

Japanese Women on the Move:
International Marriage, Migration and Transnationalism

**A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of the Sunshine Coast**

**Atsushi Takeda
BA. University of Central Oklahoma
MA. University of Amsterdam**

May 2009

Abstract

This thesis investigates the nature of international marriage by focusing on the experience of Japanese women who marry Australian men. It examines the historical background and cultural circumstances of *kokusai kekkon* (international marriage) in Japan; western theories of marriage and gender and how international marriage is dealt with in literature about globalisation, migration, settlement, and transnationalism. The thesis adopts a feminist methodological perspective and the analysis is informed by theories of inequality, predominantly based in gender, but also those related to socio-economic status and 'race'. The thesis argues that for Japanese women, globalisation has offered opportunities for personal and professional enhancement beyond those possible within the historical and cultural limits of Japanese society. However, these opportunities are also mediated by *akogare* (yearning), global hypergamy, status and position achieved through international marriage, and the gendered and racial exclusions that are an effect of migration and settlement in Australia. Finally, the discussion of transnationalism shows that Japanese women in international marriages are engaged in new forms of transnational exchange that have not been previously recognised in the globalisation literature, and which involve subjective and intergenerational elements of transnationalism as well as unevenness and irregularities over time

Declaration of Originality

The work submitted in this thesis is original, except as acknowledged in the text. The material herein has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

Atsushi Takeda

18 May 2009

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my deep appreciation to many people who have helped me through my long journey.

My deep gratitude goes to my principal Supervisor, Associate Professor Julie Matthews, and co-supervisors, Dr. Lucinda Aberdeen and Dr. Donna Weeks, for their exceptional guidance. They put countless hours of supervision, giving thoughtful directions and advice. Without their invaluable assistance and care, I would not have been able to complete my thesis.

I would like to thank my participants and their family members who agreed to participate in this research and kindly provided the opportunity for me to interview them. Without their generosity, this work would not be possible.

Also, I would like to thank Professor Pam Dyer and Associate Professor Joanne Scott of the Faculty Arts and Social Sciences for generous support and consideration and also the Japanese studies teaching staff in the Faculty who provided much personal encouragement and assistance throughout this journey.

Furthermore, my gratitude goes to staff members in the Office of Research at the University of the Sunshine Coast and USC International who have assisted me with ongoing administrative support throughout my project.

I wish to extend my gratitude to friends and fellow students who encouraged my research, Dan Stay, Yoshiko Konishi, Yasuo Sasaki, Pasinee Reopanichkul, Robert Mangoyana, and Masud Hasan.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my father, mother and brother who have always encouraged me to pursue my education.

Without the support of these people, this thesis would not have been completed.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	I
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS	IV
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	- 1 -
INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGE	- 2 -
THE CASE	- 8 -
THE RESEARCH SITE: LOCATING AUSTRALIA AND SOUTHEAST QUEENSLAND	- 10 -
THEORETICAL STANCE	- 11 -
WHY INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGE, MIGRATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM?	- 12 -
THESIS STRUCTURE	- 16 -
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY	- 18 -
OVERVIEW	- 18 -
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	- 19 -
METHODOLOGICAL STANCE	- 20 -
METHODS.....	- 23 -
CASE STUDY	- 23 -
IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS	- 26 -
SAMPLING PROCESS.....	- 27 -
<i>The participants</i>	- 29 -
<i>Interview process</i>	- 35 -
<i>Data analysis</i>	- 36 -
<i>The interviews</i>	- 37 -
<i>Language and translation</i>	- 40 -
ETHICS	- 44 -
<i>Substantive ethics</i>	- 45 -
REFLEXIVITY.....	- 46 -
<i>Subject position: Gender and culture</i>	- 48 -
<i>Locating the self</i>	- 52 -
CONCLUSION.....	- 54 -
CHAPTER 3: MARRIAGE, INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGE AND KOKUSAI KEKKON...	- 55 -
OVERVIEW	- 55 -
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY	- 58 -
MARRIAGE IN THE WEST.....	- 64 -
<i>Gender issues in the west</i>	- 66 -
ASPECTS OF MARRIAGE IN JAPAN	- 70 -
<i>The unpopularity of marriage in Japan</i>	- 73 -
KOKUSAI KEKKON.....	- 75 -
<i>Japanese women and kokusai kekkon</i>	- 78 -
INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGE LITERATURE.....	- 79 -
<i>War brides</i>	- 83 -
<i>Contemporary international marriage of Japanese women</i>	- 85 -

<i>Interracial marriage</i>	- 88 -
<i>Asian women in international marriage</i>	- 90 -
CONCLUSION.....	- 94 -
CHAPTER 4: GLOBALISATION, AKOGARE AND HYPERGAMY	- 95 -
OVERVIEW	- 95 -
GLOBALISATION.....	- 96 -
AKOGARE.....	- 101 -
HYPERGAMY	- 113 -
RACE AND ETHNICITY	- 119 -
CONCLUSION.....	- 125 -
CHAPTER 5: MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT.....	- 126 -
OVERVIEW	- 126 -
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION.....	- 128 -
JAPANESE WOMEN’S MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT.....	- 133 -
SETTLEMENT: RACISM, DOWNWARD CAREER MOBILITY AND SOCIAL ISOLATION.....	- 141 -
<i>Racism</i>	- 141 -
<i>Downward career mobility</i>	- 151 -
<i>Social isolation</i>	- 159 -
CONCLUSION.....	- 167 -
CHAPTER 6: TRANSNATIONALISM.....	- 170 -
OVERVIEW	- 170 -
TRANSNATIONALISM.....	- 172 -
DEBATES ON TRANSNATIONALISM	- 174 -
SUBJECTIVE TRANSNATIONALISM	- 183 -
TRANSNATIONALISM ACROSS GENERATIONS.....	- 191 -
UNEVEN TRANSNATIONALISM.....	- 199 -
<i>Disrupted family connections</i>	- 201 -
<i>Technological accessibility and ability</i>	- 203 -
<i>Transnational care</i>	- 206 -
CONCLUSION.....	- 209 -
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION.....	- 212 -
ISSUES AFFECTING THE RESEARCH PROCESS.....	- 215 -
RESULTS AND FINDINGS	- 217 -
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGE.....	- 222 -
REFERENCES	- 226 -
APPENDIX I	- 253 -
APPENDIX II	- 254 -
APPENDIX III	- 256 -
APPENDIX IV.....	- 257 -
APPENDIX V	- 259 -
APPENDIX VI.....	- 260 -
APPENDIX VII	- 262 -
APPENDIX VIII.....	- 264 -
APPENDIX XI.....	- 265 -

