

Effects of Social Capital On Temporary Employment: Immigrant Husbands in South Korea

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BACKGROUND

Economic wellbeing represents the economic component in the structural integration of migrants (Charsley, Spencer, Bolognani, Jayaweera, & Ersanilli, 2016; H.-K. Lee, 2013), including marriage migrants (Yang, Min, & Kim, 2010). Previous literature implies that marriage migration occurs in South Korea (hereafter Korea) mostly for economic reasons, based on the notion that most marriage migrants are women seeking better economic status through marriage to a man from a more prosperous country.

However, the recent increase in the number of male immigrants who are married to Korean nationals shows a diversification of migration factors. These immigrants are not necessarily attracted to marrying with a Korean person for economic betterment. It is more likely that they initially start working or studying in Korea and then meet their spouses in the course of work or study rather than being matched through a broker or an international marriage agency. Alternatively, Koreans studying or working abroad may meet their someone who becomes their spouse and then the couple may move back to Korea for more economic opportunities. Previous studies show that a considerable number of immigrant husbands, especially workers who came to Korea through the Employment Permit System (EPS, a government-supported recruitment program that allows employers to legally employ foreign workers in industries suffering labor shortages such as agriculture, stockbreeding, fishery, construction and manufacturing), have experienced economic vulnerabilities. This is due to racial discrimination, low levels of professional qualification, visa status or because their career qualification or education was not recognized.

By exploring determinants of temporary employment, a sign of instability that limits full integration into the economy, we will be able to locate the potential economic vulnerability male immigrant husbands are facing. Raising awareness of this vulnerability is needed as the current Multicultural Family Policy excludes immigrant husbands from the target beneficiaries. The Multicultural Family Support Act and Policy, established in 2008, was designed to facilitate adaptation of marriage migrants and their families. The term ‘multicultural family’ is defined as a family consisting of a Korean national and a marriage immigrant or a person who obtained Korean citizenship after marriage and their children. The current policy focuses heavily on the family issues, wellbeing, economic adaptation of female marriage immigrants, human rights of immigrants, and children. Moreover, a patriarchal view of marriage immigrants as child bearers or homemakers is not appropriate anymore as their origin backgrounds have diversified.

Among the many factors that impact the economic adaptation of migrants, social capital factors may be the least fully examined, compared to more frequently studied variables such as demographic and human capital variables, especially in the Korean context. Studies have shown that social networks can facilitate the employment of immigrants (Piracha, Tani, & Vaira-Lucero, 2014) and co-ethnic networks (bonding capital) can have positive effects on employment opportunities per se and negative effects on the quality of those job opportunities (Portes, 2014; Portes & Landolt, 1996; Potocky-Tripodi, 2004, p. 20). Inter-ethnic social networks (bridging capital), on the other hand, are considered as a medium for social integration into the host society (Charsley et al., 2016).

In many studies conducted in Korea, social capital variables (i.e., the number of and types of social networks) have been used as control variables to predict the employment or well-being of female marriage migrants (H. H. Kim, 2017; H. R. Lee & Cho, 2014; H.-K. Lee, 2013; Yang

& Kim, 2011). Results based on datasets from 2012 or earlier varied by nationality and region (Y. Kim & Kim, 2017; H. R. Lee & Cho, 2014).

The current study aims to test our hypotheses on how social capital factors are associated with the temporary employment status of immigrant husbands married to Korean nationals (i.e., whether they are temporary or full-time workers), using the *National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015* dataset. Other control variables include demographic factors (age, gender, national/regional origin, and number of children), human capital (language skills and education level), spousal socioeconomic variables (education, work status, and average income), acculturation variables (duration of stay and marriage visa), an indicator for discrimination experiences, and an indicator for religious participation. We show how the male immigrants' ethnic and inter-ethnic networks interact in having pushing these migrants toward temporary work instead of full-time work.

MARRIAGE MIGRATION TO KOREA

In the 1990s, *Segyehwa*, Korea's official policy for globalization adopted in 1993 under then-President Kim Young-Sam (1993-1998), became a turning point for international marriage (N. H.-J. Kim, 2015; Park, 1996). *Segyehwa* was intended to make Korea 'central to the world' through trade liberalization, decreased protectionism, and a shift from a manufacturing to a cultural industry, in order to rebrand Korea and boost its competitiveness (Schwak, 2015). As shown in Table 1, until 1994 international marriages accounted for less than two percent of all marriages in the country and the number of migrant husbands and wives then was almost the same. This trend, however, began to change in 1995, when 76.8 percent of international marriages were between Korean men and migrant wives, and the number of migrant husbands was 23.2 percent. The emergence of popular 'marriage tours', promoted by

Table 1. *International Marriages (Total Number and as Percentage of All Marriages), 1993–2018*

