

Koreans in the Philippines: A Study of the Formation of their Social Organization

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Koreans in the Philippines have formed a Korean community to uphold their roots and their pride as Koreans.

I will pay attention to their associations as social organizations derived from a community in this research. South Koreans in the Philippines have formed various associations so that they may cope with many problems and explore the ways of coexistence with Filipinos and other foreigners. The activities of these associations have helped South Koreans solve their problems in cooperation with each other. Thus they have been able to live as Koreans in the Philippines.

According to R.M. Maclver (1975) when a certain area has people who share some social features, such as social similarities, common social ideas, customs, tradition, common feelings, etc., it is called a community. 'Associations' are groups, which are artificially organized so that people may do some activities on the basis of the same aim.

This paper will view associations as groups formed in a community and consider what role the associations have played for South Koreans living as foreigners in the Philippines.

This paper is based on my fieldwork in the Philippines in July 2001 and from January to February 2003. First, I'd like to mention the background and the features of South Korean immigration into the Philippines, the process of the formation of South Korean associations, and the activities of the United Korean Community Association Inc. (UKCA), the largest Korean association in the Philippines.

THE BACKGROUND AND FEATURES OF KOREAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE PHILIPPINES

About 5,650,000 South Koreans overseas are living in 151 countries as of 2001. The total population of South Korea is about 46,858,000 as of 1999 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Emigration Division 2001).

The Philippines ranks 10th among countries hosting South Koreans, the largest number in Southeast Asia (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2001).

Based on the Annual Report of Statistics on Immigration and Emigration Control of the South Korean Ministry of Justice, the number of Korean immigrants to the Philippines increased since 1985 but in 1999 the number decreased a little (Table 1).

Table 1. Korean Immigrants to the Philippines

Year	Number
1985	4,036
1995	106,519
1997	149,722
1999	110,535

Table 2 shows the number of those who have stayed long (the number registered in the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Philippines). The number continues increasing year by year.

Table 2. Registered South Korean Immigrants in the Philippines

Year	Number
1992	5,038
1995	9,708
1997	8,000
1999	10,137
January 2001	24,618

Of the 24,618 registered South Koreans in the Philippines in January 2001, 12,388 are males and 12,230 are females. There is a difference of only 158 persons in the number of males and females. In terms of occupation held by the Koreans, Table 3 describes the various

occupational groups. The number of female office workers is larger than that of male office workers (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Emigration Division 2001: 91).

Table 3. Occupation of Registered South Koreans in the Philippines

Occupation	Number
Self-managed business	7,365
Student	7,218
Housewife	2,589
Office worker	1,274
Representatives	1,125

But the Koreans who have been staying long in the Philippines say that there are 30,000 Koreans staying in the country now.

In summary, (1) the number of Koreans who have settled down in the Philippines is increasing each year, (2) the number of those who are in their prime is large, (3) most of those who are staying for a short time are tourists, and most of those who are staying for a long time are those in self-managed business, students, wives, and company representatives, and (4) there is little difference in the number of males and females among those who are staying long.

HISTORY OF KOREAN INFLOW INTO THE PHILIPPINES AND THE FORMATION OF THEIR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The first term (from the 8th century till about the end of Second World War: from Korean inflow to the settlement of the first generation)

Korean inflow to the Philippines began in the 8th century. It is said that a military general called Chan Bogo expanded trade to China, Japan and Southeast Asia, and then entered the Philippines for the first time.

After about a thousand years, three Koreans including Father Kim Dae Gun came to the Philippines. They started from Seoul for Macao in December 1836, but a riot broke out among the Portuguese and Chinese who had settled in Macao. To escape from the riot, they took refuge in the Philippines via Macao in 1837.

They returned to Macao after staying several months in the Philippines, but after two years, another riot broke out, and they had to take refuge again in the Philippines. It is said that they lived in a

monastery in Lolomboy near the Manila metropolitan area (Korean Catholic Churches in the Philippines 1996:30). It became the foundation of the Korean Catholic community in the Philippines after one hundred and fifty years.

About one hundred years passed since Father Kim Dae Gun came to the Philippines. It is said that several Koreans from Wiju of Pyeongan-bugddo in North Korea went to China by land in order to sell ginseng and arrived in the Philippines via Vietnam in 1935 or there about. They were the first Korean generation in the Philippines.

