

FEATURES OF CROSS BORDER MARRIAGE BETWEEN MONGOLIAN AND KOREAN CITIZEN

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Хураангуй

Энэхүү ажлаар Монгол ба Солонгос иргэдийн хоорондын гэрлэлтийн түвшин, динамик хандлагыг судалж, Солонгос иргэдтэй гэр бүл бологсдын шинж байдлыг хүйсийн хувьд харьцуулан тодорхойлохыг зорьсон. Судалгааны ажил нь Солонгос иргэдтэй гэр бүл болж буй Монгол иргэдийн шинж байдлын талаарх дэлгэрэнгүй мэдээллийг албан ёсны мэдээлэлд үндэслэн анх удаа дэлгэн тавьснаараа онцлогтой бөгөөд хил дамнасан гэрлэлтийн талаарх дараа дараагийн судалгаа, шинжилгээ, бодлогын арга хэмжээнд ашиглагдах суурь мэдээллийн баазыг бүрдүүлж байгаагаараа ач холбогдолтой. Судалгаанд Монгол улсын УБЕГ-ын 1993-2013 оны гэрлэлтийн бүртгэлийн мэдээллийг ашиглаж дискретив статистикийн болон дистансийн шинжилгээг хийсэн. Гэрлэгсдийн шинж байдлыг судлахдаа хосуудын дундаж нас, насны зөрүүтэй байдал, оршин суугаа нутгийн ялгаатай байдал, боловсролын түвшин, түүнчлэн гэрлэхээс өмнөх гэр бүлийн байдал зэрэг нийгэм, хүн ам зүйн үзүүлэлтүүдэд шинжилгээ хийв. Судалгааны үр дүнгээс харахад Солонгос иргэдтэй гэрлэсэн Монгол иргэдийн гэрлэлт 1990-ээд оны эхэн үетэй харьцуулахад огцом нэмэгдэж 2005 онд нийт хил дамнасан гэрлэлтийн 66.7 хувийг эзэлж байсан бол 2013 оны байдлаар бага зэрэг буурч 48.3 хувьтай болсон байна. Солонгос иргэдтэй гэрлэсэн Монгол иргэдийн шинж байдал хүйсийн хувьд нэлээд ялгаатай байна. Жишээлбэл, Солонгос хостойгоо харьцуулахад эрэгтэй, эмэгтэй ялгаагүй насны хувьд залуу, боловсролын түвшин доогуур байна. Энд хосууд нийгэм, хүн ам зүйн шинж байдлын хувьд харилцан ялгаатай байгааг баримттайгаар дэлгэн харуулснаас гадна бодлогын болон судалгаа шинжилгээний зөвлөмж боловсруулсан.

Түлхүүр үгс: Хил дамнасан гэрлэлт, олон улсын гэрлэлт, хүйсийн шинжилгээ, шинж байдал, дистансийн шинжилгээ, гэрлэлтийн бүртгэлийн мэдээлэл

Abstract

The study put forward a main goal to determine by studying the level and dynamics of marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizen, with a comparative gender analysis of profiles of Mongolian citizen married to Korean. The study presented for the first time detailed information on profiles of Mongolian citizen married to Korean based on official statistics. It has great significance as a beginning of a basic database to be used in the future research and policy measures on cross border marriage. The Mongolian General Authority for State Registration marriage registration data in 1993-2013 in Mongolia was used for a descriptive statistical and distance analysis. In studying profiles of married couples, such social and demographic indicators as the median age of couples, the age difference between spouses, disparities in locations of residence, the educational level, previous marital status were analyzed. According to the findings, marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizen increased sharply compared to the beginning of the 1990's and accounted for 66.7% of total cross-border marriages in 2005. As of 2013, it declined slightly to 48.3%. Profiles of Mongolian citizen married to Korean differed substantially by gender. For instance, men and women alike were young, with a lower educational level compared to their Korean partners. Herewith, differences in social and demographic characteristics were illustrated based on facts. Finally, policy and research recommendations were made.

Key words: Cross border marriage, international marriage, gender analysis, characteristics, distance, and marriage registration data

1. Introduction

Cross-border marriage is widespread in Asian countries. In the last decade it grew intensively, and especially cross-border marriage migration between South East and North Eastern Asian countries was observed (Reena Tadee, Burathep Chokthananukoon, 2012; Daniel Belanger & Hong-zen Wang, 2012; Kawaguchi, Soohyung Lee, 2012; Melody CHia-Wen Lu, Wen-Shan Yang, 2010; Daiji Doo-Sub Kim, 2008). Such developed Asian countries as Japan, the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong are receiving marriage migrants, while developing or less economically developed countries are sending countries (Reena Tadee, Burathep Chokthananukoon, 2012).

According to researchers, two main trends are dominating in the flow of cross-border marriage migration between Asian countries: first, a trend for wealthy men from developed countries to meet and marry women from developing or less developed countries, while visiting such countries as tourists, in order to maintain the gender balance; second, finding a partner and marrying in a short time with assistance of marriage brokering agencies / mediated marriages/ (Melody Chia-Wen Lu, Wen-Shan Yang, 2010).

Therefore, international marriage can be basically divided into two groups: real marriage or fake, sham marriages (Reena Tadee, Burathep Chokthananukoon, 2012; NHRCM, 2008).

