feel an even stronger sense of stigmatization in Korea's society compared to Korean couples who are divorced. Numerous previous research has criticized marriage migrant women for using marriage as a tool to exchange for economic stability (Constable, 2003) or for an easy access to gaining citizenship (Choi, 2015). From the very beginning of marriage, migrant brides experience suspicion and accusation as to whether their intention to marry was "authentic" (Choi, 2015). Labeled as an "Inner Outsider," marriage migrant women are neither an insider or an outsider (Lee & Kim, 2010), creating unequal status for them to participate with the same rights in a family or social network. Divorced marriage migrants are also stigmatized for having "failed" in their given role in a Korean society. This is because when they first migrate to Korea in order

to be joined to a new Korean family, they are expected to perform reproductive duties (Kim, 2014) and settle permanently. Kim (2014) writes that the community will expect migrant brides to execute tasks including household chores, raising children and performing other bridal duties as part of their integrating process. After being divorced, marriage migrant women can be viewed as having failed her expected role in society. With marriage vows broken, marriage migrants can become targets of accusation, which will heighten the crisis effect of divorce. They may also be cut off from certain social capital and support, which they have attained by performing the rightful duties as a migrant bride, leading to even more loss of resources.

Thereby, whether divorce is a truly negative event in a life of a marriage migrant women remains a question to be assessed. Depending on the given circumstances, leaving a marriage can be emotionally devastating and resourcefully damaging but some degree of this loss may be recovered by a feeling of relief coming after a poor marriage. Whether or not the overall effect will be positive or negative is one of the questions targeted in this paper.

Social Support

Defining Social Support

Social network including family, friends, neighbors and community centers provides tangible and intangible support to all participating members. Social support one receives from the network includes psychological and emotional support, access to information and materialistic support including financial aid (Lee, 2007). Barrera et al. (1981) provided an early definition of social support as various forms of aid and assistance supplied by family members, friends, neighbors and others. Caplan (1974) identifies the three functions of social support as: (1) provides persons with a sense of self-worth through validation and to act as a possible buffer against ailment; (2) may act as a place of refuge and rest; and (3) provides continuous or intermittent social ties that play a significant role in maintaining psychological and physical integrity of the individual over time.

Cobb (1978) describes the beneficial effects of social support to extend to wide-ranging situations from birth to death. The “buffering hypothesis” was coined in social support research during the 1980s, when researchers found evidence to social support’s buffering or mediating roles in diminishing negative consequences of stressful events. Cohen and Wills (1985) found an added benefit of social support’s role as they drew a distinction between support as a main effect and support as a buffer to stress. According to the

study, the effectiveness of social support was held true for both acute and chronic situations. More recent research questions the efficacy of social support in every situation. According to this line of research, the buffering effect is effective in some situations and not in others (Roy, 2011), but the general agreement on the protective effect of social support still remains intact.

The benefits of social support are further confirmed by research finding association between lack of support and poor mental health (Kawachi & Berkman, 2001). If an individual receives effective and desired social support to turn to in need of help, depressive thoughts will be alleviated compared to those with no such support. Knowing that one is supported by intimate friends or family can produce the perception that one is loved and valued by others, fostering self-efficacy and empowerment (Wills, 1990). Among other tasks, when examining social support, it is essential to distinguish if it was a desired one and to identify whether the support system is an effective or an ineffective one (Roy, 2011).

Social Support and Life Satisfaction for Marriage Migrant Women in Korea

There has been considerable reflection on social support and how they contribute to the formation of social capital and social well-being (Erel, 2010;

Park & Yoon, 2007). Researchers have noted that social support is positively associated with life satisfaction (Kim, 2011) and satisfies various social needs (Lee, 2007). This is because social support provides individuals with feelings of stability, predictability and self-worth (Cohen & Wills, 1985). In particular, emotional support has been found to be positively associated with subjective well-being, even more than practical support (Bloom et al., 2001). A study (Siewert, et al., 2011) focusing on the discrepancy between support that is desired versus support that is received found a linear relationship showing underprovision of emotional support predicting lower well-being and overprovision of emotional support predicting higher well-being. However, overprovision of informational and practical support was found to be unrelated with well-being.

One thing to keep in mind is that the role of social support is influenced to one degree or another by gender, social class and type of stressor (Roy, 2011). A study on working women by Parry and Shapiro (1986) found significant association between social support and psychological well-being. For cancer patients who became unable to perform previous given roles, a reduced social network size was observed (Cobb & Erbe, 1978). This is due to the direct impact on the network of relationship associated with the previous

roles. For these individuals, the quality of social support is extremely important to make up for the shrinking support system. Cohen and Wills (1985) also conclude their research by emphasizing that a single intimate friend is sufficient to gain the buffering effect of one's social support, while a large network of social relationships did not prove to such an effect.

There has been a broad consensus on social support's role as a critical component for marriage migrant women's efficient social adaptation and empowerment. Social support functions show a positive mediating effect on the relationship between social network intimacy and empowerment (Shin, 2014). Empowering experiences will certainly aid marriage migrant women adjusting to various changes post-migration. Moving to a new land, marriage migrant women are cut off from their social support and network, (Seol, Kim & Song, 2013) resulting in psychological isolation (Lee & Kim, 2010) that can lead to physical and mental health problems (Lee et al., 2010). In such situations, a higher level of social support and social participation can result in a higher level of life satisfaction (Kang, 2012). Keeping in mind that marriage migrant women have come to permanently settle in Korea, their successful ties with the new society is undoubtedly one of the most important factors in accessing their adaptation and well-being.