Chapter 1:

Introduction

This thesis investigates international marriage between Japanese women and Australian men. It is particularly interested in women's perspectives and accounts of this phenomenon and highlights explanations derived from understandings of the roles of globalisation, *akogare* (yearning) hypergamy and transnationalism. The thesis seeks to illuminate the migration and settlement experiences of Japanese women and the ways in which they sustain transnational contact with their homeland. In so doing, it develops a theoretical account of transnationalism, where the activities of women 'marriage migrants' can be understood as various forms of transnationalism. The thesis adopts a feminist methodological perspective and its analysis is informed by theories of inequality predominantly based in gender, but also race. Accounts of women's experiences of marriage, migration, settlement and transnationalism are thus uniquely grounded in a gender perspective which is attentive to issues of 'race'. Like gender, race is a social construct in that its presumed physical dimensions are accorded cultural significance which frequently advantage some social groups and disadvantage others (Barot & Bird 2001; Healey 2003; Hollinsworth 2006; Montgomery 2001).

To address the nature of Japanese women's experiences of international marriage in the Australian context, the thesis considers the question of why Japanese women

marry western men and what historical, cultural and economic factors influence their decisions to do so. It also examines why Japanese women migrate and settle overseas, and details their experiences of migration and settlement. Finally, the thesis considers how Japanese women maintain connections to their families back home and what this means for our understandings and theories of globalisation and transnationalism.

International marriage

International marriage is a growing phenomenon and the term is generally used to refer to cross-border relationships between people of different nationalities. Globalisation, which refers to the extent and rapidity of the global connectivity of economies, nations, cultures, people and media (Giddens 1990; Harvey 1989; Robertson 1992; Waters 1995) has established a global arena where national boundaries have become less constraining than ever before. Various nations and parts of the world are increasingly connected. This new global condition has influenced national structures and institutions. Governments are today invariably engaged in international relationships, connections and cooperation. Global connectivity links locales all around the world so that events happening millions of miles away can have immediate effects on local circumstances (Giddens 1990; Waters 1995). Capital, knowledge, information, ideas and people are globally connected in complex ways and the impact of globalisation is felt at all levels. It reaches up into governments, businesses and corporations, and down into social institutions that many regard as the most private of social spheres, namely marriage and the family (Giddens 1990).

To understand the nature of marriage and the family today it is necessary to go beyond traditional sociological theories (described in chapter 3 below). Selection of marriage partners is no longer limited to within one's own society but is extended to include other national societies. International marriages challenge traditional concepts of families as groups that live in close proximity to each other. The term 'international marriage' has been coined by scholars who have examined this new phenomenon (Nakamatsu 2002; Nitta 1988, 1989; Piper 1997). The terms 'intermarriage' (Cahill 1990; Kalmijn, Graaf & Janssen 2003; Penny & Khoo 1996), 'interracial marriage' (Aldridge 1978; Kitano et al. 1984), 'intercultural marriage' (Merton, R. K. 1941; Romano 1988), 'cross-border marriage' (Chen 2008) and 'mixed marriage' (Garcia 2006) are used to refer to marriages that operate beyond national, cultural and racial boundaries, and are sometimes used interchangeably. Each term highlights a different element of the marriage relationship and mainly these terms indicate marriage across culture, race, ethnicity and religious belief. The term 'interracial marriage' is more commonly used in US research and scholarship, and seems to be an indication of the strong role played by race and ethnicity in contemporary American society. To a great extent, this derives from the US history of slavery and the powerful impact of the civil rights movement. Marriage across racial boundaries was long prohibited and thus interracial unions were considered controversial and worthy of distinct scholarly consideration (Aldridge 1978; Heaton & Albrecht 1996; Kitano et al. 1984; Qian 1997). The term 'intercultural marriage' focuses more on the cultural differences between marriage partners and such studies can be observed in research that highlights sociolinguistic differences, the cultural

barriers and language issues that couples face. The term ‘international marriage’ highlights more specifically national boundaries. The Japanese term *kokusai kekkon* directly translates as international marriage; however, as is argued below, there are cultural dimensions to Japanese understandings of international marriage. So, although the terms are to some extent interchangeable, the term international marriage is most commonly used in this thesis.

Even though this thesis examines international marriage, it focuses specifically on marriage between Japanese women and western men, and in particular, the experiences of Japanese women who have settled in Australia. International marriages are increasing in Japan, however they are predominantly comprised of Japanese men who marry Asian women (Piper 1997; Suzuki 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007). Outside of Japan, Japanese women tend to marry foreigners and their partners are more likely to be western men (Kamoto 2008).