As for Mongolia, with its transition to the market economy in 1990's, population migration to foreign countries has grown significantly, in line with globalisation trends. The Constitution of Mongolia states that "The citizen have a right to freedom of movement and residence within the country, to travel and reside abroad, and to return home to the country"¹, which created legal grounds for citizen to travel, study, work

and reside abroad, and to return home to the country at any time.²

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 2010 in total 134.8 thousand Mongolian citizen resided abroad for a long term, of them 37 per cent studied, 41.3 per cent worked (of them 19.1% on a labor contract, 19.6% -privately, 2.6% -on an official appointment), 0.7 per cent received medical treatment, 21 per cent left the country to marry or on other purposes³. When countries of residence were ranked, the Republic of Korea was leading.

The number of Mongolian citizen, who married foreign nationals, increased 21 times in the past decade and women accounted for the majority (90-95%) of them. The percentage of women, who married Korean citizen, was the highest (70%)⁴. This remarkable increase in cross-border marriage includes real marriage based on mutual love and affection as well as sham marriage with foreign citizen, through marriage brokerage agencies and individuals that place advertisements with promises of attractive opportunities in international mass-media⁵ (Cheong-Seok Kim, 2008). At present there are no laws in Mongolia that allow or prohibit mediation services or marriage brokerage services in marrying foreign nationals. There is lack of a mechanism that controls institutions and individuals that provide brokerage services, so it is impossible to determine accurately the percentage of mediated marriage.

According to data of the Immigration Office under jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Korea from February 2014, 2377 Mongolian citizen married Koreans and are at present residing in Korea, of which the majority are women (n=2296). Although this number has been fluctuating in the past years, it has a trend for decline due to increasing divorce. As Korean researchers noticed in their work⁶,

¹The Constitution of Mongolia. Mongolian Laws, volume 1. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 2008, p 5.

² NSO, Mongolia, Population and Housing Census 2010. *Chapter Eleven: the number and structure of Mongolian citizen residing abroad, UB*, 2011, p 143

³ NSO Mongolia, Population and Housing Census 2010. *Chapter Eleven: the number and structure of Mongolian citizen residing abroad, UB*, 2011, p 144-150.

⁴ NHRC of Mongolia, Status report on human rights and freedoms, 2008. UB, p 74- 83.

⁵ Advertisements such as "We will marry you to a wealthy foreign national with a better than average living" are posted in all kinds of mass-media.

⁶ Doo-Sub Kim, Myoung-Jin Lee, 2008. *Spouse Dissimilarity and Marital Instability: An Analysis of Divorced Couples of International Marriage in Korea*. "Cross-Border Marriage: Process and Dynamics". Seoul, 2008. Printed in Republic of Korea by NeoPrintech.

the divorce rate among Korean citizens, who married foreign nationals, was on the rise and international families with citizen of Philippines, Mongolia and Uzbekistan accounted for the majority of recent divorce.

Mongolian women, who married Korean men and registered their marriage in Korea²², were on average 27.9 years old, were younger than their partner by 10.9 years, and had a relatively higher educational level compared to other women from Asian countries, who married Korean men. In total, 80 per cent of Mongolian women, who had a mediated marriage to a Korean man, were 18-25 years old, 20 per cent were aged 30-35, while the foreign nationals, their husbands, were aged 35-60, which illustrates that Mongolian women mostly married men, who were twice older²³. This wide age gap shows a high probability of such marriages being based on some kind of exchange according to the exchange theory rather than based on love.

There is a shortage of research on cross-border marriage in Mongolia. Moreover, there is a lack of any monographs in that field. Most previous research and analysis was concerned with the human rights issues, so cross-border marriage was viewed superficially as one of the causes of human rights violation. Since there is a common tendency for women to have mediated marriages, there were a number of cases, when young women were subjected to abuse or became victims of human trafficking under pretense of cross-border marriage (NHRCM, 2008; NCAV, 2007). Especially women, who had brokered marriage with Korean citizen and became victims of human trafficking, addressed some non-government organizations dealing with human rights issues.

Furthermore, in order to protect rights and freedoms of their population, Mongolia needs to clarify its position on cross-border marriage (CBM), to make amendments to the state population policy, the Family Law and other legal documents related to marriage, to create a basic database necessary for development of special,

stand-alone policies and programs on CBM.

Study of all aspects of cross-border marriage requires substantial effort and time. As a researcher, I chose to examine specifically cross-border marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizens as it accounts for over half of international marriages in Mongolia.

Research goals and significance

The study put forward a main goal to examine a level and dynamics of marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizens, profiles of Mongolian citizen marrying Korean in order to determine *who marries whom*. In the frame of the study goal, a number of social and demographic indicators were studied, such as the nationality and ethnicity of the spouse, the median age of couples, the age gap between spouses, specific features of locations of residence, the educational level, marital status before marriage.

For the first time detailed information on profiles of Mongolian citizen married to Korean based on official statistics, with gender analysis is presented to the general public by this study. It has great significance as a beginning of a basic database to be used in the future research and state policies and programs on cross border marriage.