Japan governed both the Philippines and Korea during World War II. Many Koreans arrived in the Philippines as soldiers under the Japanese Army. While under the command of Japanese officers and soldiers, Korean soldiers committed a lot of atrocities against Filipinos and hence were not at all liked. Under these circumstances, three Koreans from Wiju who wanted to live in the Philippines permanently decided to marry poor Filipino women who were peddling at the roadside. One of them, Mr. Pak Yun Hwa established the Korean Association Philippines Inc., the largest Korean organization in the Philippines in 1969. He became its first President.¹

The second term (from 1945 till the 1970s: participation of Philippine armies in the Korean War and international marriage)

The second term is the time when the foundation of the diplomatic relations between the Philippines and South Korea was laid. The Philippines had concluded diplomatic relations earlier with the United States, Taiwan, Britain, France, and then with South Korea in March 1949. The following year, on 15 June 1950, the Korean War broke out (Polo 1999:170). About 7,200 Philippine officers, soldiers, and engineers were sent to the Korean Peninsula as part of UN Forces. While Philippine troops were in South Korea for about five years, some married South Korean women. In the 1960s about 30 households began to move to the Philippines (Kim 1979).

Moreover, in both countries, consulates were set up in 1954, and embassies in 1958. Furthermore, personnel of Asian Development Bank and World Health Organization, the Christian missionaries, and students studying abroad came to the Philippines.

In those days, the important thing to South Koreans in the Philippines was to promote their friendship. There were four activities

at that time. First, as explained in the first term, the Korean Association Philippines, Inc. was formed in 1969 (it was renamed the United Korean Community Association Inc. in 2001).

Second, when many Korean families settled down in the Philippines, their children's education became important. In order to foster patriotism, the Korean Community School was opened in Manila on 15 August 1970. The school is for children in kindergarten to high school level. They have classes every Saturday (Korean Community School 2000).

Third, the Korean women who married Filipinos formed the Mothers Association in 1975.

Fourth, the networks of religion were formed. The Manila Korean Union Church, a Protestant ecumenical church, was founded in Manila in 1974. In 1979, a Korean priest who was studying in the Philippines said masses for the representatives of business companies and several students studying in the Philippines (Korean Catholic Churches in the Philippines 1996). Thus the Christian networks based on churches were formed.

Various Korean events were systematized when the Mothers Association was formed and Korean Christians gathered together and talked with each other. They began to work to promote friendship, although there were only a few participants.

In 1959, the Philippine Expeditionary Forces to Korea (PEFTOK) was formed by the former Philippine soldiers who took part in the Korean War, and its activities continue until now.²

The third term (in the 1980s: the increase in the number of Korean businessmen by the advance of Korean companies)

The feature of the third term was the increase in the number of Korean businessmen who managed small or medium-sized companies. In the 1980s, the economic conditions of South Korea significantly changed. Labor-intensive industries began relocating their companies overseas because of many problems in South Korea, such as the rise of wages, the shortage of laborers, the rise of the US dollar-Korean won exchange rate. The Philippines has been promoting an introduction of foreign capital policy since the 1970s, an export-processing zone was built, and measures of treating foreign companies favorably were taken. The people and the capital of South Korea began to move at the same

time. It was the time when push and pull factors surfaced (Kutsumi 2002). Beginning the second half of the 1980s, the number of managers of small and medium-sized, or big enterprises and their families increased rapidly.

Moreover, a big religious activity transpired in a Korean Catholic Church. A commemorative ceremony for the 150th anniversary of Father Kim Dae Gun's martyrdom was held by about 110 believers in 1986, and they built Father Kim Dae Gun's bronze statue with the aid of a Korean cardinal and a Philippine bishop in Lolomboy. It was raised as a church belonging to the Manila parish in 1989, and named St. Kim Dae Gun Andrew Parish (Korean Catholic Churches in the Philippines 1996:44, 57). The church has about 500 believers as of February 2003.

The South Korean Protestant Missionary Association was also formed in 1986. Data as of 1999 show that 371 missionaries who belonged to the association were dispatched from 47 Protestant missionary associations in South Korea. A total of 932 people, including missionaries' families, and 561 others live in Quezon City, Rizal, Angeles, and so on, and many theological colleges, and universities which missionaries are managing have been founded (Korean Missionary Association in the Philippines 1999:XX).