In the same vein, social relationships have been found to increase life satisfaction (Kwon & Cho, 2000) and lower depression (Jang & Chiriboga, 2011). In a study looking into the relationship between marriage migrant women's depression, social participation and acculturative stress, higher social participation was significantly correlated to a lower levels of depression where acculturative stress was found to mediate this effect (Han & Kim, 2012). Other studies also found correlation between social support on depression (Kwon & Park, 2007; Lee, 2010) and life satisfaction (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

On the other hand, social exclusion has been found to be negatively correlated to levels of life satisfaction for married migrant women (Bobo & Fox, 2013; Holmes & Mackethan, 1992). According to Choi and Lee (2016), experience of discrimination and lack of social support for marriage migrant women were identified as significant predictors in lowering life satisfaction levels. A study of depression in married migrant women in rural areas of Korea showed positive correlation between depression and relational exclusion, cultural exclusion, community exclusion, basic service exclusion and financial exclusion (Kim & Lee, 2013).

The Alleviating Role of Social Support for the Divorced

With divorce, marriage migrant women are disconnected from their new family in Korea. This is problematic on two different levels. Marriage migrant women have reported difficulties in participating in new social groups other than their husband's families for the first few years in Korea (Shin, 2014) and they also stay in marriage for far fewer years than Korean couples (Statistics Korea, 2013). This means for divorcees who lose their connection to their prior Korean family, plugging in to a social support group on their own can be taxing. However, once social support outside of the Korean husband's ties are developed, marriage migrant women will receive a good level of assistance and resources from it (Jung, 2013). For instance, most often, the first obstacle faced by divorced migrant women is the problem of housing. Moving out after the divorce, divorced marriage migrant women's lodging options include staying at a shelter, finding a friend to house them or living in a small studio place (Lee, 2015). With connections to a good social support system, marriage migrant brides can get help in this area. During these desperate times, social support from networks formed in Korea provides the greatest relief and realistic help to these women (Kim, 2014).

Social support helps alleviate stress and empower women who have undergone difficult situations like divorce. The effect of social support is known to be even more beneficial to well-being of minority groups including women and migrants (Park, Yoon & Kim 2011; Shin, 2014; Chung and Kang, 2008). While dwelling on the hurt from the past, support from one's network sustains hope for divorced migrant women and provides a motivation to continue living (Lee, 2015).

The effect of social support received from different social groups for marriage migrant women's subjective well-being have gained insight in literature. Support received from diverse social groups including family, Korean friends, same ethnicity friends, co-ethnic friends and neighbors among others, carry different weight of influence on migrant women's quality of life (Chang & Wallace, 2015). Because the divorced no longer has access to support from her Korean in-laws, which can be a critical support system for a foreigner residing in Korea (Freeman, 2011), she will turn to other immediate sources for comfort. Out of the different groups, the most dominant ethnicity groups marriage migrant women share their time with has been reported to be with Koreans or with people from the same country of origin (National Survey of Multicultural Families, 2012). Literature on the association between

subjective well-being and social support received from Koreans and same ethnicity friends already exist for the married migrant women still in marriage. However, there is no study on social support's effects received from different ethnicity groups on life satisfaction for the divorced. For this study, whether social support is beneficial on divorced group of marriage migrant women is assessed and if so, whether social support from Korean friends, same ethnicity friends and co-ethnic friends will moderate the effect of divorce to a greater degree. Also, this effect is compared to marriage migrant women who are married to see for which group support from friends carry more influence.

Social Support Groups

Finding “New Belongingness” Through Social Support of Koreans

Marriage migrant women are frequently defined in the eyes of the state or the community. Most often, their rights as individuals are understood only through their social status as a wife. In Korea, where an identity of “being Korean” is based on a sense of shared bloodline and family ties, divorced married migrants may face severe social exclusion or discrimination after they lose the title of being a Korean person's wife (Shin, 2009). This is also due to the fact that marriage is seen as products of social norms that define what is a proper relationship in any given society (Freeman, 2011). In Korea, as in other

countries, one's location and belongingness forms the foundation for motivation in personal life and level of acceptance from others. When cut off from previous family ties, women are at risk of becoming even more isolated and detached from Korean society.

In some places, being independent or thinking highly of oneself is the most important source of well-being. In other places, maintaining harmony in relationships and being cooperative is the most important source of well-being. In particular, individualistic cultures emphasize the autonomy and uniqueness of the self to a greater extent than collectivistic cultures (Choi & Yoon, 1994). In contrast, collectivistic cultures emphasize interdependence, connectedness with others and harmony more than individualistic cultures (Kim et al., 1994). In line with these values, life satisfaction has a more relational basis in collectivistic cultures like Korea.