Following Kamoto (2008), international marriage trends can be related to five periods of Japanese economic history: first period (1965-74), second period (1975-84), third period (1985-90), fourth period (1991-97) and fifth period (1998-2007). Only in the first period, 1965–74, did Japanese women exceed Japanese men in the number of marriage relationships they entered into with foreigners. In the second period, from 1975 to 1984, the number of marriages of Japanese women to foreign men decreased from 3,000 to 2,000 cases. In the last 25 years, Japanese women’s international marriage rate has doubled while in the same period, there has been a seven-fold

increase in the number of Japanese men entering into international marriages. Of Japanese marriages outside Japan, 69 per cent are between Japanese women and foreign men, 18 per cent between Japanese men and women, and 13 per cent between Japanese men and foreign women. Furthermore, 40 per cent of Japanese women's partners are from the US and UK, and the others are from countries that Japanese women have visited for working holidays¹, including Australia and Canada. The term 'working holiday bride' has emerged as it has become common for Japanese women to marry while in Australia or Canada on working holidays (Kamoto 2001). International marriage is thus a gendered phenomenon and its mobility is likewise gendered (Constable 2003; Kelsky 2001b): while Japanese men stay in Japan when they marry foreigners, Japanese women tend to leave (Kamoto 2008).

The case of Japanese women addressed in this study suggests that three factors inform international marriage, migration and the mobility of Japanese women: (1) globalisation, (2) *akogare* and (3) global hypergamy. Globalisation facilitates the international mobility of Japanese women by increasing their likelihood of meeting non-Japanese men in Japan, and enabling them to more easily explore and experience the world outside Japan. It also encourages the dissemination of the English language; among Japanese women, western, English-speaking countries such as the US, the UK, Canada and Australia are popular destinations (Takahashi 2006). *Akogare* is a term which seeks to explain the particular fascination that Japanese, women in particular, have for the west (Kelsky 2001b). It recalls traditional

¹ Working holiday visas allow young people from Australia to take an extended holiday in Australia for up to 12 months and also to engage in short-term work' (DIC 2009).

associations of the west with advanced technology, and assumptions about gender equality and freedom. Such assumptions are all the more appealing in light of the predominantly patriarchal and chauvinist sociocultural context of Japan where women are disadvantaged simply because they are female (Kelsky 2001b). Finally, hypergamy and the idea that for women, marriage should be a way of moving up into a higher status or socioeconomic group, encourages Japanese women to look outside of their immediate social and cultural contexts for marriage partners (Kamoto 2008). Global hypergamy comes into play when Japanese women marry western men on the assumption that they are automatically marrying up, no matter what the actual socioeconomic standing of the men concerned. In international marriage, these three elements are intertwined.

Unfortunately, the migration and settlement experiences of Japanese women in the west reveal a reality that contradicts this assumed socioeconomic advancement, gender equality and freedom (Kelsky 2001b; Kobayashi 2002; Matsuo 2005). While marrying Australian men may be seen as a means to achieve global hypergamy, the actual migration experience is not so rosy. *Akogare* is a force that attracts some Japanese women to the west, yet once they settle there, they often experience racialisation as 'Asian'. The idea that they might be regarded negatively, or in racial and ethnic terms, is not dominant in Japanese women's consciousnesses prior to migrating to Australia. While they might experience *akogare* and yearning for the west, they have little anticipation or concern about the possibility of a negative

reception or rejection in the west. Migration and settlement can thus be a sobering experience for Japanese women involved in international marriage.

This thesis shows that on migration to Australia, Japanese women often continue to stay in close contact with their family members and friends in Japan, through regular travel and or new forms of electronically mediated communication. International relocation does not mean that relationships with the homeland cease; rather, they are transformed in important ways. The shape and form of migrants' transnational connections have been studied by scholars of migration (Basch, Blanc-Szanton & Schiller 1994; Kivisto 2001; Smith & Guarnizo 1998; Viruell-Fuentes 2006; Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2004) and the term 'transnationalism' is often used to explain and theorise connections and relationships forged under global conditions. It refers to the interconnectivity of people beyond national borders and across political, cultural and geographical spheres (Basch, Blanc-Szanton & Schiller 1994). The term is useful in a study of international marriage where Japanese women's transnational connections with Japan take various forms. The final section of this thesis identifies two main types of transnationalism, which emerge from this study: I define these as subjective and intergenerational transnationalism. Subjective transnationalism is a term that captures Japanese women's transnational interconnections at the level of feelings and emotions. The focus of concern of subjective transnationalism is that it is not only a material action but also a subjective perception. Intergenerational transnationalism is a term that considers the ways in which transnationalism operates to connect different generations of people. For instance, Japanese mothers' concerns

about bilingual education are based on their desires to link their children with their grandparents and other relatives in Japan. Intergenerational transnationalism is thus a characteristic of motherhood and daughterhood in the transnational sphere and demonstrates the intertwined relations between different generations of Japanese women, children and grandparents.

The case

The case of contemporary international marriage investigated in this study, namely Japanese women who have married Australian men and settled in Australia, has not previously been researched from the perspective of transnationalism. Nagata (1996) draws attention to the dearth of studies of the Japanese presence in Australia in general and Queensland in particular. Denman's (2008) honours thesis examines the social networks of four Japanese women married to Australian men and Tokita (2001) examines the intercultural aspects of Australian and Japanese couples from her position as the spouse of a Japanese man. A number of studies of international marriage focusing on relations between Australian nationals and nationals of less economically developed nations are more generally concerned with explanations based on economic motives for such unions (Cahill 1990; Cooke 1986). Such accounts rarely provide finely-grained details of the marriage experience and do not investigate international marriage where both partners are from more economically developed nations.