Year	Total Number of Marriages	Marriages between Koreans	International Marriages		
			Number	K.M.+M.W.	K.W. + M.H.
1993	402,593	396,048	6,545	3,109	3,436
1994	393,121	386,505	6,616	3,072	3,544
1995	398,484	384,991	13,493	10,365	3,128
1996	434,911	418,964	15,947	12,647	3,300
1997	388,960	376,487	12,473	9,276	3,197
1998	373,500	361,908	11,592	7,744	3,848
1999	360,407	350,584	9,823	5,370	4,453
2000	332,090	320,485	11,605	6,945	4,660
2001	318,407	303,884	14,523	9,684	4,839
2002	304,877	289,675	15,202	10,698	4,504
2003	302,503	277,728	24,775	18,750	6,025
2004	308,598	273,958	34,640	25,105	9,535
2005	314,304	271,948	42,356	30,719	11,637
2006	330,634	291,875	38,759	29,665	9,094
2007	343,559	305,999	37,560	28,580	8,980
2008	327,715	291,511	36,204	28,163	8,041
2009	309,759	276,459	33,300	25,142	8,158
2010	326,104	291,869	34,235	26,274	7,961
2011	329,087	299,325	29,762	22,265	7,497
2012	327,073	298,748	28,325	20,637	7,688
2013	322,807	296,844	25,963	18,307	7,656
2014	305,507	282,191	23,316	16,152	7,164
2015	302,828	281,554	21,274	14,677	6,597
2016	281,635	261,044	20,591	14,822	5,769
2017	285,290	264,455	20,835	14,869	5,966
2018	280,320	257,622	22,698	16,608	6,090

Note: The raw data were retrieved from the web page of Korean Statistics (2019a & 2019b).

the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Korea in 1992, significantly increased the number of migrant wives. Specifically, older Korean bachelors, especially those living in rural areas, sought wives from South-East Asian developing countries and from amongst the chosunjok community (ethnic Koreans living in China) through commercialized marriage brokerage services (Freeman, 2005). In comparison, the number of migrant husbands began to increase gradually from 1997 onwards as the revision of the Nationality Law in 1997 guaranteed a two-year stay period for migrant husbands (Kwak, 2019). This revision not only guarantees labor rights for migrant husbands and but also extricates them from their precarious legal status.

As shown in Table 1, from 2005 onwards, there has been a decline in the number of international marriages, as cases of divorce and domestic violence have increased, an issue that has consistently been raised by human rights groups and other NGOs (H.-K. Lee, 2008). To tackle these burgeoning issues, in 2007 the government enacted the Marriage Brokerage Business Management Act, which required all marriage brokerage firms to register and obtain official permission from their province (Cho, Im, Yoshida, & Kuo, 2013). In contrast, there is no evidence of a decreasing trend in migrant husbands. This is because migrant husband couples are less affected by such reforms, as their marriages are not mediated by brokerage firms.

SOCIAL CAPITAL, EMPLOYMENT, AND MIGRANT HUSBANDS

The concept of social capital is complex and highly controversial, but has become recognized as an essential mechanism through which migrants affect their employment status. Bourdieu (1986, p. 88) defined it as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition.” Helliwell and Putnam (2007, p. 19) understood the term as ‘social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness’. Coleman’s definition

(1990, p. 305) is that social capital constitutes ‘resources that can be used by the actors to realize their interests’. Whether social capital is understood as that which enables survival and coping or getting ahead and enhancing opportunities, the concept points to the socially linked nature of mobility opportunities (Briggs, 2003).

Earlier studies of the effect of social capital on the economic adaptation of migrants distinguish between bridging and bonding social capital (Lancee, 2010). Putnam addressed the distinctions between social capital, bonding capital and bridging capital (Kindler, Ratcheva, & Piechowska, 2015). The former, bonding capital (within a community), is often group specific in nature (Woolcock, 2003). For example, recent immigrants might attempt to reach co-ethnics for initial settlement and adaptation. In the beginning, bonding capital can significantly help migrants to obtain a job and make ends meet, but later it may act as a barrier to upward mobility and even lead them to feel isolated (Helliwell & Putnam, 2007). Previous studies also show that it may hamper immigrants in their pursuit of upward mobility (Lancee, 2010). For this reason, a migrant’s ethnic network may not enable contact with locals and ultimately reinforce ‘ethnic segmentation’ (Haug, 2007; Portes, 1995). Due to differential access to social capital, migrants may lack sources of information about employment opportunities and ways to attain them as well as access to other infrastructures such as medical care, banks, etc. (Portes, 1998, p. 13). That is why there are no clear-cut answers to questions about the effects of bonding capital on labor market outcomes (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004).