For marriage migrant women then, support from Korean group of friends relates closely to feelings of intimacy and belongingness to an unfamiliar nation. Becoming members of Korean social groups or participating in a community network provides a feeling of security and new found identity as a Korean (Seok, Kim & Song, 2013). According to Lee and Kim (2010), the interaction between marriage migrants and permanent

members of Korean society become a critical factor in helping migrant brides form new ideals and behavior patterns. Effective social networking and receiving support from this social group becomes a link to successful settlement and adaptation in Korea.

Finding “Familiar Roots” Through Social Support of Same Ethnicity Group

A true empowerment experience is observed when marriage migrant women find resources and support coming from one’s social network of people from the same background and experiences (Kim, Lee & Kim 2015). Marriage migrant women who have persevered through difficult times will likely find empowerment through the same ethnicity social groups, nurturing their despairing and repressive states into potential for rejuvenation and advancement through their familiar roots. Lee (2007) observed that marriage migrant women adjust to Korean culture at a relatively high speed but tend to stay connected to a tight-knit group of same ethnicity friends. In this research, this connectivity had a positive effect to their subjective well-being. Support gained from people of the same country of origin served as an “anchor” to marriage migrant women’s happiness. As concluding remarks, Lee suggested it would be harmful to force social connections with Koreans for these types

of individuals because for them, they have chosen to acculturate to the new environment within their safety net.

In another study, Hwang (2010) observed that marriage migrant women in Korea who reported receiving social support mainly from the same ethnicity migrant group were less interested in assimilating to Korean culture but rather found value in their unique backgrounds. Marriage migrant women connected to these social support groups tend to be more sensitive to stereotypes and discrimination from the Koreans. They feel empowered to be their own unique selves within their familiar social network and express hopes that one day they may become mentors to younger marriage migrants arriving in Korea.

Research Framework

Building on previous literature demonstrating relations between divorce, perceived life satisfaction and social support, the research framework of the current study is presented in Figure.1. It posits that the experience of divorce has an independent effect on the level of perceived life satisfaction, in this case lowering it. Even when considering the potential “relief effect” of leaving a poor marriage, divorce is predicted to have a negative effect for marriage migrant women’s life satisfaction due to the vulnerable condition of

marriage migrant women residing in Korea away from their host family, meaning there's too much at stake that comes with a failed marriage. This relation is then moderated by variables that represent social support from Koreans, social support from same ethnicity friends, social support from co-ethnic friends and no social support.

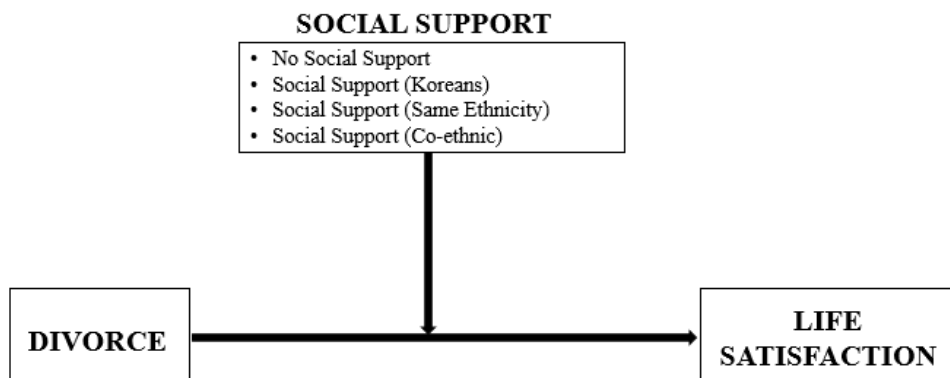


Figure 1. Research Model- Interaction Effect of Marital Status and Social Support on Perceived Life Satisfaction

Research Questions and Hypothesis

[Research question 1] What is the association between divorce and perceived life satisfaction for marriage migrant women in Korea?

Hypothesis 1: There will be a negative association between divorce and perceived life satisfaction for marriage migrant women in Korea.

[Research question 2] What is the association between social support and life satisfaction for divorced marriage migrant women in Korea?

Hypothesis 2-1: Social support from Koreans, same nationality friends and co-ethnic friends will increase perceived life satisfaction levels for divorced marriage migrant women.

Hypothesis 2-2: A lack of social support will decrease perceived life satisfaction levels for divorced marriage migrant women.

[Research question 3] How do social support moderate the effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction for marriage migrant women in Korea?

Hypothesis 3-1: Social support from Koreans, same ethnicity friends and co-ethnic friends will weaken the negative effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3-2: A lack of social support will strengthen the negative effect of divorce on life satisfaction.

Data and Method

Data

This research utilizes the National Survey of Multicultural Families

(2012) collected by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in Korea. The National Survey of Multicultural Families is a complete enumeration-based survey performed on multicultural families in Korea. The survey was administered to marriage migrants, their spouses and children residing in 16 providences in Korea. The survey was performed through a one-on-one interview based on a structured questionnaire where an interviewer visited the residences of the participants.

Method

A regression analysis was conducted to examine the effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction for marriage migrant women, controlling for variables. Next, a multiple regression analysis was performed to compare the effects of social support groups on the divorced and the married. Interactive variables representing different social support groups were added to examine their protective effect on the negative effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction. Stata 13.0 was used for statistical analysis.