A useful study for the purposes of this thesis is Kelsky's (2001b) account of Japanese women and their relationships with Americans. Based in cultural studies, Kelsky's (2001b) research investigates *akogare* and coined the notion of 'western dreams', concepts that are generative for this study. Case studies detailing historical accounts of Japanese international marriage with people from the west and focusing on 'war brides' also serves as a useful platform for the development of this case study. Research into Japanese war brides highlights the importance of comprehending the impact of historical background and cultural context (Tamura 2001) on international marriage. What distinguishes current case studies of Japanese international marriage from previous work is the need to take into account the forces of globalisation and the changing nature of transnationalism. Importantly, most case studies of Japanese women and international marriages are set in the US context (Constable 2003; Kelsky 2001b; Nitta 1988), where issues of language, racialisation and interculturalism may differ from those in Australia.

The focus on transnationalism further distinguishes this case study from other studies of international marriage and marriage migration. Studies of transnationalism often ignore issues of gender in transnational connections (Kearney 1995; Vertovec, S 2004). Although there have been some studies highlighting women's transnational connections (Parrenas 2001, 2005; Viruell-Fuentes 2006), they tend to focus on the labour migration of women from less-developed nations and none pays attention to international marriage migrants. For instance, the Filipina and Mexican women in the work of Viruell-Fuentes (2006) and Parreñas (2005) are labour migrants who work as

nannies or house maids. These forms of transnationalism are limited by the global inequalities of the world economy, since the situation of such migrant women is often associated with financial strain as well as family responsibility.

The research site: Locating Australia and Southeast Queensland

Australia is ranked as having the fifth largest number of Japanese residents outside Japan—some 59,282 in 2007 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2007). A large number of Japanese nationals have resident visas and arrived in Australia because of business connections deriving from Australian–Japanese economic and trade relationships. In the post-war era, common interests as partners in the Asia Pacific region have resulted in business collaborations and other forms of international cooperation. A cultural agreement signed between the two countries in 1974 increased the cultural exchange of scholars, students, researchers, artists, athletes and journalists, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2008). A contact zone has thus been established involving the exchange of tourists, students, working holiday-makers and business elites, which serves to lessen the significance of the distance between the two countries and creates the conditions for the development of intimate interpersonal relationships and the increased possibility of marriage relations.

This study was carried out in southeast Queensland. In 2007, the number of Japanese nationals who were permanent residents or had resided for a long period in the region was 11,970 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2007). Queensland is an attractive tourist destination in general and the Gold Coast and Sunshine Coast regions draw

both domestic and international tourists and migrants. It is also a popular destination for Japanese nationals for holidays, working holidays, study, business and migration, and was a good location for the research because of its relatively large and accessible Japanese population.

Theoretical stance

The theoretical framework for this thesis is informed by feminist theory and the argument that women's experience is important yet often overlooked in studies claiming to be gender-neutral. A specific focus on women's experiences draws attention to issues of gender difference and inequality. In illuminating women's situations and experiences in the specific cultural context of Australia, this study tries to give full consideration to gender implications and yet also to avoid universalising women's experiences in a way that excludes others or disregards the cultural differences of other groups of women—specifically, non-white women.

Feminist theory is approached in this thesis in three ways. First, the main object of investigation is the gendered experiences of women in international marriages. Women are the central subject in this investigation process. Second, the thesis adopts the feminist practice of reflexivity to highlight the standpoint and potential blind spots of the male researcher; and finally, it adopts a feminist approach which seeks to generate a more equal world for women (Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley 2008). Fundamentally, feminism highlights women's gendered experiences and social subordination to men, and details how such positions form their experiences, by

simultaneously sketching the nature and form of gendered cultures and societies. Feminism therefore accepts the view that research is necessarily ideologically positioned, and that to understand this it is necessary to focus specifically on women's experiences and to shift from knowledge derived from men to knowledge derived from women (Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley 2008).

In examining Japanese women's involvement in international marriage, I came to understand that my own subject position and perspective, that of an unmarried Japanese man, created certain limits and problems but also enabled certain shared understandings. While I do not share the subjective position of Japanese women who are often disadvantaged in social opportunities in Japan and Australia, I do share a cultural affinity and an understanding based in language. I came to recognise both the limits of my position and the benefits of my gender, cultural background and marital status. As a Japanese male researcher, I can be seen as less protective or indeed more critical of Japanese women's reasons for marrying western men; yet as a Japanese man who has lived and studied in the US, Europe and Australia for some eight years, I can fully understand the experience of being racially 'othered'. My position is thus likely to add distinctive gender insights that may differ from other studies of international marriage undertaken by women scholars.

Why international marriage, migration and transnationalism?

Apart from the scholarly reasons detailed above concerning the relevance of studying this particular case of international marriage and transnationalism, the focus of this

study is also derived from my personal experiences, observations and experiences as an international undergraduate and postgraduate student. Intercultural relationships have long been a feature of my daily life both inside and outside Japan. I have studied in the US, Europe and Australia and travelled and communicated between these locations and Japan. In western locations, I have become aware of the unequal, gendered and racialised relationships between Japanese people and those from the west. One particular incident, described below, drew my attention to, and raised my awareness of, the different experiences and relationships that Japanese women have with western men. The incident drew my attention to the ways in which I was an outsider to a realm of highly racialised, sexualised and gendered relationships.