The fourth term (in the 1990s: the start of big projects by large enterprises and the birth of various associations)

The features of the fourth term saw Koreans often gathered together, to reconfirm their identity in the Philippines and unite themselves against various problems. In order to unite themselves, various associations were formed. Moreover, the managers not only of small and medium-sized businesses but also of big enterprises entered the Philippines.

The Overseas Korean Traders Association was established by the managers of trade businesses in March 1991. The Mothers Association, which was formed in 1975 by Korean women halted its activities for some time, but in 1994 it was revived as the Korean Women's Association in the Philippines and has become a venue for forming friendships among the wives of representatives, housewives and so on.

In 1995, the Korean Restaurant Association was formed by those who managed eating-and-drinking business, accommodation business, groceries, etc. In the same year, all the former Presidents, together with

businessmen launched the Korean Chamber of Commerce Philippines Inc. The Branch Office Association, the branch office of business companies, aviation business, banks, etc. was formed in 1996; in 1997 the following associations were also formed: Construction Association by construction companies, and Korean Students Association by the students studying in the Philippines whose number had been increasing every year.³

Furthermore, the period was also the time when various print media for Koreans appeared. Daily information in their native language became indispensable for South Koreans who have settled down in the Philippines. Examples of these Korean news publications are the *Weekly Korea Post* (first published in September 1993), the *Manila Seoul Weekly* (August 1994), the *News Gate* (1995), the *Korean News Focus Weekly Magazine* and the *Weekly Manila* (both in 2000). They were distributed for free once a week by Korean sponsors who managed their own businesses.⁴

The fifth term (since 2000: the period of the formation of Korean networks with Filipinos)

The fifth term can be called the start of Korean cooperative activities with Filipinos and foreigners in the Philippines, and of Korean positive contribution to Philippine society. Though there were some differences in the circumstances of the founding of these associations, they had the common purpose of carrying out the activities which contributed to Filipinos and Philippine society.

The fifth term is much different from the first term to the fourth term when systematic activities by Koreans had been done, but now Koreans began (and have continued) their contributions to the Philippine society. Moreover, for Korean children's education, it is the time when schools have successively been founded so that South Koreans may establish their identity as Koreans.

On the other hand, the complicated problems which were not in the early stages of the formation of the Korean community in the Philippines surfaced following five crises. I'd like to describe how the five crises have been solved in cooperation with Filipinos and other nationalities.

First, many South Koreans who lost their jobs under the influence of the Asian currency crisis in 1997 came to the Philippines. In the

Philippines, the number of those who began self-managed business without acquiring a working visa increased. In order to solve the problem, the Merchant Association was formed in July 2001 (it was renamed the Financial Expert Union Association in 2002). Its members have been busy with activities that help in getting a working visa, and coping with many problems in starting companies.⁵

Second, the number of South Korean tourists in the Philippines has been increasing since the second half of the 1990s. South Korean tourist guides came to stay over a long period of time, but since they guided without having a working visa, regulations were strengthened by the Philippine Immigration Office. In order to solve the problem, the Travel Company Association in the Philippines was formed in June 2001. In June 2002, the staff of the Department of Tourism and the Bureau of Immigration in the Philippines deliberated on the problem, and it was decided that a special seminar be held for Korean tourist guides in the Department of Tourism. Koreans who obtained a guide license were formally given a special working permit visa for a year.

Third, the Chamber of Commerce formed the Joint Foreign Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines with the United States, Australia, Japan, Spain, Taiwan, etc. in 2001.⁷ They have meetings to discuss the maintenance of infrastructure, controlling air pollution, and so on. Through their meetings, they do not only broadly obtain the opportunities for business, but manage crises in cooperation with foreign businessmen.

Fourth, a Presidential Statute, Article 156 promulgated on 12 December 2002 by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo prohibited the importation of used cars and used accessories which affected Korean managers and thousands of Philippine employees. The South Korean Used Automobile Import Association was formed, and a direct appeal to President Macapagal-Arroyo was made to revise the law. It also resulted in a large-scale demonstration by about 1,000 Philippine employees (*Manila Seoul Weekly*, 1 February 2003).