2. Methodology

The study utilized statistical data on marriage registration from the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia. In 1983-2013 there were 6612 couples, who registered their marriage with foreign nationals at the General Authority for State Registration (GASR), of which 3872 couples registered marriage²⁴ with Korean citizen.

The statistical synthesis and grouping methods were used in preparation of basic data for analysis, descriptive statistical and bi-variate statistical analysis methods were used in the comparative gender analysis.

⁷ According to KNSO's data, in period from 2004 to 2005, there were 1040 Mongolian women married Korean men.

⁸ NHRC of Mongolia, Status report on human rights and freedoms, 2008. UB, p 74- 83

⁹ The cross-border marriage, which officially registered in a foreign country, but not registered in General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, were not included in this analysis.

Research Limitations

Since the study used secondary information sources, the selected profile indicators of married couples were limited by information found in the marriage registration forms. Information was collected on such indicators as date of marriage registration, date of marriage, date of birth, citizenship, place of residence / aimag/capital city/, nationality, educational level, marital status before the present marriage, the number of previous marriages, the number of children before the present marriage, the number of children after marriage.

3. Study on cross-border marriage of Mongolian and Korean citizen

3.1 General tend

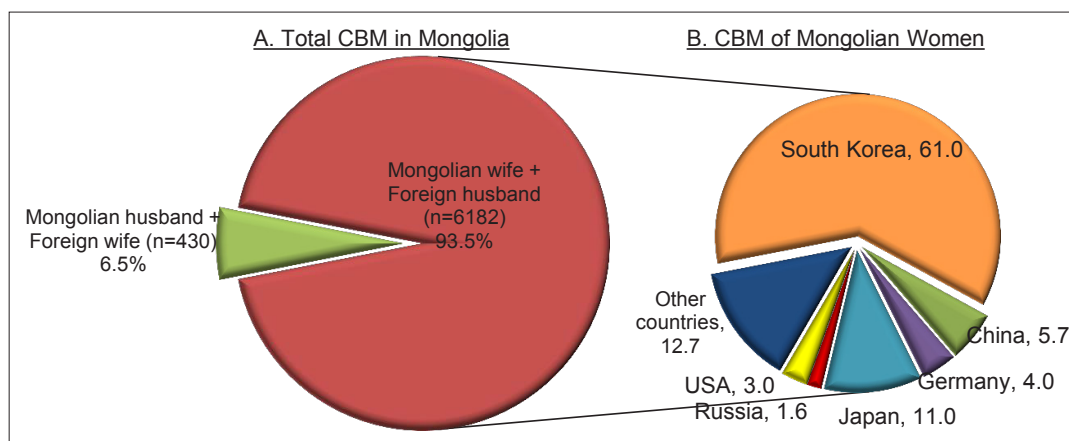
Since the 1990s, due to a transition of Mongolia to market relations, foreign relations expanded, which was observed in the frame of a family

as a primary unit of the society. For instance, the percentage of Mongolian citizen, who married foreign nationals increased 79 times in 2007 compared to that in 1983 (15.8% of total marriage), which was the highest indicator in the history of our country.

Although the indicator decreased slightly in 2007-2010, it picked up again in the past two to three years, reaching 6.2 per cent in 2013, which was 31 times greater compared to the 1993 level.

Figure 3.1 shows the percentage of total cross-border marriage in Mongolia and the percentage of Mongolian women, by citizenship of foreign spouses.

Figure 3.1: Percentage of Total Cross-border Marriage in Mongolia and percentage of CBM of Mongolian women by nationality of foreign husbands, 1993-2013



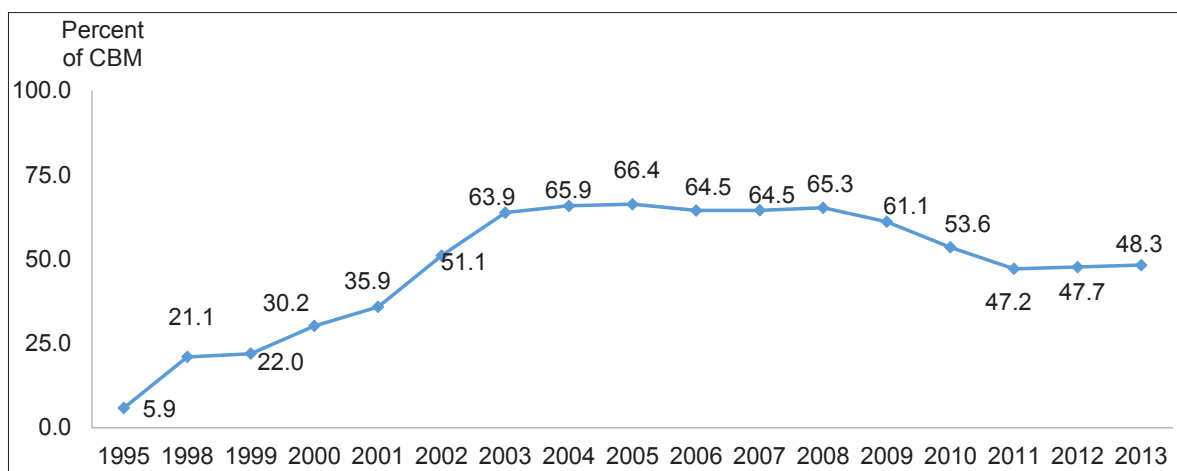
Source: Computed from marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

As the figure shows, women accounted for the majority of Mongolian citizens marrying foreign nationals (93.5%). Nearly two in three women married Korean citizens, which drew our attention. That is why study of cross-border marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizens was chosen in this work.