In 1998, my Japanese friend, Sachiyo, whom I met in the United States, sent me an email after I left. The email said: 'Hey, I got an American boyfriend...' The only detail she gave about this new boyfriend was his nationality, but her accounts of dating, trips and visits expressed a very strong sense of euphoria, triumph and exhilaration. At the time, Sachiyo was studying English and wanted to gain more knowledge about American culture. She was very keen to immerse herself in US society however, being a foreigner in America does not provide easy access to mainstream American society and this was made all the more difficult for her because she was surrounded by non-Americans in an international student environment of English as a Second Language (ESL) studies.

Engagement in US society, through making an American friend or visiting an American family, implies a victory in the discourses of international students who aim to master English and to become 'Americanised'. I understood that being with an American, when one is part of this international student 'ESL-scape', is to be admired and envied since it means you have gained full access to mainstream culture, to American English and therefore to assimilation. Dating an American man was the achievement of 'personal Americanisation' for Sachiyo and I realised that she was not the only Japanese student to find herself in the whirl of western desire and a which idealised the west. It was a reverse form of Said's 'orientalism', that is, a representation where the 'other; in this case the West, is idealised, rather than demeaned. Sachiyo found herself the subject of a postcolonial romantic encounter that rested on a certain view of racial and gendered relationships, including relations that hark back to histories of Japanese international relations with the west.

I came to see that the nature of intercultural relationships is not simply a matter of culture, race or romance, but is also related to particular economies of international, historical, cultural and social relations of desire and subjective consciousness - in this case, with particular reference to Japanese personal encounters with the west and westerners. This is because people's positioning on the terrain of globalisation reflects all these distinctive and interconnected experiences.

My interest in transnational connections thus relates to personal experience, but it is also located in academic curiosity generated during my previous Masters research

into employment conditions of flight attendants. During this time I met a Japanese woman who flew between Narita and New York every two weeks. She was transnationally located both at a corporeal and a subjective level between two nations such that the actual distance between the US and Japan was blurred. She was located both in the US and in Japan since her career forced her to spend as much time in each place and required her to communicate with family and friends, either from the US or Japan. Such mobility is often assumed to be the privilege of transnational business elites who move around in the world only to be located *between* nations, just as transnational corporations are located locally and globally. Yet the mobility of business elite is also highly gendered since it most frequently involves males.

The transnationalism of Japanese women in international marriage is thus a good site for the study of alternative and new forms of transnational mobility. These women often live between two locations. International marriage produces new homes for women who migrate and settle overseas but it cannot be assumed that they lose Japan as their original home. Transnational mobility in international marriage differs from that of flight attendants or business elites because it is based on emotional relationships of family and friends, rather than those of career and occupation. There are, however, similarities between these, particularly if we come to see the important role that women are now playing in making links between local and transnational spaces such that they are not only acting in the space but also actively moulding it to their needs.

Thesis structure

This first chapter has provided an overview of the thesis, including an explanation and justification of its focus, the case study, its arguments and the position of the researcher in the study. Chapter two discusses methodology and explains how the research process was planned and conducted. It discusses the case study methodology used and the in-depth interview methods, and also includes reflection on my male standpoint in a thesis concerned with understanding the situation of women. Chapter three examines marriage and international marriage. It provides a critique of western sociological perspectives, and a comparative and historical account of marriage in Japan and the west. I argue that while men and women experience marriage differently in both contexts, gender inequality is still present, though in different forms. The chapter goes on to examine what international marriage means in the Japanese context in relation to the notion of *kokusai kokkon* where the historical national seclusion of Japan, as well as its geographical location, give international marriage a different meaning in the Japanese context from the western context.

Chapters four, five and six deal with data analysis. Chapter four is concerned with the reasons why Japanese women marry Australian men. The analysis of Japanese women's experiences of international marriage conducted in this chapter identify three main factors; globalisation, *akogare* and global hypergamy. These three factors are intertwined. Chapter five analyses the migration and settlement experiences of Japanese women. Their negative career trajectories in Australia contradict what they imagined prior to settlement. Rather than increasing their career opportunities and

freedom, international marriage can end up relocating them in the position of homemaker. The chapter also discusses the way that *akogare* encourages western admiration, yet racialisation and racism represent a degree of rejection from the host society. In these circumstances, Japanese women can end up experiencing downward career mobility and social isolation. The analysis of transnationalism in chapter six underlines the connections between Australia and Japan at a corporeal and subjective level. Transnationalism, it is argued, takes place at the material level of international mobility as well as the subjective, emotional level through the use of new communications technology and the maintenance of intergenerational connections. This chapter points to the unevenness of transnationalism, where the conduct and maintenance of transnational relations shifts according to life-cycles and are influenced by financial situations, and family health and disputes. The concluding chapter discusses the benefits of this research, its limits and the possibilities for further research.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Overview

This chapter discusses the research methodology of the thesis. It covers the research questions addressed by the study, the researcher's methodological stance including the epistemology, theoretical framework and qualitative approach adopted to examine the phenomena of international marriage, migration settlement and transnationalism. It details the methods of data collection such as case studies and in-depth interviews, and site selection, sampling, participants and interview process. The discussion of data analysis addresses the issue of dramatology, language and translation; the ethics section raises concerns about the challenges in protecting participants' anonymity and confidentiality, and discusses substantive ethics and the ways in which the study engaged with participants' personal accounts. The final section of this chapter explores the researcher's reflexivity in fieldwork and how the methodological approach allowed consideration and understanding of the power relations between a male Japanese researcher and female Japanese research participants. The researcher's position as a Japanese man in the gendered discourse of international marriage is addressed, as are the issues of selfhood that were raised during the course of the research.