The latter, bridging capital (horizontal links among heterogeneous actors), is based on general trust and contributes to generating a more diverse flow of resources for advancing interests and aspirations (Helliwell & Putnam, 2007; Nannestad, Lind Haase Svendsen, & Tinggaard Svendsen, 2008; Woolcock, 2003). Research findings suggest that bridging social

capital may provide an economic advantage for migrants in the host society (Lancee, 2010). Specifically, they can access to new and unique information that was not circulated within their own co-ethnic networks through diversification of their channels (Lin, 2001). Haug (2003) also stresses the importance for migrants of having contacts with natives, as the owners of most businesses are natives and the natives are likely to have better information that will lead to better opportunities in the labor market, and later to upward mobility (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Lancee, 2010). In this sense, Lancee's study (2012, p. 4) suggests that 'bridging social capital positively affects both the likelihood to be employed and occupational status'. It is related to institutional structures and refers to ties to people in positions of authority who provide services in a way which requires face-to-face contact. In analyses of a nationally representative dataset in the Korean context, Kim (2017) and Lee and Cho (2014) confirmed that bridging capital benefitted female immigrant spouses in securing a stable job.

Despite their utilities, there are limitations in previous literature. First, they have mostly paid attention to inter-ethnic contact rather than other types of bridging networks (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). In addition, a considerable number of studies have been based on very small sample and tended to focus on specific migrants such as Asians rather than diverse types of migrants (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). Focusing on factors that affect the temporary employment of male immigrant spouses in Korea, a rarely studied population, using both types of social capital predictor variables, we attempt to fill the gap in the literature.

The main hypotheses we test are listed below. They are related to whether social capital is burdensome or beneficial to male immigrant spouses' stable employment.

1. Participation of male immigrants in inter-ethnic gathering is negatively associated with their temporary employment.

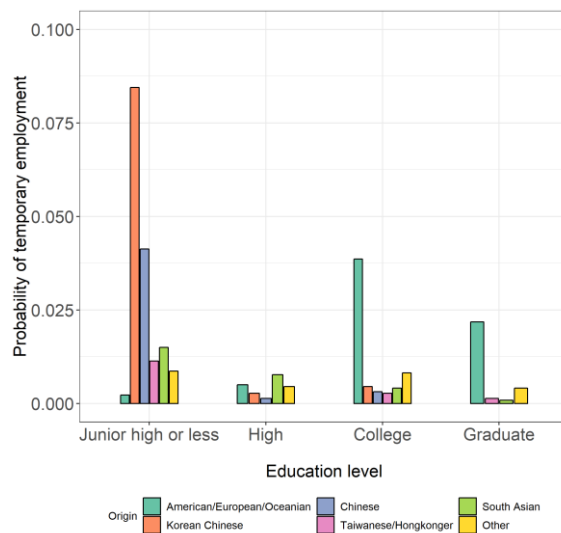
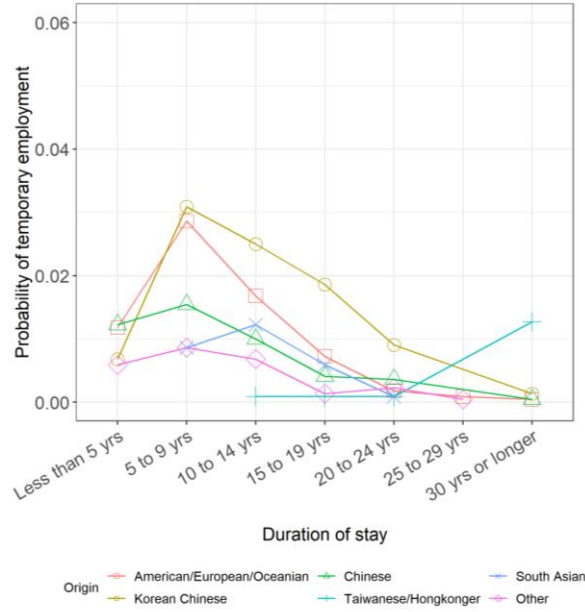
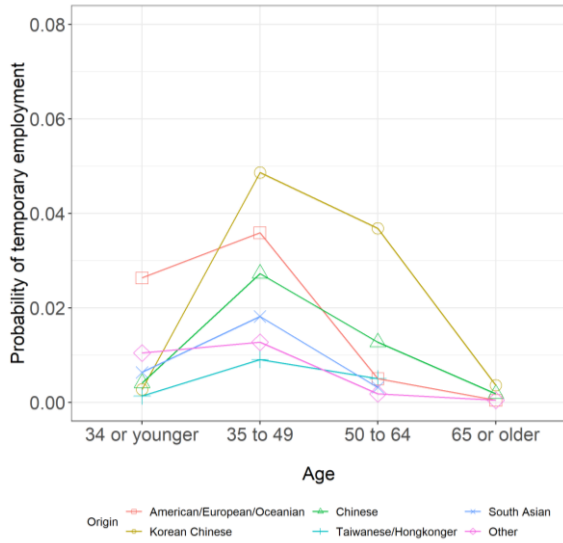
2. Inter-ethnic networks of male immigrants are negatively associated with their temporary employment.
3. If connected to the current job through Korean friends, their chances of temporary employment are lower than when connected through co-ethnic friends.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The current study uses the micro dataset from the *National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015* for the main analysis. This is currently the most recent and comprehensive cross-sectional dataset available on marriage migrants and their families in Korea. This triennial survey sample sampled about six percent of the total multicultural population. A multicultural family is defined as consisting of a marriage migrant, his/her spouse and/or their children. The dataset is publicly available on the website of Microdata Integrated Service (<https://mdis.kostat.go.kr/>) upon registration and request. We only selected male immigrants who were married to Korean women and who were employed at the time of the survey. As a result, 2,201 male immigrants were selected.