Figure 2 shows the changing dynamics of the percentage of CBM between Mongolian and Korean citizen.

While in 1995 marriage between Mongolian and Korean nationals accounted for only 5.9 per cent of total CBM, it increased steadily until 2005 reaching 66.4 per cent, which was 11.3 times greater compared to the 1995 level. The indicator decreased gradually from 65.3 per cent to 47.2 per cent in the period between 2008 and 2011, but started growing slightly since 2011. As of 2013, CBM between Mongolian and Korean citizen accounted for 48.3 per cent of total CBM, which was an indicator, 8.2 times greater against the 1995 level.

Figure 3.2: Percent of by cross border marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizens, 1995-2013



Source: Computed from marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1995-2013

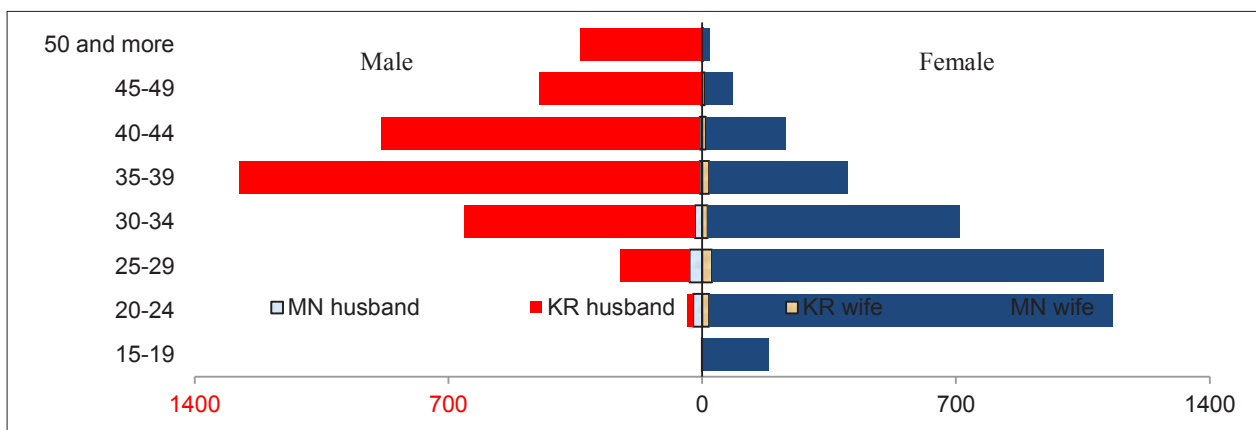
3.2 Demographic and social characteristics of CBM spouses

Age and sex composition

Figure 3.3 shows the age and sex composition of CBM Mongolian and Korean citizen.

As the figure shows, Mongolian women aged 20 to 29 made up the majority of Mongolian, who married Korean men. Among their spouses, men from the 35-39 age group prevailed. As for Mongolian men with Korean wives, the age group of both spouses was mostly 25-29.

Figure 3.3: Pyramid, Spouses /Mongolian and Korean/



Source: Marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

Note: MN – Mongolian, KR - Korean

When the median age at marriage was compared, Mongolian men were on average 29.35 years old, which was 3 points lower against the median age of their Korean spouses. On the contrary, the median age of Mongolian women, who married Korean men (28.36) was by 11.16 points lower than that of their spouses, which is an interesting indicator.

Table 3.1 shows percentage distribution of Mongolian and Korean spouses by indicators showing the age gap between spouses and the sex of Mongolian citizen.

The share of Mongolian husbands, who were older than their Korean wives (31%) was 2.2 times lower compared to that of men younger than their wives (66%) and only 3 per cent were

of the same age as their wives. The majority of Mongolian wives (93.6%) were younger than their husbands. Therefore, Mongolian who married Korean citizen, men and women alike, were younger than their Korean spouses, which is a remarkable indicator.

Over half of Mongolian men (52%) were three and over years younger than their wives, 14 per

cent were 1-2 years younger, 17 per cent were 3 and over years older and 14 per cent were 1-2 years older than their wives. Only 5.8 per cent of Mongolian women were older than their Korean husbands, the majority (89.2%) were 3 and over years younger than their husbands.

Table 3.1: Percentage distribution of spouses, by age difference and age difference gap, 1993-2013

Selected characteristics	Cross border marriage by sex of Mongolian citizen		CBM between Mongolian and Korean	Total CBM
	Mongolian husband + Korean wife	Mongolian wife + Korean husband		
Age difference				
Older husband	31.0	93.6	91.9	86.6
Older wife	66.0	4.7	6.3	10.5
Of the same age	3.0	1.7	1.7	3
Age difference gap				
Of the same age	3.0	1.7	1.7	3
Husband older by 1-2 years	14.0	4.3	4.6	7.4
Husband older by 3 and over years	17.0	89.2	87.3	79.2
Wife older by 1-2 years	14.0	2.7	2.9	4.6
Wife older by 3 and over years	52.0	2.1	3.4	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
Number of spouses	100	3772	3872	6612

Source: Computed from marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

Location characteristics

Table 3.2 shows percentage distribution of Mongolian citizen, who married Korean, by selected location characteristics and sex.