Research questions

Over the past two decades globalisation has facilitated international travel and enabled international connections between men and women from different cultural backgrounds. This study examines one particular set of international relationships, in the form of marriages between Japanese women and Australian men. The study investigates the role of globalisation in facilitating such marriage, and issues of migration and settlement and what these mean for understanding transnationalism. The study is particularly concerned to understand why growing numbers of Japanese women seek to marry western men, and choose to settle in western countries. It explores the allure of the west, women's experiences of migration and settlement, and the ways in which Japanese women maintain transnational connections to their homeland upon relocation.

The thesis asks:

Why do Japanese women marry western men?

What broader historical, global, cultural and economic factors influence their choices and decisions?

Why do Japanese women migrate and settle overseas?

What are their experiences of migration and settlement?

How do they maintain connections to their families back home?

What does the case of Japanese women in international marriages in particular tell us about globalisation and transnationalism more generally?

Methodological stance

Clarification of epistemology, theoretical perspectives, methodology and methods is important in the social sciences because it ensures continuity through the various levels of research production. The selection of research methods is normally expected to align with an appropriate theoretical framework and epistemology. This research uses a feminist theoretical framework which assumes that people's lives are influenced by the power relations associated with gender, and that in order to understand the full nature of this inequality, it is important to understand the subject position of women (Harding, 1987). Because the concern of feminism is a situation that has already been identified as problematic—namely, gender relations and hierarchies—much feminist research argues for engagement with female experience and subjectivity rather than a gender-neutral or supposedly 'objective' stance. In admitting its subjectivity, Harding (1987) argues that feminism is better at objectivity than positivist epistemologies. A feminist approach is thus closely aligned to constructivist or interpretive epistemologies.

Epistemology refers to the philosophy of knowledge and how we come to know, while methodology is more practically concerned with relating epistemology to the choice of methods we can use to generate data (Crotty 1998). In other words, epistemology is concerned with philosophy, while methodology is concerned with practice. Epistemology thus provides conceptual tools to think about problems and

issues about knowledge (Maykut & Morehouse 1994), and a set of propositions and understandings that enable research to be oriented in particular directions.

Constructivist epistemology recognises that meaning and truth are constructed by people's subjective interactions with the world. Knowledge and truth are not separated from the subject or discovered through careful observation, but rather are crafted by people in what they do (Crotty 1998). Therefore, even in identical circumstances, meaning and truth may be constructed in different ways to generate different explanations of the world, depending on the subjects involved (Gray 2004). Interpretivism is closely related to constructivism (O'Leary 2005) and looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world (Crotty 1998, p. 67). Interpretivism is interested in knowing through interpreting the views, values and situations of participants in order to document as completely as possible the sum total of people's situations and perspectives. The approach is concerned to study real-life situations and to remain open to changing circumstances and meanings as they emerge during the course of a study. It is therefore dynamic and enables new directions to be pursued as they arise (O'Leary 2005). Interpretivism thus allows for a modification of focus during the course of a study. Such a situation arose early in this research when it became clear that my original focus on Japanese men and women in international marriages would not be possible because more Japanese women marry and migrate to Australian than Japanese men and it was proving quite difficult to find Japanese men in international marriages.

The term qualitative research refers to non-numerical, unquantifiable methods (Punch 2003) that rely primarily on constructivist and interpretive theoretical frameworks. These methods allow the researchers to explore the understandings and perceptions of the people they research, and how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives (Berg 2004). There is ongoing debate about the merits of quantitative and qualitative research (Bothe & Andreatta 2004; Lawson 1995; Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2005). The nature of quantitative research is to quantify things, handling large-scale samples (Berg 2004, p. 3). While quantitative methods are often used to investigate predetermined topics using numerical data in structured design, qualitative research enables investigations into more specific topics using non-numerical and unstructured data (Punch 2003). Quantitative research ‘conceptualizes reality in terms of variables, and relationships between them’ (Punch 2003, p. 242). In contrast, qualitative methods enable the discovery of new information and the multiplicity of people’s lives (Ambert et al. 1995). The strengths of qualitative research ‘lie in its attempt to carry out this dialogue, and to record and reconcile complexity, detail, and context’ (Temple, Bogusia & Edwards 2002, p. 4).

In short, this thesis applied qualitative research because the research aimed to highlight Japanese women’s experiences of international marriage, migration and transnationalism, which are not quantifiable; moreover, the study focused on a small number of participants. Furthermore, it is located within a constructivist epistemological frame and adopts a feminist theoretical perspective in order to generate deep understandings and rich insights into women’s experiences, and to

answer the research questions posed in the section above. The methods used include case studies and in-depth interviews, which are detailed below along with more practical discussions of various aspects of the research process.

Methods

This section describes the data collection methods and processes. It discusses the nature and strength of case studies and in-depth interviews. Case studies enable researchers to make discoveries of new information. Interviews allow participants to express themselves to an interviewer who is physically present to hear their accounts and generate direct observation, connection and engagement between researcher and research participants.

Case study

The case study is an encompassing method that accommodates a variety of disciplinary and philosophical perspectives (Merriam 1998; Yin 2003). It is useful because it allows the researcher to construct a boundary around an object of research—in this case Japanese women married to Australian men—and systematically to gather enough information about people, social settings, events and groups to enable the researcher to understand more fully how the subject setting, event or group works. In this it provides ‘extremely rich, detailed, and in-depth information’ (Berg 2004, p. 251). The case study allows the researcher to understand the complexity of a situation holistically and is particularly suitable when ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are asked about contemporary events and situations (Yin 2003)

because they enable a wide range of contributory factors and circumstances to be taken into account.