Fifth, the number of Koreans who wanted short linguistic training increased. Language schools which Koreans managed were also set up one after another. However, the number of students who were learning in the language schools without having any Special Study Permit (SPP) visa also increased. The staff of the Philippine Bureau of Immigration exposed them, and repatriated them by force to their native countries

(*Korean Bulletin*, Autumn Issue, 2000:12). The Koreans who managed linguistic schools formed the Linguistic School Association in the Philippines. When the schools were formally approved, the procedure of issuing SSP was made easier for students.

As mentioned above, when crises arose, South Koreans through their associations carried out activities, sometimes through trial and error, to get Koreans out of trouble in cooperation with the Philippine authorities.

On the other hand, volunteer activities for Filipinos have been done actively. For example, I'd like to cite four of them.

First, the Overseas Korean Traders Association established a scholarship committee, and scholarships have been offered to the students of the University of the Philippines and public high schools since 2001 (*Manila Seoul Weekly*, 16 April 2004: www.manilaseoul.com). The members of the association have been working hard so that Filipinos may have a good image of South Koreans in the Philippines.

Second, in February 2001, the Korea-Philippines Friendship Hospital, which has an obstetrics and gynecology department and a pediatrics department, was built by the members of the Korean Investors Association Cavite, a group of Korean businessmen in the Cavite economic zone.

Third, the House of Sarang (love), was founded by Korean businessmen, men of religion, and others in gratitude to Philippine soldiers who had fought in the Korean War. It is an institution where boys from six to 13 years old who lived as street children can enter.⁸

Fourth, Christians are actively doing service activities. Every Sunday afternoon, the members of Joyful Church give hamburgers and juice to the street children who are living in the area between Baclaran and Luneta Park, worship God, and pray with about 200 persons. Korean Christians of other churches and students studying in the Philippines participate in the activity as volunteers.⁹ Moreover, its president (in fiscal year 2003-2004) and eager Christians have built a village for lepers.¹⁰

The mutual cultural exchange between the Philippines and South Korea is likewise being promoted. The Filipino-Korean Cultural Foundation, Inc. was founded in 2000 and its president has long associations with the members of the PEFTOK formed by former Philippine soldiers in 1959.

Moreover, the Kor-Phil Family Association Inc. for mixed-culture families who are rapidly increasing in number was formed in 2002 in cooperation with the President of the Foundation. It has about a hundred members as of February 2003. Korean teachers who are proficient in English and Tagalog give a series of lectures on Hungul every Saturday. Members of Korean Women's Association approve of the Association, and every year, hold traditional events peculiar to South Korea, such as New Year of the lunar calendar, Chusok at the time of the All Souls' Day of the lunar calendar, etc., so that South Koreans in the Philippines may understand Korean culture. They want their children to be able to speak Korean fluently and write it well and also want them to have identity as South Koreans by understanding South Korean culture.¹¹

As mentioned above, South Koreans in the Philippines have felt the necessity of associating with and being friendly with Filipinos and have been doing various activities of their own in Philippine society since 2000. Through associations, South Koreans have been on good terms with Filipinos. Thus, Korean life has been safeguarded by the associations formed for Koreans' sake.

THE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE FEATURES OF UNITED KOREAN COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION, INC.

Next, let us consider Korean networks in the Philippines through the United Korean Community Association Inc. (UKCA), the base of the Korean community.

The UKCA was established in 1969, and the 15th president succeeded this post in 2004. It has headquarters in Makati City which is the business center of the Manila metropolitan area.¹²

The aims of UKCA are to show South Koreans' pride and contribute to the development of their homeland by strengthening South Korean friendship and fellowship in the Philippines, by promoting their welfare, and by living with Filipinos harmoniously. It supports South Korean physical training, environment, culture and education so that they can have their identity and pride and love for their race (*Korean Bulletin*, January and February, 2001:3).

The organization of UKCA consists of (1) the board of executives, (2) the board of directors, (3) the board of advisers, (4) the presidents of seven branches of UKCA of local cities (Bataan, Angeles, Subic, Baguio, Boracay, Cebu, and Davao) which are managed independently,

and (5) the representatives of eleven branches in Metropolitan Manila where many South Koreans live (Manila, Parañaque, Pasay, Pasig, Quezon, Makati, Mandaluyong, Antipolo and Rizal, Cavite, Laguna and Batangas). They have about 50 members.