The majority of Mongolian, who married Korean (86.7-91%), resided in Ulaanbaatar, which was

the highest indicator among all regions.

The majority of Mongolian, who married Koreans (94-96.8%), lived in urban areas. By sex, the percentage of Mongolian urban women slightly exceeded that of Mongolian men (by 2.8 points).

Table 3.2: Percentage distribution of spouses, by selected location characteristics and sex

Selected characteristics	CBM by sex of Mongolian citizens		CBM between Mongolian and Korean	Total CBM
	Mongolian husband + Korean wife	Mongolian wife + Korean husband		
Husband's area of origin				
Western region	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3
Khangai region	4.0	4.5	4.5	3.6
Central region	3.0	6.7	6.6	6.1
Eastern region	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.9
Ulaanbaatar	91.0	86.6	86.7	88.1
Wife's area of origin				
Western region	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2
Khangai region	3.0	4.6	4.5	3.5
Central region	3.0	6.7	6.6	6.2
Eastern region	-	1.0	1.0	0.8
Ulaanbaatar	93.0	86.7	86.9	88.2
Husband's area of residence				
Rural	6.0	3.0	3.1	2.9
Urban	94.0	97.0	96.9	97.1
Wife's area of residence				
Rural	5.0	3.2	3.3	2.9
Urban	95.0	96.8	96.7	97.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of spouses	100	3772	3872	6612

Source: Computed from marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

Marital and Family Characteristics

Table 3.3 shows percentage distribution of Mongolian married to Koreans by selected family indicators and sex.

The above table illustrates that 19 per cent of Mongolian spouses, who married Korean, had been previously married before the present marriage. As for their Korean spouses, remarrying Korean women (37%) and remarrying Korean men (21.1%) prevailed. When couples were compared, regardless of sex, remarrying Korean couples were dominating.

Marital status before marriage compared by sex showed a lack of a significant difference

for Mongolian, who married Korean. When Korean women with Mongolian husbands were compared to Korean men with Mongolian wives, the share of single persons before the present marriage (63%) was lower by 15.8 points, the share of divorced (36%) was relatively high (16.9 points). The majority of persons, who remarried, were divorcees. The share of divorced Mongolian women was 18.3%, which was the lowest indicator compared to others. Moreover, the share of divorced Mongolian wives was lower against that of their Korean husbands by 2.6 points, that of CBM Mongolian men by 0.7 points and nearly twice lower than that of Korean women with Mongolian husbands.

Table 3.3: Percentage distribution of spouses, by marriage count, marital status before marriage and sex

Selected characteristics	CBM by sex of Mongolian citizen		CBM between Mongolian and Korean	Total CBM
	Mongolian husband + Korean wife	Mongolian wife + Korean husband		
Husband's marriage count				
First marriage	81.0	78.9	79.0	75.1
Re-marriage	19.0	21.1	21.0	24.9
Wife's marriage count				
First marriage	63.0	81.0	80.5	79.7
Re-marriage	37.0	19.0	19.5	20.3
Husband's marital status before marriage				
Single	81.0	78.9	79.0	75.1
Divorced	19.0	20.9	20.9	24.6
Widowed	-	0.2	0.2	0.2
Wife's marital status before marriage				
Single	63.0	81.0	80.5	79.7
Divorced	36.0	18.3	18.7	19.6
Widowed	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of spouses	100	3772	3872	6612

Source: Computed from marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

Table 3.4 shows percentage distribution of children before and after marriage. Mongolian, who married Korean, by the number

Table 3.4: Percentage distribution of spouses, by the number of children before and after present marriage, by sex

	CBM by sex of Mongolian citizen		CBM between Mongolian and Korean	Total CBM
	Mongolian husband + Korean wife	Mongolian wife + Korean husband		
Whether husband had children before marriage				
Don't have children	81.0	86.9	86.7	83.7
Have children	19.0	13.1	13.3	16.3
Whether wife had children before marriage				
Don't have children	69.0	78.9	78.6	75.0
Have children	31.0	21.1	21.4	25.0
Whether couples had children after marriage				
Don't have children	95.0	96.5	96.4	92.8
Have children	5.0	3.5	3.6	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of spouses	100	3772	3872	6612

Source: Computed from marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

Women as compared to men more often had children from a previous marriage. Moreover, the percentage of women, who had children from the previous marriage, Mongolian and Korean alike, was higher against that of men. While the percentage of Mongolian women with children from a previous marriage marrying a foreign national (25.6%) was the highest, slightly different conditions were observed in marriage between Mongolian and Korean. This indicator was the highest among Korean women with Mongolian husbands, namely 31 per cent.

The percentage of Korean husbands with children from the previous marriage was the lowest at 13.1 per cent. Of total CBM couples,

7.2 per cent had children in the course of cohabitation and married after that officially, but as for marriage between Mongolian and Korean, this indicator was twice lower, or 3.6 per cent. While 5 per cent of couples with a Mongolian husband had a child before marriage registration, which was 1.4 times higher compared to couples with a Mongolian wife.