Historically, case study methodology originated in France and in sociology it was primarily associated with the University of Chicago department of sociology. From the early 1900s, case study strategies were used to investigate the social realities of immigrants in the Chicago area during a period of high immigration to the United States (Tellis 1997). Case study approaches have also been used in psychology and medicine where the single cases of patients have been examined (Berg 2004). Following Stake (2003), there are three types of case studies: An 'instrumental case study' is used in order to gain insight into an issue; a 'collective case study' is undertaken for the purpose of handling multiple cases; and finally, an 'intrinsic case study' is used when a case contains particularity.

This current study is an intrinsic case study inasmuch as it seeks to understand a particular condition which may not necessarily be representative of other similar cases of the social phenomenon under investigation (Yin 2003). In other words, the case of Japanese women married to Australian men may be similar or representative of other cases of Japanese women married to western men, but it is not necessarily representative of Japanese women married to non-western men, Japanese men married to western women, or indeed international marriages in general involving men and women of other national and cultural backgrounds. The case does not seek

to be representative but seeks a better understanding of the intrinsic complexities of the particular case (Stake 1995).

Although case study methodology has been used across disciplines by many researchers, it has been criticised by proponents of the natural sciences for its lack of generalisability (Punch 2003) and alleged departure from the scientific method (Flyvbjerg 2006). The importance of quantification of large data sets is a prevalent norm of research culture and often the notion of generalisability appears to be one of the most significant elements (Berg 2004). On this count, it is important to note that a case study can inform generalisation, but in a different manner from mass quantitative research. The difference in generalisation between case study methodology and statistical research is explained in terms of their different objectives. Research on a particular case aims to generalise theories and make analytic generalisations rather than generalisations based on frequency or statistical generalisation (Yin 2003). This means that what case studies generalise about and what statistical research produces are different in nature. One is concerned with deep meaning and the sufficiency of the analytical concepts used to explain features of the study; the other is interested in the adequacy of concepts but in relation to statistical evidence supporting their applicability. Punch (2003) further clarifies analytic generalisation by introducing two examples of handling case study data: a) through conceptualising and b) through developing propositions. According to Punch, conceptualisation refers to the development of concepts to explain aspects of data that have been studied. Case study methodology is ideal for producing concepts as it allows in-depth understanding of

data. The second approach is interested in developing propositions whereby ‘the researcher puts forward one or more propositions—they could be called hypotheses—which link concepts or factors within the case’ (Punch 2003, p. 154). Accordingly, this study does not aim to quantify a large number of subjects and interview data, but rather to focus on generating analytical concepts that help to explain the experience of participants in the study.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews constitute a dialogue between the researcher and informants and permit the latter to express themselves about self, life and experience (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008). They enable the study to encounter and express ‘people’s perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality’ (Punch 2003, p. 175), and allow interviewees to discuss subject matters within their own frames of reference (May 2001). In-depth interviews differ from structured interviews, which limit both the flexibility of interviewee’s response and the data gathered. The accounts given during in-depth interviews illustrate the presentation of ‘oneself’ in relation to a social context; this is because ‘language is more than an act of speaking, it is also an act of presentation’ (May 2001, p. 130).

Data from interviews are not simply either ‘accurate’ or ‘distorted’ pieces of information, but provide a researcher with a means of analysing the various ways that people understand events and relationships in their lives and the reasons they offer for highlighting or speaking about them (May 2001). In-depth interviews are suitable for

sensitive or complicated subject matters because they develop rapport and relationships during the interview session (Gilbert 2008), and are therefore useful in the study of international marriage which seeks to investigate the personal accounts of people's lived experiences. The fundamental aim of in-depth interviews is the broad exploration of the phenomena in order to elicit detailed information. They provide the opportunity not only to hear about topics that are directly related to questions on the interview schedule, but also allow the interview to be open to a broader and unexpected range of topics. In-depth interviews therefore enrich data by providing unexpected dimensions of participants' experiences. Problematically however, the range of topics covered and the unpredictability of issues arising can make analysis difficult because different topics of concern can be raised by different participants. The interviews conducted in this study were undertaken in Japanese and translated later. This is because Japanese was the native language of the participants and the researcher.

Sampling process

Purposive sampling was used to find participants. This sampling method enables researchers to 'use their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent the population' and ensure that the sample of participants includes certain necessary characteristics (Berg 2004, p. 36). Participants were initially recruited through acquaintances and an advertisement placed in the Japanese community newspaper. The population of interest in this study was Japanese marriage partners of Australian men. The study sought to obtain a broad sample of

participants by age. A total of nine women were interviewed for the study. Their ages ranged from 20 to 80 and residency periods ranged from approximately two to 50 years.

Originally the study aimed to interview both wife and husband, either together or separately. However, this arrangement proved problematic for several reasons, one being that it was time-consuming for participants. For instance, couples with a new baby or small child had to have one of the partners caring for the children while the other was interviewed. After a 60-minute interview, couples were unwilling to swap for another session. A further complexity arose when one partner was more comfortable in Japanese and the other was not, or vice versa. In addition, interviewees responded differently depending on whether they spoke in Japanese or English. For example, during lunch with one couple, the Japanese partner participated more actively in the conversation than the Australian partner when Japanese was used, even though the Australian partner had some knowledge of Japanese. However, when we switched to speaking in English, the Australian partner took the conversational initiative and the Japanese partner remained quiet. While it would have been useful to understand how Australian men perceive the nature of international marriage, I decided that only Japanese women would be interviewed for the study. This was not problematic since the study was more concerned with women's perceptions than those of their partners, and I felt that Japanese women might be more forthcoming were they to be interviewed alone.