The dependent variable used was perceived life satisfaction scores, self-reported from a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “very unsatisfied” to “very satisfied” to the question: “All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?”. Diener, Inglehart and Tay (2013) have

tested for both the validity and reliability of life satisfaction scores and have found strong consistency in their long-term results in various surveys including Gallup World Poll, The World Values Survey and European Values Study.

Social support groups—social support through Koreans and social support through same ethnicity friends—act as independent variables to answer research question 3 and as interactive variables to answer research question 2, moderating the effect of the independent variable “marital status” answered “married” or “divorced.” There were four different questions in regards to social support on the survey. They were: “Who do you seek advice from when you face hardships?” “Who do you seek advice from regarding your career?” “Who do you seek advice from regarding parenting?” and “Who do you seek advice from when faced with financial difficulties?” For the purpose of this study, responses from these questions were recoded into four separate social support group types; respondents who mostly sought support from Korean friends, respondents who mostly sought support from same ethnicity friends, respondents who sought support from co-ethnic friends and respondents who reported having no perceived social support. From the use of the word “advice” in the questions, it can be assumed that marriage migrant

women are answering for emotional support received from the social groups rather than practical support. For previous literature highlighted that life satisfaction correlates more positively to emotional support (Kamel et al., 2013) than practical support, the questions in the survey seem valid in serving the purpose of this study. Also, the questions ask who the marriage migrant women reach out to in time of crisis, validating that this social support is one that is “desired,” again an another important factor in determining social support’s beneficial effect on life satisfaction.

For dependent variable life satisfaction level, variables controlled for were age, level of education, nationality, monthly wage, Korean citizenship status, area of residence, experience of social exclusion and health level, known to influence subjective well-being in previous life satisfaction studies.

Results

Descriptive Characteristics of Marriage Migrant Women (Married/ Divorced)

There are 11,705 married and 404 divorced marriage migrants out of a survey sample size of 12,527. Their descriptive statistics are described in Table 1. First, regarding socio-demographic factors, the mean age of married

marriage migrant women at the time of the survey was 35.37 years (SD = 0.09), ranging from 20 to 80. The mean age of the divorced marriage migrant women at the time of the survey was 40.72 years (SD = 0.05), ranging from 23 to 75. As for education level, the majority (72.4% of married group, 79.7% of divorced group) of the participants had high school education or less, while 27.4% of married marriage migrants and 20.3% of divorced marriage migrant completed vocational school or more.

Moreover, a majority of employed marriage migrant women (63.06% of married group, 61.61% of divorced group) reported their monthly income from five hundred thousand to less than 1.5 million won, and 54.7% of married marriage migrants and 27.74% of divorced marriage migrants reported the lowest two levels, from five hundred thousand to less than one million won per month. Only 5.48% of married and 10.65% of divorced had a higher monthly income of two million won or more. Married marriage migrants are from Vietnam (17.39%), China (17.25%), China (Korean) (16.76%) and Philippines (12.48%) in that order, among others. Majority of divorced marriage migrant women came from China (Korean) (43.32%) followed by China (29.21%), Philippines (8.66%) and Vietnam (3.47%) among others. 37% of married marriage migrants have obtained Korean citizenship while 63% did

not. In contrast, out of the divorced migrants, 90.84% have gained citizenship as naturalized Koreans while only 9.16% did not. Most marriage migrants live in cities (63% of married, 85.64% of divorced) versus the countryside. Finally, 39.61% of married marriage migrants have experienced social exclusion in contrast with 46.78% for the divorced.

Table 1. Descriptive Characteristics of Married and Divorced Marriage Migrant Women (N=12,109)

Socio-demographic Factors	Category	Married N=11,705		Divorced N=404	
			%		%
Age	20~30	4,427	37.82	20	4.95
	31~40	3,854	32.93	122	30.2
	41~50	2,350	20.08	151	37.37
	51 and above	1,074	9.18	111	27.47
Education	No Degree	172	1.47	4	0.99
	Primary Education	913	7.8	26	6.44
	Middle School Diploma	2,361	20.17	91	22.52
	High School Diploma	5,023	42.91	201	49.75
	Vocational School	1,352	11.55	41	10.15
	College Degree	1,668	14.25	39	9.65
	Graduate Degree or Higher	216	1.85	2	0.5
Monthly Income	Less than 0.5 million won	1,257	22.01	8	2.58
	0.5-1 million won	1,867	32.69	78	25.16
	1-1.5 million won	1,735	30.37	139	44.84
	1.5-2 million won	540	9.45	52	16.77
	2-3 million won	201	3.52	18	5.81
	Above 3 million won	112	1.96	15	4.84

Nationality	China (Korean)	1,962	16.76	175	43.32
	China	2,019	17.25	118	29.21
	Taiwan, Hong Kong	223	1.91	11	2.72
	Japan	971	8.3	7	1.73
	Mongolia	426	3.64	7	1.73
	Vietnam	2,035	17.39	14	3.47
	Philippines	1,461	12.48	35	8.66
	Thailand	401	3.43	3	0.74
	Cambodia	873	7.46	2	0.5
	Others	1,334	11.39	32	7.92
Citizenship	Naturalized Korean	4,230	37	367	90.84
	No Korean Citizenship	7,475	63	37	9.16
Residence	City	7,374	63	346	85.64
	Countryside	433	37	58	14.36
Experience of Social Exclusion	Yes	4,636	39.61	189	46.78
	No	7,069	60.39	215	53.22

Effect of Divorce on Marriage Migrant Women

In order to directly answer the research question on the relationship between divorce and perceived life satisfaction for marriage migrant women, a regression analysis was performed. Variables controlled for were age, level of education, nationality, monthly wage, area of residence, experience of social exclusion, Korean citizenship status and perceived health level previously known to influence marriage migrant women's subjective well-being (Lee, 2010).