Educational level

The educational level is one of major factors affecting marriage. Table 3.5 shows in detail selected indicators of the educational level of couples by sex.

Table 3.5: Percentage distribution of spouses, by selected characteristics of their educational level, by sex

	CBM by sex of Mongolian citizens		CBM between Mongolian and Korean	Mongolians' cross-border marriage by sex		Total CBM
	Mongolian husband + Korean wife	Mongolian wife + Korean husband		Mongolian husband + Foreign wife	Mongolian wife + Foreign husband	
Husband's educational level						
Not educated	5.0	0.3	0.4	5.3	0.3	0.7
Primary	1.0	0.1	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.2
Incomplete secondary	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.6	0.5	0.6
Completed secondary	56.0	68.1	67.8	39.5	58.1	56.9
Technical and vocational		0.7	0.6	0.5	1.0	0.9
Special professional secondary	2.0	1.2	1.3	2.6	1.8	1.8
Higher /Diploma, BA, MA, PhD and more/	35.0	29.1	29.3	49.3	38.2	39.0
Wife's educational level						
Not educated	0.0	12.2	11.9	0.5	10.1	9.5
Primary	0.0	2.2	2.1	0.2	2.3	2.2
Incomplete secondary	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.6
Completed secondary	63.0	52.8	53.0	41.2	46.4	46.1
Technical and vocational	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
Special professional secondary	1.0	2.8	2.7	1.9	3.0	2.9
Higher /Diploma, BA, MA, PhD and more/	35.0	29.2	29.4	55.3	37.3	38.4
Education gap						
Both with the same educational level	69.0	49.4	49.9	64.0	47.8	48.9
More educated husband	15.0	28.0	27.7	14.4	27.3	26.5
More educated wife	16.0	22.6	22.4	21.6	24.9	24.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of spouses	100	3772	3872	430	6,182	6612

Source: Computed from marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

The educational level of Mongolian, who married Korean citizen, was relatively low compared to the educational level of total Mongolian, who married foreign nationals. Moreover, while men with high school education dominated among Mongolian men, who married Korean (56%), men with higher education made up a majority of total Mongolian men, who married foreign women (49.3%). While women with higher education prevailed among women, who married Mongolian men (55.3%), women with high school education accounted for the majority of Korean women, who married Mongolian men (35%), which was similar to the pattern of Mongolian men. A different picture is observed among Mongolian women, who married foreign nationals and their husbands. Persons with high school education prevailed among total Mongolian CBM women, Mongolian women, who married Korean as well as their husbands. When education of CBM persons was compared by sex, the educational level of Mongolian men and their spouses was higher compared to that of Mongolian women and their spouses. This ratio was similar among Mongolian-Korean couples.

At national level, in 1993 to 2013 of total CBM couples, 48.4 per cent had the same level of education, among 24.7 per cent of couples the wife was more educated and among 26.5 per cent of couples, the husband was more educated. As for marriage between Korean and Mongolian, the table shows a similar ratio.

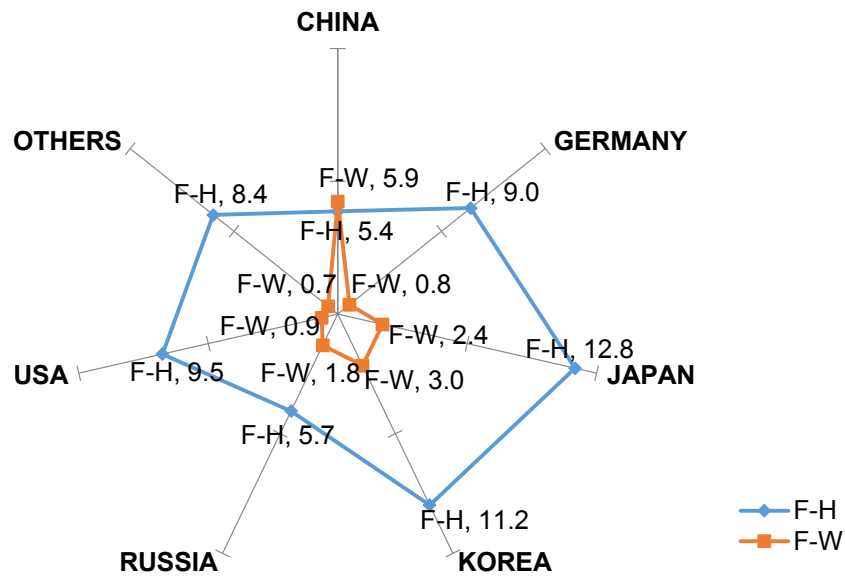
The share of couples, where the husband has a higher educational level was 27.7, with an increase by 1.2 points, the share of couples, where the wife had a higher educational level was 22.4 with a decline by 2.3 points.

The share of husbands with the same educational level as their spouses (69%) was higher by 19.6 points among Mongolian husbands, while the share of Mongolian women, whose husband had a higher educational level (28%) was higher by 13 points. The share of Mongolian women with a higher educational level compared to their husbands (22.6%) was higher by 6.6 points compared to that of Mongolian husbands.