For a preliminary analysis of the sample, Figure 1 shows the probabilities of temporary employment in the sample population analyzed preliminary by age, duration of stay in Korea, and education. On average, the probabilities of temporary employment among male immigrants are the highest in the age category of 35 to 49 for all ethnic/regional groups, followed by groups of 34 or younger, 50 to 64, and 65 or older. By origin groups, Korean Chinese has the highest probability of temporary employment, followed by American/European/Oceanian. In terms of duration of stay, temporary employment probabilities were highest for the male immigrants who had stayed in Korea for five to nine years, except among South Asians and Taiwanese/Hongkongers. Most Taiwanese/Hongkongers had stayed in Korea for 30 years or

FIGURE 1. PROBABILITIES OF TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT AMONG ETHNIC/REGIONAL ORIGIN GROUPS BY AGE, DURATION OF STAY, AND EDUCATION



longer. For South Asian male immigrants, durations of stay are heavily distributed between 5 to 24 years. Lastly, temporary employment probabilities by education tell us that a large proportion of people from China are employed temporarily with a junior high education or less. Meanwhile, among American/European/Oceanian male immigrants, individuals with college and graduate education show higher probabilities of temporary employment than any other group.

Dependent variable

We recoded a categorical variable of employment status to create a new indicator variable showing whether a person is temporarily employed or not. In the original variable, categories for the temporarily employed include daily workers and temporary workers. We collapsed these into a single temporary employment category. The reference category of full-time workers in our dependent variable includes full-time workers and self-employed individuals from the original variable. Including or excluding self-employed individuals in the reference category did not make inferential differences in our model results.

Independent variables

Independent variables include ethnic/regional origin variables, age, number of children, duration of stay, spousal visa status, Korean language skills, education, spousal education, spousal income, social discrimination experience, co-ethnic network, inter-ethnic network, participation in co-ethnic gathering and participation in inter-ethnic gathering, channel of job obtainment, and participation in religious activities.

Table 2 shows the distribution of male immigrants who are temporarily employed by the independent variables. Ethnic/regional origin variables have six different indicator variables. In the sample, the most temporarily employed individuals are Korean Chinese (61.4%), followed by Han Chinese (47.6%) and others (26.9%).

Table 2. *Differentials in Temporary Employment by Predictor Variables*

Variables (categories)		Temporary employment (%)
Observations	N = 2,201	N(Temporary) = 603
Ethnic Origin		
American/European/Oceanian	772	19.3
Korean Chinese	329	61.4
Han Chinese	212	47.6
Taiwanese/Hongkonger	291	11.7
South Asian	316	19.3
Others	93	26.9
Mean age	-	44.4
Mean number of children	-	1.1
Mean duration of stay	-	13.5
On F-6 visa (F-6)		
Yes	952	31.2
No	1,249	24.5
Mean Korean skills score	-	14.68
Education		
Junior high school	217	57.1
High school	562	41.8
College	1,053	17.3
Graduate school	369	16.8
Education of spouse		
Junior high school	211	53.6
High school	706	37.7
College	1,057	17.2
Graduate school	227	18.5
Income of spouse		
No income	1,030	20.7
Low income	488	41.6
Middle income	227	24.2
High income	157	13.4
Social discrimination		
Experienced	937	29.4
Not experienced	1,264	25.5
Participation		
Co-ethnic gathering	1,408	27.1
Not participated	793	27.9
Local gathering	284	15.5
Not participated	1,918	29.1
Network indices		
Co-ethnic network index	318	1.5
Inter-ethnic network index	343	1.3
Obtained current job		
Through co-ethnic friends	552	36.6
Others	1,649	24.3
Through Korean friends	347	36.9
Others	1,854	25.6