Table 2. Results of Regression Analysis on Effect of Divorce on Perceived Life Satisfaction

Explanatory Variable	Coefficient	SE
Experience of Divorce	- 0.37***	0.04
Age	- 0.00	0.00
Education Level (ref. no schooling)		
Elementary to High School Graduate	0.05***	0.02
College Graduate or More	0.27***	0.06
Nationality (ref. Chinese)		
Chinese Korean	0.05†	0.03
Taiwan, Hong Kong	0.00	0.06
Mongolia	- 0.00*	0.04
Vietnam	- 0.09*	0.03
Philippines	- 0.02*	0.03
Thailand	0.07	0.04
Cambodia	0.02	0.03
Others	- 0.05	0.02
Monthly Income (ref. below 1 million won)		0.02
1~1.5 million won	0.01	0.04
1.5~2 million won	0.10**	0.02
2 million and above	0.14***	0.02
Residing in City (ref. countryside)	0.02	0.02
Social Exclusion	- 0.17***	0.02
Citizenship Status	0.12***	0.02
Health Level	0.27***	0.00
Constant	2.68***	0.06
Adjusted R2	0.14	
F Statistics	136.88***	
N	12,109	

***p=0.00, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, †p<0.1

As shown in Table 2, there is a significant negative correlation between the experience of divorce and subjective well-being of marriage migrants ($b=-0.37$, $p<0.00$). Education level, nationality, monthly income, citizenship status, experience of social exclusion and health level also show association with perceived life satisfaction of marriage migrant women. In reference to the group with no schooling, marriage migrant women with higher education have association with greater life satisfaction, with college graduates and above significantly more satisfied in life compared to high school graduates. Marriage migrant women from Mongolia, Philippines and Vietnam are associated with lower life satisfaction in comparison to other nationality groups. Greater monthly income is also correlated to greater subjective well-being. Additionally, marriage migrant women who are city dwellers, did not experience social exclusion, have Korean citizenship and score higher level of perceived health are associated with higher life satisfaction, which has also been confirmed in previous studies (Kim & Lee, 2013). Further, a research (Choi & Yoon, 2013) on marriage migrant women's life satisfaction has posited association with marriage migrant women who reside in the countryside and from Vietnam with significantly lowered life satisfaction. There has not been extensive discussion on lowered subjective

well-being associated with marriage migrant women who are from Philippines and Mongolia. However, compared to marriage migrants from Vietnam, the level of negative influence from these two countries seem minor.

According to the regression analysis results, the experience of divorce significantly lowers life satisfaction of marriage migrant women even when socio-demographic factors known to influence life satisfaction are controlled. This difference between life satisfaction of married and divorced is illustrated in Figure 2.

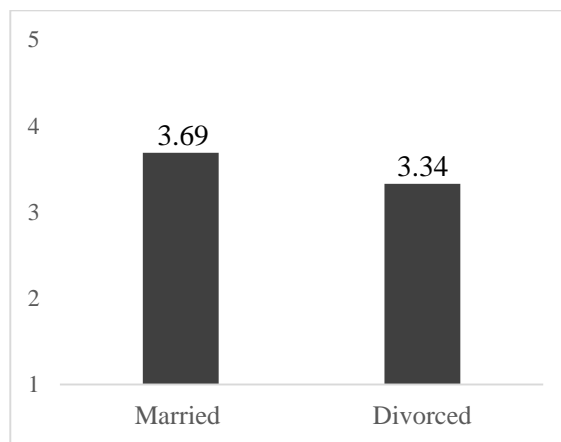


Figure 2. Difference in Life Satisfaction for Married and Divorced (Controlled for Socio-demographic Factors)

Roles of Social Support on Perceived Life Satisfaction for

Divorced Marriage Migrant Women

Results indicated that divorced marriage migrant women's life satisfaction was found to be comparably lower than those still in marriage. At this point, the next two research questions can be addressed. Can this existing difference in life satisfaction be reduced by social support and if so, which social support will hold the greatest influence?

Table 3 shows the results of a multiple regression analysis on roles of social support on perceived life satisfaction for marriage migrant women. Model 1 looks at the effect of social support and other socio-demographic factors on the level of perceived life satisfaction. Next, interactive variables are introduced in Model 2 to examine for moderating effects of social support from Korean friends, same nationality friends and co-ethnic friends in reference to no social support on the effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction. Age, education level, perceived health level, monthly income, nationality, citizenship status, place of residence and experience of social exclusion were added as control variables.