3.3 Distance between age and educational level of CBM couples

Figure 3.4 shows the distance between age and educational level of CBM couples. The distance was relatively great for Mongolian women with foreign husbands, with a relatively high indicator of 11.2 for Mongolian women with Korean husbands (that of Mongolian women with Japanese husbands was 12.8). As for Mongolian men with foreign wives, the distance was relatively low compared to that of Mongolian women with foreign husbands. The age and education gap was 3 for Mongolian husbands with Korean wives, which was 3.7 times lower compared to that of Mongolian women with Korean husbands.

Figure 3 4: Distance in age and education attainment of cross border marriage couples, by foreign spouses nationality and mongolian spouses sex

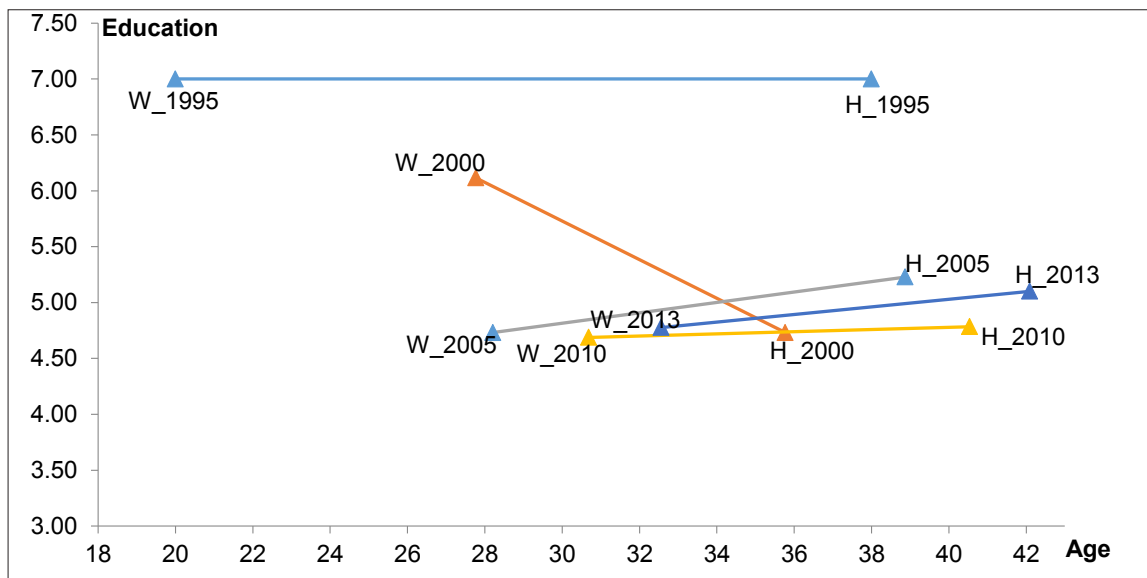


Source: Estimated using marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

Note: F-H Foreign husband, F-W Foreign wife

Figure 3.5 calculated the age and education gap among Mongolian-Korean couples and showed dynamic changes. The age and education gap among Korean Mongolian couples has declined nearly twice in 2010 (gap -9.5) compared to that in 1993 (gap -18).

Figure 3.5: Distance in Age and Educational Attainment of Cross Border Marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizens, 1995-2013

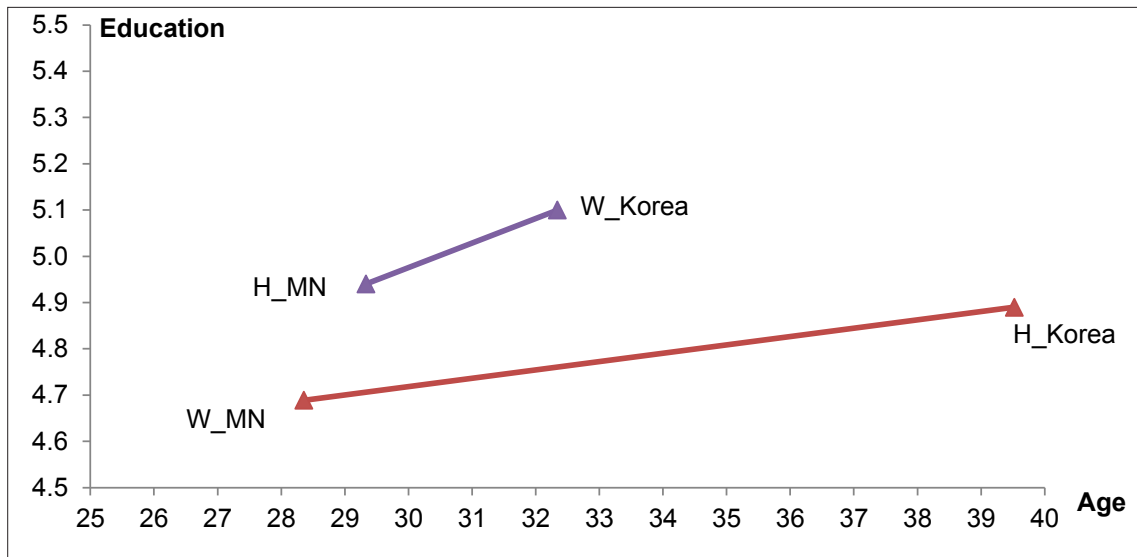


Source: Estimated using marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

Figure 3.6 shows the age and education gap by sex. The figure shows that the educational level of Mongolian men and their spouses was higher compared to that of Mongolian women and their spouses and the age gap was relatively small.