Through job advertisements	449	19.4
Others	1,752	29.5
Religious activities		
Participated	651	20.9
Not participated	1,550	30.1

Compared to these three groups, the percentage of American/European/Oceanian immigrants and South Asian who are temporary employees is 19.3%. The lowest percentage, 11.7%, is Taiwanese/Hongkonger immigrants. While not used in the analysis, it is helpful to look at the occupational distribution in each of these groups. While 650 out of 772 American/European/Oceanian male immigrants (84.2%) are professional or related employees, 267 out of 329 Korean Chinese people (81.2%) are technicians, craftsmen, mechanics, or manual laborers. For Chinese, the relevant percentage was comparable at 74.1%. Among South Asians, 34.2% (108 out of 316) are mechanics or assembly workers, and the remaining South Asians are somewhat evenly spread out through the other occupational categories. Lastly, among Taiwanese/Hongkonger immigrants, 35.4% (103 out of 291) are professionals or office workers and 38.8% are service workers.

Age, number of children, and duration of stay in Korea were all coded in intervals. The mean age of the individuals in our sample is 44.4 years old. On average, the immigrant spouses have one child (1,562 individuals have children). They either started residing in Korea or initiated their immigration process 13 years ago.

A basic requirement for an F-6 visa (or previously F-2-1) is that an applicant is a spouse of a Korean national or is married to (either de facto or de jure) and raising a child (or children) of a Korean national. This visa is sometimes called a Marriage Migrant Visa by the Korean government, especially since the increase in the number of (female) marriage immigrants in the 2000s. Having this status is important because it permits any type of employment in Korea and

allows an application for residency (F-5) or naturalization after two years of marriage (Ministry of Government Legislation, 2019). The spousal visa indicator was created to see if the immigrant is on a marriage migrant visa. The percentage of temporary employment among the migrant spouses on a spousal visa is 31.2%, while temporary employment is 24.5% among migrant spouse on a different visa status.

The next two groups of independent variables are related to human capital. The Korean skills score variable was created as a composite variable of the immigrants' perceived Likert-type scores for listening, reading, speaking and writing. The composite variable for Korean language skills now ranges from 4 to 20. The mean score is 14.68 for those who are temporarily employed.

In terms of education, each level of education was coded into Junior high or less, High school, College, or Graduate school as a binary variable. The percentages of temporary employment show a stark contrast between people with less than high school education and those with college education or higher. The percentage of temporary employment is lower than 20% for those with college or higher education, while the percentage is 57.1% for those with junior high or lower education.

The next two sets of indicator variables are related to spousal socioeconomic characteristics. Immigrant husbands' spousal characteristics are likely to be related to their own employment status. Education levels of the wives were also categorized in the same way as those of the husbands. Percentages show us a similar pattern to those of the husbands; higher percentages of temporary employment are observed for those with high school education or less. Spousal income level variables from no to high income were generated based on the actual income distribution of the spouses in the current dataset. The percentage of temporary

employment is highest (41.6%) for those who have low income, followed by those with middle income, those with no income, and those with high income.

The social discrimination indicator was generated to show whether the immigrant experienced social discrimination during the last year from the time of survey. There seems to be only a small difference in percentage of temporary employment between the those who experienced discrimination and those who did not.

The next groups of variables were designed to measure the social networks of the male immigrants. The first group of indicator variables are composite variables that measure the extent of co-ethnic social networks and inter-ethnic networks that the immigrants have. Originally, there were five sets of variables in the raw dataset and each set measured a different aspect of social networks. These variables asked whether the immigrant has a co-ethnic or Korean person (or persons) to talk to when having difficulty related to the family, to discuss job opportunities, to consult about children's education, to do leisure activities with, or to ask for help when ill. Among these variables we excluded the set of indicators related to children's education because these items are only available for the immigrants who have at least one child. We included everyone irrespective of childlessness. Thus, the range of the variable for number of children includes zero. After taking the sum of the four selected items we created two social network indices for co-ethnic network intensity and inter-ethnic network intensity. The mean numbers of the two indices tell us that the temporarily employed people have a slightly higher co-ethnic network value than inter-ethnic value.

Another group of variables measuring social network is three indicators showing how the immigrant obtained the current job. Among the three indicators, people who obtained their current occupation through a public job advertisement show the lowest percentage of being

temporarily employed (19.4%). The relevant percentages were at around 37% for people who obtained the current job either through co-ethnic friends or Korean friends. It seems that informal and personal channels might have led to more temporary job opportunities than permanent ones.

The last variable was created to see whether the immigrant was recently involved in religious activities. It is shown that the percentage of temporary employment is higher in the non-participating group.