The term of the managing staff is two years. It is constituted of president, vice-presidents, inspectors specializing in accounts, and the chiefs of the bureaus which take charge of general affairs, public relations, etc. In fiscal year 2003-2004, a female vice-president was elected for the first time in UKCA. Moreover, the chief of the social welfare bureau is also newly-elected, and the plan of organizing volunteer activities for Filipinos is being considered.

People elected as the directors of the board are as follows: the presidents of the local UKCA which have 100 or more regular members, president, three representatives of all the past presidents, the representatives of the Philippine branches of Korean Sports Association, of Korean Women's Association, of branch business company association, of investment association, of international organizations, of Protestant Missionary Association, of the chamber of commerce, of traders association, of financial (merchant) association, of travel company association, and of Korean Students Association, and five members who are chosen by recommendation of 30 or more regular members as recommendation directors.

Its president recommends some persons as advisers, and directors choose several advisers from them. The advisers have duties as consultants. The Ambassador of the Republic of Korea in the Philippines, the vice-governor and the director of the Asian Development Bank, the chief executive of the Boy Scouts, and some of the past presidents have become advisers.

As subsidiary organizations of UKCA, there are South Korean schools and the Philippine branches of South Korean Sports Association. The articles of South Korean schools can be revised after the directors of South Korean schools have proposed them, the directors of UKCA have considered and discussed them, and the members of a general meeting have approved them.

Membership fee is Php1,000 a year. There are about 1,000 households (when one household is considered to have four persons, there are about 4,000 members). The number of persons working for business companies is 10 percent, of persons managing business

companies, 20 percent, of self-employed persons, 40 percent, of missionaries, 10 percent, and of students, 20 percent. As for age groups, the number of babies less than twelve months old to their 20s is 30 percent, from their 30s to their 50s, 60 percent, and the number of elderly people (the oldest are in their seventies), 10 percent.

Activities of UKCA can roughly be divided into five types: (1) life consultations in the Philippines, applying for visas for working or studying and consultations about preventing crimes, (2) holding events so that South Koreans may be friendly, (3) promoting friendship among foreigners in the Philippines, (4) activities profitable for Filipinos and Philippine society, and (5) forming networks with Koreans living all over the world. Concrete examples of each type of activity will be given next.

In February 2002, UKCA tied up with the Philippine Bureau of Immigration about a visa memorandum (MOU), and UKCA was able to facilitate the granting of 9G working visas to Koreans. Until then, it usually took six months for Koreans to be granted working visas, but now they can get them within only forty to sixty days. Moreover, 'fund-raising for Korean development' was established in 2001 to improve Koreans' welfare. Contributions are collected at any time. UKCA leased an office for 34 years, but in 2003, it was able to purchase an office in Makati City through these contributions.

Filipino-Korean Cultural Exchange Festival Night is held every two years. It is the biggest Korean event in Manila. The 11th Festival was held in 2002. About 3,500 Filipinos and South Koreans gathered at the Ninoy Aquino Stadium. Filipino and South Korean singers were invited. Philippine employees of South Korean companies participated, and songs and dances were performed. Exchange through sports is also held, and the 17th Korean athletic meet was held in 2004.

The Federation of Foreign Associations in the Philippines, Inc. was formed among the presidents of communities of about 12 nations, such as Americans, Spaniards, Japanese, and others who live in the Philippines. It meets periodically to discuss the protection of rights and measures to ensure the safety of foreigners who live in the Philippines and to exchange information with one another. For example, at the meeting in October 2002, the lawyers of an immigration office were also invited and a seminar was held about foreigners' visa problems (*Korean Bulletin*, winter issue, 2002:25).

Some activities that benefited Filipinos include a big clean-up activity of the Manila Bay in March 2003 and a blood letting campaign that will provide blood free of charge to Koreans and Filipinos during emergencies. Installing garbage cans in Makati City was also among the planned activities. The members of PEFTOK set up a memorial tower at Yuruton in Gyeonggi-do in South Korea for the Philippine soldiers who were killed in the War. When the members of Yuruton Commemoration Association, all of whom are Filipinos, held a commemorative ceremony in South Korea on 23 April 2001, the executives of UKCA were present. Thus, the historical relation between the Philippines and South Korea was strengthened, and the next generation of Koreans has succeeded to it.