The figure further proves that regardless of sex Mongolian, who married Korean, were younger and had a lower educational level compared to their spouses.

Figure 3.6: Distance in Age and Educational Attainment of Marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizens, by sex, 1993-2013



Source: Estimated using marriage registration data of the General Authority for State Registration of Mongolia, 1993-2013

4. Conclusions and Discussion

Changes take place in every country in the world due to globalization. It makes a certain effect on the history of marriage in Mongolia as well. Since transition to market economy and an open social and economic policy with foreign countries, the number of Mongolian citizens travelling abroad has sharply increased, an interest and tendency to marry foreign nationals has grown as well.

The present study put forward the main goal to determine *who marries whom* by studying marriage between Mongolian and Korean citizens, its dynamics, characteristics of Mongolian, who marry Korean and their gender analysis. For the first time detailed information on profiles of Mongolian citizen married to Korean based on official statistics, with gender analysis is presented to the general public by this study. It has great significance as a beginning of a basic database to be used in the future research and state policies and programs on cross border marriage.

Based on study findings following conclusions were made:

- Women accounted for the majority of CBM Mongolian citizen (93.5%) with nearly 2 out of 3 marrying Korean citizen, which is a remarkable indicator. With re-

gard to that, Korea became a recipient of marriage migration, while Mongolia is a sending country.

- While in 1995 marriage between Mongolian and Korean nationals accounted for only 5.9 per cent of total CBM, it increased steadily until 2005 reaching 66.4 per cent, which was the highest indicator in history. The indicator decreased gradually to 48.3 per cent as of 2013, which was related to exposure of negative consequences of brokered marriage that became very popular at that time, attention paid by state organizations and NGOs to that issue, certain measures taken by them.
- When the median age at marriage was compared, Mongolian men were on average 29.35 years old, which was 3 points lower against the median age of their Korean spouses. On the contrary, the median age of Mongolian women, who married Korean men (28.36) was by 11.16 points lower than that of their spouses. The educational level of Mongolian, who married Korean citizen, was relatively low compared to the educational level of total Mongolian, who married foreign nationals, which is an interesting indicator.
- The distance between age and educational level of spouses was relatively great for

Mongolian women with foreign husbands, with a relatively high indicator of 11.2 for Mongolian women with Korean husbands (that of Mongolian women with Japanese husbands was 12.8). As for Mongolian men with foreign wives, the distance was relatively low compared to that of Mongolian women with foreign husbands. The age and education gap was 3 for Mongolian husbands with Korean wives, which was 3.7 times lower compared to that of Mongolian women with Korean husbands.

- The study findings show that Mongolian, who married Korean citizen, men and women alike, were younger than their Korean spouses, and their educational level was lower, which is a remarkable indicator. By sex, the educational level of Mongolian men and their Korean spouses was higher than that of Mongolian women and their Korean spouses and the age gap was smaller among couples with Mongolian husbands.
- The majority of Mongolian, who married Koreans (94-96.8%), lived in urban areas, especially in Ulaanbaatar (86.7-91%). It can be concluded that urban residents, especially UB residents, were more open on the issue of marrying a foreigner.
- Nearly one in 5 Mongolian, who married Korean (men and women 19% each) had previously been married before the present marriage. Among their Korean spouses the number of re-marrying persons of each sex was also prevailing. The majority of previously married persons were divorced.
- Women as compared to men more often had children from a previous marriage. This indicator was the highest among Korean women with Mongolian husbands, namely 31 per cent. The percentage of Korean husbands with children from the previous marriage was the lowest at 13.1 per cent.
- Only 3.6 per cent of Mongolian-Korean couples had children in the course of cohabitation and married after that officially, but it differed significantly by sex. In total, 5 per cent of couples with a Mongolian husband had a child before marriage registration,

which was 1.4 times higher compared to couples with a Mongolian wife.

A trend to marry Korean citizen is common among Mongolian women, but a relatively different picture was observed by characteristics and sex. Although we lack an official source to determine, which of CBM was real or fake, based on study findings a conclusion can be made that marriage of Mongolian men to Korean women was more likely to be real, while among Mongolian women, who marry Korean, fake marriage might be prevailing. However, we are not saying that Mongolian men do not use marriage brokerage. Characteristics of some Mongolian men, who married Korean women, show that they married Korean women, who were on average 3 years older, with a relatively high education level, who remarried and had children from a previous marriage, which might be a mediated marriage with the Moon religion followers.

The above conclusion is a personal conclusion of a researcher. In order to clarify and prove the point, there is a need for a legal environment and conditions to create an official, objective statistical database on mediated marriage. In that way causes and conditions of CBM can be studied separately for a real and fake marriage and there will be an opportunity to take policy measures to regulate the issue of a fake marriage.

Furthermore, in the researcher's opinion, there is a need for an in-depth study of causes, conditions and consequences of CBM between Mongolian (especially women) and Korean citizen.

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