Model specification

A series of multiple logistic regression models were fitted. A model sequence was built and fit three times (from the basic demographic model to the full model) using R (R Core Team, 2019). The models predict the log odds of being a temporary employee, controlling for demographic, migration, human capital, discrimination, and social capital variables. Person weights based on a complex stratified sampling method are applied in the model equations to compensate for the difference between the sample and population. The full model equation is as follows:

$$\log \frac{P(\text{Temporary}=1)}{(P(1-(\text{Temporary}=1)))} =$$

$$\begin{aligned} & \beta_0 \\ & + \beta_1 A/E/O + \beta_2 K\text{Chinese} + \beta_3 \text{Chinese} + \beta_4 T/H + \beta_5 S\text{Asian} \\ & + \beta_6 \text{Age} + \beta_7 \text{Child} \\ & + \beta_8 \text{Duration} + \beta_9 F\text{visa} \\ & + \beta_{10} \text{Language} + \beta_{11} \text{High} + \beta_{12} \text{College} + \beta_{13} \text{Grad} \\ & + \beta_{14} \text{High_sp} + \beta_{15} \text{College_sp} + \beta_{16} \text{Grad_sp} \\ & + \beta_{17} \text{Lowinc_sp} + \beta_{18} \text{Midinc_sp} + \beta_{19} \text{Highinc_sp} \\ & + \beta_{20} \text{Discrimination} \\ & + \beta_{21} \text{Gather_co} + \beta_{22} \text{Gather_inter} \\ & + \beta_{23} \text{Network_co} + \beta_{24} \text{Network_inter} \\ & + \beta_{25} \text{Job_co} + \beta_{26} \text{Job_inter} + \beta_{27} \text{Job_ad} \\ & + \beta_{27} \text{Religious} \\ & + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

where $\varepsilon \sim N(0, \sigma_\varepsilon^2)$. In the full model, 27 independent variables are used, including 4 interval variables and 23 binary variables. Model 1 only utilizes demographic variables. Model 2 adds

migration, human capital, spousal socioeconomic status, and discrimination variables. Lastly, the final model adds social capital variables.

RESULTS

Multiple logistic regression results are presented in Table 3. A total of 2,201 observations were used in all three models. All of the logistic regression coefficients are transformed to odds ratios for more intuitive interpretation.

Model 1 consists of demographic characteristics variables only: ethnic/regional origin, age, and number of children. There seems to be ethnic/regional variation in temporary employment. For Korean Chinese male immigrants, the odds of temporary employment are 6.57 times higher than they are for immigrants in the other categories. Han Chinese also have 3.82 higher odds of temporary employment than the other categories. Age does have an impact, but it is minimal. A one-year increase in age leads to 4% higher odds of temporary employment. We will see if these effects hold in the other two models.

Model 2 controls for migration-related characteristics, human capital indicators, socioeconomic variables, and a social discrimination indicator (See Table 3). In terms of ethnic/regional origin, we still see the strong positive effects of being Korean Chinese (a 429% increase in the odds, $p < .001$) and Han Chinese (182%, $p < .001$). Meanwhile, the effect of being American/European/Oceanian now is associated with 99% higher odds of temporary employment ($p < .05$), after controlling for additional variables. Most of the immigrants in this group are more highly educated and in professional and clerical positions compared to those in other categories. The age of male immigrants has a constant negative association with temporary employment throughout all three models.

Table 3. *Multivariate Analysis of The Odds of Being Temporarily Employed*

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Ethnic/regional Origin (ref: Others)						
American/European/Oceanian	1.22	0.30	1.99**	0.58	2.44***	0.76
Korean Chinese	6.57***	1.71	5.29***	1.68	5.15***	1.76
Han Chinese	3.82***	1.05	2.82***	0.86	3.03***	0.99
Taiwanese/Hongkonger	0.59	0.20	0.80	0.36	1.06	0.49
South Asian	1.21	0.34	1.10	0.33	1.00	0.31
Age	1.04***	0.01	1.04***	0.01	1.04***	0.01
Number of children	0.90	0.07	1.00	0.08	1.00	0.08
Duration of stay			1.00	0.01	1.00	0.01
On F-6 Visa (ref: Not F-6 visa)			1.84***	0.31	1.76***	0.30
Korean skills score			0.99	0.02	1.00	0.02
Education (ref: Junior high or less)						
High School			0.78	0.20	0.75	0.19
College			0.39***	0.12	0.40***	0.13
Graduate school			0.29***	0.11	0.30***	0.12
Education of spouse (ref: Junior high or less)						
High School			0.87	0.23	0.91	0.24
College			0.62	0.20	0.63	0.20
Graduate school			0.64	0.26	0.66	0.29
Income of spouse (ref: No income)						
Low income			1.43**	0.25	1.47**	0.26
Middle income			1.31	0.37	1.41	0.39
High income			0.86	0.28	0.80	0.27
Social discrimination (ref: Not experienced)			1.38**	0.22	1.37*	0.23
Participation (ref: Not participated)						
Co-ethnic gathering					1.03	0.18
Local gathering					0.63*	0.17
Network indices						
Co-ethnic network index					1.04	0.06
Inter-ethnic network index					0.88**	0.05
Obtained current job (ref: Others)						
Through co-ethnic friends					2.01***	0.40
Through Korean friends					2.15***	0.48
Through job advertisements					0.82	0.19
Religious activities (ref: Not participated)						
(Constant)	0.04***	0.02	0.07***	0.04	0.05***	0.03
Observations	2,201		2,201		2,201	
Pseudo R ²	0.17		0.21		0.24	
Likelihood Ratio statistic	289.01***		62.24***		39.75***	