Table 3. Interaction Effect of Marital Status and Social Support on Perceived Life Satisfaction

Explanatory Variable	Model 1 Coefficient (SE)	Model 2 Coefficient (SE)
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Divorced (ref. married)	-0.35 ^{***} (0.04)	-0.24 ^{***}
Social Support (ref. no SS)		
SS Korean Friends	0.20 ^{***} (0.02)	0.20 ^{***} (0.02)
SS Same Nationality Friends	0.06 ^{***} (0.02)	0.07 ^{***} (0.02)
SS Co-ethnic Friends	0.18 ^{***} (0.02)	0.16 ^{***} (0.02)
Marital Status-SS Interaction		
Divorce x SS Korean		-0.12 [*] (0.04)
Divorce x SS Same Ethnicity		-0.17 (0.03)
Divorce x SS Co-ethnic Friends		0.14 [*] (0.03)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Education Level (ref. no schooling)		
High School Graduate	0.04 [*] (0.02)	0.04 [*] (0.02)
College Graduate	0.21 ^{***} (0.06)	0.21 ^{***} (0.06)
Nationality (ref. Chinese)		
Chinese Korean	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Taiwan, Hong Kong	0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)
Mongolia	- 0.00 (0.04)	- 0.00 (0.04)
Vietnam	- 0.07 [*] (0.03)	- 0.07 [*] (0.03)
Philippines	- 0.00 (0.03)	- 0.00 (0.03)
Thailand	0.07 (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)
Cambodia	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Others	- 0.05 [*] (0.02)	- 0.05 [*] (0.02)
Monthly Income (ref. below 1 million won)		
1~1.5 million won	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
1.5~2 million won	0.10 ^{**} (0.03)	0.10 ^{**} (0.03)
2 million and above	0.10 ^{***} (0.01)	0.10 ^{***} (0.01)
Residing in City (ref. countryside)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Social Exclusion	-0.16 ^{***} (0.01)	-0.16 ^{***} (0.01)
Citizenship Status	0.12 ^{***} (0.02)	0.12 ^{***} (0.02)
Health Level	0.26 ^{***} (0.00)	0.26 ^{***} (0.00)
Constant	2.64 ^{***}	2.63 ^{***}

Adjusted R2	0.143	0.143
F Statistics	92.94***	82.39***
N	12,109	12,109

***p=0.00, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, †p<0.1; SS=Social Support

The results of Model 1 indicate that even when social support is controlled for, divorced marriage migrant women’s life satisfaction is lower than the married (see Fig.3). This difference may be due to the lack of family social support the divorced are missing out on, which is a critical type of support associated with subjective well-being (Moon, 2016).

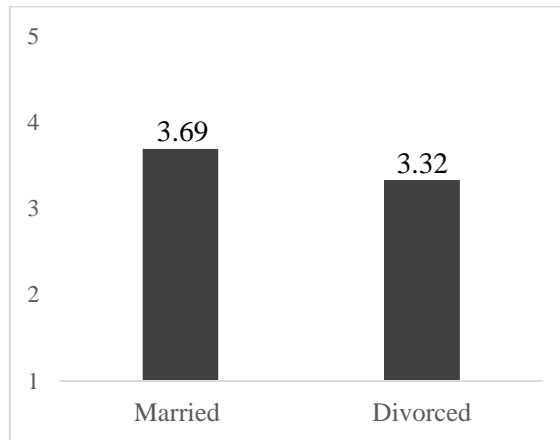


Figure 3. Difference in Life Satisfaction for Married and Divorced (Controlled for Socio-demographic Factors + Social Support)

The regression analysis results of social support on perceived level of life satisfaction for marriage migrant women show that social support from

Korean friends ($b=0.20$, $p<0.00$), same nationality friends ($b=0.06$, $p<0.00$) and co-ethnic friends ($b=0.18$, $p<0.00$) are positively correlated to levels of perceived life satisfaction. The positive effects of social support received from the three groups in reference to no social support are statistically significant. To better understand the moderation effect of social support in Model 2, a visualized difference between the married and divorced group is shown in Figure 4. The difference in life satisfaction scores between the married and divorced that still remains after the interaction effect is calculated and written up to two decimal points above the bars.