Finally, Koreans living in foreign countries have been making an effort to unify the Korean Peninsula. There is a Philippine branch in the Southeast Asia branches of Democratic Peace Unification Consultation Association. Some of the past presidents are the members. They have been endeavoring to unify both South and North Korea with Koreans in foreign countries. In addition, the members of UKCA financially helped the victims of the Great Hanshin Earthquake in Japan in January 1995, and of the flood damage in South Korea in September 2002.

Thus, the members of UKCA have helped not only South Koreans but foreigners. They have made friends with foreigners, and cooperated with them. So South Koreans live friendly lives in the Philippines.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have mentioned how South Koreans have coped with many problems, solved them, and adapted themselves to a different culture in the host society by the activities of their associations, a kind of social organization.

By their associations, South Koreans have formed networks with each other and helped one another in their community. On the other hand, they have been doing a lot of volunteer activities for Filipinos and Philippine society, and have associated on friendly terms with them in order to show that South Koreans are good friends of Filipinos.

Both in foreign affairs and in private sectors, South Koreans have cooperated with each other, and have associated with people of various ethnic communities, such as Chinese abroad, Americans, Japanese,

Australians, and others in the Philippines, and have been trying to coexist with them. South Koreans have also been doing activities that seek to improve Filipinos' lives. Through these activities, South Koreans seek to make their life safe too.

Moreover, by the activities of their associations, they have kept their identity as South Koreans in the Philippines, and have overcome crises, and the next generation has succeeded to their patriotism and pride as South Koreans.

Most of the South Koreans I interviewed had lived in South Korea in their youth. Most of them were born in the 1930s to the 1970s. It was the time of military dictatorship in South Korea. In those days, education on the basis of Confucianism was observed eagerly there. It was also the time when the values of paternalism, males working on production labor, and females working on reproduction labor had a great influence on their families and jobs.

South Koreans who grew up in the cultural background of Confucianism came to the Philippines with a culture very much different from theirs. Their ideal, their consciousness of masculinity and femininity has been changing little by little in the Philippines.

By crossing geographical borders, they have realized that the knowledge or information they acquired before coming to the Philippines was different. They have come to reconsider their racial consciousness and the traditions of their family, and have rethought their self-recognition.

By adapting to Philippine culture and by associating with various ethnic groups, they have begun to have new self-recognition and to live a new way of life, not holding one racial trait taught in the country where they were born and raised, and not seeing things from only one viewpoint.

In a foreign country as the Philippines, the Korean individual way of living has been changing. The change in their consciousness is also seen. In the Korean community in the Philippines, the management committee of each association is led by males, but in the United Korean Community Association Inc., female executives have come to be appointed.

By the activities of associations in the Philippines, a new gender consciousness has been created in the South Korean community. This

new notions about gender which are contrary to Korean traditional beliefs were formed in the Philippines.

The year 2004 is the 55th anniversary of diplomatic relations between South Korea and the Philippines. South Koreans have been able to coexist with Filipinos and other foreigners in the Philippines through their activities. It can be called a model for attaining coexistence with foreigners.

NOTES

- 1 Based on an interview with the President of the Filipino-Korean Cultural Foundation, Inc. in July 2001 and in June 2003.
- 2 The same as above (1).
- 3 Based on interviews with the members of each Korean association in the Philippines in July 2001.
- 4 Based on interviews with the staff of each Korean ethnic media in the Philippines in July 2001.
- 5 Based on an interview with the President of the Merchant Association in the Philippines in July 2001.
- 6 Based on an interview with the President of the Travel Company Association in the Philippines in July 2001.
- 7 Based on an interview with the President of the Korean Chamber of Commerce Philippines, Inc. in July 2001.
- 8 Based on an interview with a sister of the House of Sarang in January 2003.
- 9 Based on interviews with members in January 2003.
- 10 Based on interviews with the President of UKCA in January 2003.
- 11 Based on an interview with the President of Kor-Phil Family Association Inc. in January and February 2003.
- 12 Based on interviews with the staff of UKCA in July 2001 and January 2003.

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