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01.

Notably, having a so-called Marriage Migrant visa (F-6 visa), compared to having other types of visa, is associated with 84% higher odds of temporary employment ($p < .001$).

Considering the fact that having a marriage migrant visa does not restrict immigrants from working, the positive association between having a marriage migrant visa and temporary employment tells us that there should be hidden mechanism that is not captured by the current model. In terms of education, having completed high school and college education seems to reduce the odds of temporary employment by 61% and 71%, respectively, compared to having graduated from junior high school at most ($p < .01$).

Spousal characteristics do not show significant effects except with respect to the indicator of having low income. Having a low spousal income is associated with 43% higher odds of temporary employment compared to having no spousal income ($p < .01$). This implies that obtaining a less stable job might occur in an already insecure economic circumstance, which will exacerbate insecurity. Lastly, having social discrimination experiences is associated with 38% higher odds of temporary employment.

Model 3 is the full model with all of the control variables and social capital variables, our main focus. Controlling for social capital variables does not alter the significance or magnitude of the existing variables to a great degree. Four of the social capital variables have significant effects. In terms of the indicators of participation in gatherings, participation in local gatherings shows a negative effect on the temporary employment of male immigrants—a 37% reduction in the odds. This tells us that involvement in community gatherings with Koreans reduces their likelihood of having a less stable employment status compared to no involvement. Even though it is only significant at the 0.1 level, the significant effect of participation in local gathering tells us that it is still an important variable.

Next, co-ethnic and inter-ethnic network indices show the overall extent of social networks of male immigrants. It turns out that the inter-ethnic network is significantly associated with lower odds of temporary employment (OR: 0.88; $p < .05$). That is, having more connections with Koreans reduces the chance of temporary employment. While insignificant, the co-ethnic network index is showing a positive direction as expected.

The next group of social capital variables are the indicators that specifically ask if male immigrants obtained their current job through co-ethnic people, Korean people, or job advertisements. Interestingly, the result tells us that having obtained the current job through either co-ethnic friends or Korean friends, compared to other channels, is associated with higher odds of temporary employment. In both cases, the odds increase by more than 100%. This result indicates that male immigrants have a higher chance of taking up unstable work when the work is found through informal channels, whether through their co-ethnic friends or Korean friends. Nonetheless, the magnitude of the “Through Korean friends” indicator is a little higher than that of the “Through co-ethnic friends” indicator (2.15 versus 2.01; $p < .001$).

The last variable used in the model is an indicator of immigrants’ participation in religious activities. No significant association between the variable and the odds of temporary employment is observed. The direction of the variable is positive, indicating that personal networks based on religious communities may not be used for disseminating job-related information.

Did our hypotheses work as we expected? The first hypothesis, concerning the effect of participation in inter-ethnic gatherings, is supported by the full model, *ceteris paribus*. Male immigrants’ participation in local gatherings with Koreans lowers the odds of temporary employment by 37% at the 0.1 level. Regarding the second hypothesis on the effect of inter-

ethnic network, it turned out that having a larger support group consisting of Koreans lowers the odds of being temporarily employed versus employed fulltime, *ceteris paribus*. Thus, the second hypothesis is also supported by the current model. The third hypothesis, regarding the path through which male immigrants obtained their current job, is not supported. The effect is in the opposite direction from what was expected. Moreover, obtaining work through co-ethnic or Korean friends is associated with higher odds of temporary employment among male immigrants, compared to obtaining work through other channels.

DISCUSSION

We initiated this study with questions regarding the employment stability of male immigrants married to a Korean woman. Feminization of the marriage immigrant population is inevitable due to unbalanced regional sex ratios and sex imbalance in the people of reproductive ages. However, there are male immigrant husbands who are also dependent on the status of the wife and who may have limited social capital to utilize in securing their employment. Specifically, we were interested in the effects of co-ethnic and inter-ethnic social networks on the stability of these migrants' current job.