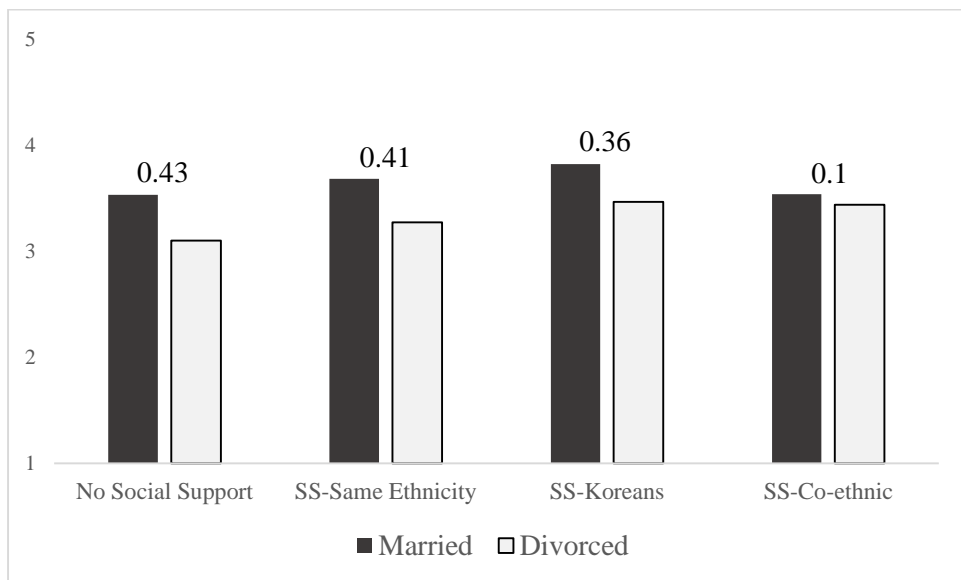


Figure 4. Interaction Effect of Marital Status and Social Support on Perceived Life Satisfaction

For divorced marriage migrant women, those who received social support from any group of friends perceived higher life satisfaction than those who lacked social support. The negative effect of having no social support for the divorced is pronounced in comparison to the married. Previous research found negative correlation between lack of social support and life satisfaction for marriage migrant women in Korea (Choi & Lee, 2016) still in marriage. This consequence seems to hold true for the divorced to a greater degree. The moderation effects of social support from Korean friends and co-ethnic friends were found to be statistically significant. With support received from Korean friends and co-ethnic friends, the differences in life satisfaction between the two groups (married/divorced) are narrowed, proving their interaction effects. For the divorced, even though life satisfaction score remains lower than the married, receiving social support from Koreans or co-ethnic group of friends weakens the negative effect of divorce. Especially, the double validation received from both Koreans and same nationality friends seem to bridge the gap in life satisfaction between the married and divorced considerably. The moderation effect of same ethnicity friends was found to be not statistically significant.

Discussion and Conclusion

The importance of social adaptation has long been at the center of discussion for marriage migrants in Korea. Migrants who have come to Korea to marry come with aspirations and expectations that may or may not match with the given and expected roles assigned to them in the new land. For some marriage migrants, with passing of years (Kang, 2012), increased social capital (Moon, 2016) and growing life satisfaction added by spousal and family support (Moon, 2016), they find new identities and life goals within their marriage. On the other hand, some marriage migrants experience broken dreams (Kim S. N., 2014) and unfulfilled marital relationships (Lee, 2015) and in worst cases, file for divorce. Because marriage migrants are not temporary migrants but come to settle permanently in Korea, how their life unfolds in different trajectories need to be investigated and compared.

Research on the lives of divorced marriage migrant women in Korea have been very limited. Thus, the present study focuses on this unusual trajectory taken by migrant brides in Korea. According to the results of the study, the experience of divorce is shown to cast a negative influence on the subjective well-being of marriage migrant women. Regression analysis results indicate a significant negative correlation between the experience of divorce and perceived life satisfaction. Although divorce has become more common

in the past several decades, the “crisis effect” and “loss of resources effect” seems to outweigh the “relief effect” of a divorce. However, this may be due to the very distinct characteristics of the sample—a group of women have purposefully moved to Korea in order to be married. Whether the decision to divorce was voluntary or not was not a question asked in this survey and serves as a limitation to this study. What is known is that for marriage migrants in Korea, the price to pay for divorce seems to stay relatively high.

In this study, one potential explanation offered for the greater negativity associated with marriage migrants who divorce is the distinct collectivist culture of Korea—a culture valuing shared bloodline and stigmatizing those categorized as an “outsider.” According to Lee (2007), Koreans have had a tradition of “chulgayoein,” characterized by the belief that once a daughter marries, she no longer remains as a member of her original family but becomes a member of her husband’s. With this tradition still embedded in Korea’s patriarchal culture, by divorcing Korean men, marriage migrant women may be losing the only tie that could potentially award them with an insider label.

In the process of integration, the significance of social support for marriage migrant women has also been widely discussed. Social connectivity

and ensuing social support have been termed critical for marriage migrant's successful adaptation. It has been found that greater social support is positively correlated to quality of life (Moon, 2016), health status (Kim & Kim, 2015), self-efficacy (Kim, Lee, & Kim, 2015), marital satisfaction (Lee, Cho, & Hong, 2012), parent efficacy (Jung, 2013) and lowered acculturative stress (Park & Hwan, 2012) for marriage migrants in Korea.

As newcomers in the country, all marriage migrant women are placed in relationships with the local community where their new identities are formed. Family can become one of the main networks migrant brides find a sense of belonging in but when divorce enters the picture, married migrant women are left to fare by themselves. And as all people, when ties in one network are no longer accessible, marriage migrant women turn to make new ties (Freeman, 2011).

In order to compare the protective effect of social support received from the Koreans, same ethnicity friends and co-ethnic friends, a multiple regression analysis was performed. Our findings show that in reference to the married, social support from Korean friends, same ethnicity friends and no social support for the divorced have greater impacts in increasing or lowering life satisfaction.