Throughout the study, we found that inter-ethnic networks with Koreans and participation in gathering with Koreans had a negative effect on the odds of being a temporary employee, compared to full-time employee. This is in line with previous findings that indicate having networks with natives can have a bridging effect for immigrants such that they integrate into society more easily. Having bonding capital (networks with co-ethnics) is not shown to be related to immigrant husbands' temporary employment status. Interestingly, having obtained the current job through an introduction by either co-ethnics or Koreans was highly associated with temporary

employment status, compared to having obtained the job through other channels. No significant effect of participation in religious activities was found in the main model.

We have somewhat contrasting results for the effects of our social capital variables. We found that having a larger inter-ethnic network and participating in local gathering with Koreans are associated with higher chances of being a full-time worker. However, the two indicators of job obtainment channels tell us that having obtained the current job through either Koreans or co-ethnics would increase the odds of temporary employment among immigrant husbands. Why would this be the case?

According to the 2015 report of Ministry of Gender Equality & Family, a little less than 60% of immigrants and naturalized persons obtained their current job from co-ethnics or Koreans. Meanwhile, people with at least a college education tended to prefer formal channels (e.g. media and public employment center) to informal networks when seeking a job (Chung et al., 2016). Jobs introduced by personal networks might be more likely to be temporary positions that need to be filled immediately. Professional, expert, or other full-time positions tend to be advertised through public channels. Our result for the job obtainment channels suggests that using immediate personal channels for job obtainment tends to be related to a less secure employment status. This implies that using informal channels to access immediate job opportunities can lead male immigrant spouses to be in a more vulnerable position. However, we do not know if their temporary employment statuses will change in the future based on their social network and information base built during their current work period.

Most previous studies concerned social capital use among female marriage immigrants to obtain their job per se or to secure employment status. Not many quantitative studies have been conducted on male immigrant spouses because of the fact that immigrant husbands account for

less than 30% of the annual immigrant spouse population. Existing studies of male immigrants were often qualitative. Using the 2015 dataset, we were able to touch on the issue of employment security among immigrant husbands, most of whom were granted permanent residency of Korea. In this sense, we now have a better understanding of the experiences of immigrant husbands married to Korean women living in Korea. Further, we bring attention to male immigrant husbands as members of society who can be easily ignored from the public and everyday dimensions.

The results of the present study have various policy and practical implications. First of all, the study has a significant implication for the Multicultural Family Support Policy in Korea. Patriarchal ideology and its influence over what constitutes socially acceptable sexuality has significant repercussions for the exclusion of immigrant husbands and Korean wives from the Multicultural Family Support Policy (Kwak, 2019). It needs to support all multicultural families, because the Policy is originally designed for the families regardless of the gender of the foreign-born spouse. In this sense, the policy implementation should be gender-neutral.

In addition, bridging capital should be considered in the design of programs and services provided by the policy. For immigrant husbands, the findings suggest that it is necessary to foster an environment in which immigrant husbands can build up social networks with Koreans. Husbands also need to be provided more information about the labor market and have access to programs that enhance their employability and develop their existing skills. Immigrant husbands from developing countries in Korea are economically vulnerable in the beginning of their marriages (Kwak & Kim, 2019), and their socio-economic insecurity may be exacerbated due to lack of social capital. Similarly, Kim and Kim (2017) advocated setting up a mentoring program for employment that would match marriage immigrants with Koreans.

Further, there may be a discrepancy in opportunities between those with a higher socioeconomic status and those with a lower socioeconomic status. As reported by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (Chung et al., 2016), college educated, high earning immigrants may opt to use public channels and media to obtain employment-related information while less educated individuals are more likely to rely on informal (either co-ethnic or inter-ethnic) channels they can reach immediately. To secure more stable employment for male immigrant husbands, advertisements for available positions and access to this information should be available among the target population through local centers and adjustment programs.

One of the limitations of the present study is that there may be immigrants who prefer to be temporarily employed rather than fully committed to one single work place, especially those whose occupations are in the category of professionals, experts, or those in related fields. Indeed, in our sample about 20% of the professionals and experts in related fields were temporary employees. Further, it is possible that EPS workers are more likely to be contingent employees or they prefer to be so because of the temporary nature of their work. Nevertheless, with the current sample, we were not able to capture if being a temporary employee was a voluntary choice.

We do not have any information on whether immigrant husbands have support from their family, either monetarily or through other forms of help from people in their country of origin. If male immigrants are better prepared in the home country prior to moving to Korea, their chances of obtaining a more secure job may be higher. Hopefully, this issue will be touched upon in the next wave of the survey.

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