This study looked at the protective effect of social support provided by Koreans, same ethnicity and co-ethnic friends on perceived life satisfaction to examine if a negative stressor like divorce can be buffered. Women experiencing divorce walk through a multitude of changes, which may include changes in housing, work condition, health status and social network (Choe, 2006). The pressure is added to women who have migrated overseas for they have left behind familiar networks and environment they could turn to for support. With no in-laws to lean against after a divorce, social support gained from friends will gain weight. All social support gained by Korean friends, same ethnicity friends and co-ethnic friends were hypothesized to provide a moderating effect on the experience of divorce on perceived life satisfaction. The results indicate that social support received from Korean friends and co-ethnic friends do moderate the effect of divorce, weakening the negative effect on life satisfaction. In contrast, the effect of divorce on life satisfaction is strengthened when there is no social support. Surprisingly, the moderation effect from social support received from same nationality friends was shown to be not statistically significant.

There has been research on divorced marriage migrant women and their return back to their countries of origin (Kim, 2014). Most of them were

initially fearful of returning to their network of family and friends back home because they did not want to feel ashamed. For most marriage migrant women, a failed marriage can be something to be ridiculed at by same nationality friends because they had chosen to desert their motherland to settle a new life. In this case, spending time with same nationality friends may not moderate the feeling of negativity associated with divorce.

Instead, being supported by Koreans, the major ethnic group in Korea, or by a co-ethnic friends group, seemed to indicate a more nurturing influence for marriage migrant women starting a new life path after divorce. Especially, the double confirmation received from co-ethnic group of friends seem to narrow the difference in life satisfaction between the married and divorced noticeably. The positive effect received from “new belongingness” amongst the Koreans while safely anchored to “familiar roots” provided by same nationality friends seems to be a working formula for the divorced migrant women’s subjective well-being.

Until now, studies on Korea’s divorced marriage migrant women have focused on socioeconomic factors leading to divorce decisions and legal issues dealt by women in divorce procedures. This study is meaningful in that it analyzed social variables that could influence life satisfaction for marriage

migrant women after divorce. Results indicating a positive interaction effect of social support on the negative effect of divorce on perceived life satisfaction attest that the process of migration is an ongoing and sustaining process even after marriage migrant women loses the title of being in marriage.

In transnational relationships, the definitions and conventions about accepted behaviors in marriage and other social contexts may be sites of difference and conflict. Because marriage migrant women are still viewed in Korea with expectations to raise national birthrates and to fulfill wife roles for unmarried farmers or low-skilled workers in the country, they are in danger of becoming stigmatized as inadequate individuals in society when they choose to break marriage ties. With findings that point to social support from Koreans as one of the solutions to retaining subjective well-being of marriage migrant women, endorsements can be made for more support programs and networks that may further aid the divorced.

International divorces are continuing to escalate in Korea. Keeping in mind that this number will not dwindle in the near future, more research on divorced marriage migrant women's lives after divorce is fundamental for future policy making and theory building. A successful social integration should not just concern welfare benefits but should focus on long- term

planning and balanced research, assisting marriage migrant women who have ended up in divorce to lead quality independent lifestyles.

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국문초록

결혼이주여성의 이혼과 삶의 만족도: 사회적 지지의 조절효과 중심으로

이 연구는 국내에 거주하는 결혼이주여성의 이혼경험이 삶의 만족도를 낮출 수 있다는 점에 주목하였다. 그리고 그들이 느끼는 사회적 지지가 삶의 만족도에 미치는 직접효과와 그 사회적 지지가 이혼의 영향력을 완충하여 삶의 만족도를 높이는 조절효과가 있는지를 조사하였다. 또한, 한국인 친구에게 받는 사회적 지지, 모국인 친구에게 받는 사회적 지지, 한국인-모국인(양국가) 친구에게 받는 사회적 지지, 그리고 사회적 지지를 받지 않는 집단의 정도에 차이가 있는지를 측정하였다.

2012년 전국다문화가족실태조사 설문자료 중 17,705명의 기혼여성과 404명의 이혼여성에 대해 다중회귀분석 및 조절회귀분석 기법을 활용하였고, 그 결과 결혼이주여성이 이혼을 하게 되면 삶의 만족도에 부정적 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났다.

결혼이주여성에게 한국인친구에게 받는 사회적 지지, 모국인 친구에게 받는 사회적 지지와 한국인-모국인 친구에게 받는 사회적 지지 모두 삶의 만족도를 높이는 결과를 가져왔다. 이혼한 여성의 삶의 만족도가 이혼의 경험으로 인해 저하되는 현상은 한국인친구와 한국인-모국인 친구에게 받는 사회적 지지가 높을수록 감소하는 것으로 나타났고 사회적 지지가 없는 경우 증가되는 것으로 보여진다. 모국인 친구에게 받는 사회적 지지가 삶의 만족도에 미치는 조절효과는 통계적으로 유의하지 않았다.

이처럼 결혼이주여성이 이혼을 경험할 때 삶의 만족도 저하는 각각의

사회적 지지에 따라 다르게 나타난다. 또한 결혼이주여성집단 내에서 기혼여성, 이혼여성에 따라 각각의 사회적 지지가 삶의 만족도에 미치는 영향이 다르다는 점을 제시하고자 한다.

주제어: 결혼이주여성, 이주여성, 삶의만족도, 이혼, 가족해체, 사회적 지지, 공동체 구성원

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