The participants

All Japanese female participants with the exception of Umeko lived in Japan till they were 18 years old. The types of visa that they had initially held in Australia were temporary, such as student, working holiday and tourist visas. Later, some women switched to partner visas.² All participants gained or were planning to gain permanent resident status in Australia through their relationship and marriage. None of them had gained this status prior to their relationship or marriage. The partners of the Japanese women were Australian nationals apart from one New Zealander, who had been living in Australia for over a decade when his partner met him. A detailed list of participants is provided in Appendix I, which shows age, occupation, educational background, the length of relationship, number of children and partner's name.

The following pages provide a short background of each of the participants.

Akiko

Akiko is in her 30s and previously worked for a company in Japan that promoted international education. Akiko met Eric while she was travelling on an island off the coast of Queensland in 2003. She was alone with her luggage and trying to find a place to stay overnight when Eric, who was a bus driver, saw her. He wanted to help because she was carrying a big suitcase all by herself and offered to let her stay at his place for the night. Although at first she was worried, Akiko felt that she could trust Eric. That day, she stayed at Eric's place and a day soon turned into a week. After

² Partner visas are for people who are married or in de facto relationships (DIC 2009).

Akiko left Australia, she kept in touch with Eric by e-mail, phone and letter. Their relationship became stronger over time and distance. After 6 months, Akiko returned to the island with her grandmother to visit Eric. It was then that they decided to marry. Akiko and Eric have now have a daughter. Currently, she is fulltime homemaker and she is actively teaching Japanese language and culture to her daughter. She has as every intention of staying and making a home in Australia.

Arisa

Arisa is in her 40's and previously worked for an English language institution in Tokyo as an office administrator. Arisa and Steven were introduced by friends while she was visiting Australia during a one-year around-the-world trip. Arisa decided to stay in Australia instead of continuing her journey because she wanted to spend more time with Steven. However, Arisa's her father was diagnosed with cancer, so she had to leave Australia to take care of him. When Steven heard about her father's illness he contacted her by mail. Although Arisa received many messages of support from her family and friends, it was Steven's letter that touched her heart. After Arisa's father passed away, her mother became sick and Arisa had to care for mother as well. Thereafter things improved, travelled back to Australia to visit Steven. They had been apart for five months. Their relationship soon became romantic and they married. Since then, they have been together for 12 years. Arisa now works as a part-time tour guide.

Namie

Namie is in her late 20's. She came to Australia to study English in 1996 after completing high school education in Japan. Namie's first trip to overseas was to Guam where she met a Japanese interpreter. This experience motivated her to become a bilingual and to study English in Australia. Namie finished her English studies after in 8 months, which was earlier than she had planned. She then attended a technical college and later university to continue her English studies. During this time Namie met John at a party in July of 1998. They dated for a few months and then John proposed to Namie and she accepted. Namie did not think too much about the consequences of her decision to marry and her parents did not disagree because they anticipated that she would not return to Japan. Namie's only concern was that John unemployed and she was supporting him. Their marriage lasted for five years. Currently Namie is living with her daughter and working as an interpreter.

Nobuyo

Nobuyo is in her 50's and was a teacher in Australia. Nobuyo is a graduate of a prestigious private college in Japan and she owned a marketing consultancy business in Tokyo. In the 1980s, Nobuyo's parents strongly pressured her to marry when she was 25 years old and over *kekkon tekireki* (marriageable age). At that time, she was dating an Australian stock broker in Tokyo and she married him in order to escape marriage pressure. After six months they filed for divorce. Later Nobuyo met an Australian postgraduate student in Tokyo and relocated to Australia with him after selling her business in Tokyo. Nobuyo enrolled at a university in Australia and gained a masters degree. In 1997 Nobuyo's relationship ended and in 2000 she met her third

Australian partner. She is currently living with Tim and working part-time as a Japanese teacher.

Sakura

Sakura is in her 30's and worked as a hotel concierge in Tokyo. Sakura and David met in Tokyo while David was visiting Japan on a working holiday program in the 1990's. They became friends and their friendship soon became romantic. When Sakura was due to leave for Australia through language exchange program, David was due to return to Australia. Sakura and David continued their relationship in Sydney and Sakura found a job at a Japanese travel agency. Sakura was content with her life in Sydney but after for three and a half years, David wanted to move to Japan. The couple relocated to Japan and lived there for five years. In Japan, David taught English but decided that it was not the career he wanted for himself. He wanted to return to Australia, Sakura was happy with relocation was not an issue as long as she could work and meet other Japanese people. Currently, Sakura is raising their only daughter and working part-time for a Japanese company in Brisbane.

Tomomi

Tomomi is in her 30s and worked for Japanese language institute in Tokyo. Tomomi came to Australia as a teaching assistant on a Japanese language program. She met Mark at the beach in Queensland. They became friends and eventually formed a romantic relationship. Tomomi was planning to return to Japan after she finished 9 months as a teaching assistant. However, after 6 months, Tomomi discovered that

she was pregnant. Tomomi and Mark decided to marry and raise their child. Tomomi's family strongly disagreed with the marriage. Her family was very strict and did not want her to leave Japan, even though she found work as teaching assistantship. Eventually, they agreed that Tomomi could go to Australia on condition that she return to Japan after the 9 months program ended. However, Tomomi did not keep her promise and told her parents that she intended to marry Mark. Her parents and family were against the marriage because they did not believe that people from different cultures could succeed in marriage. Despite this Tomomi and Mark married and Tomomi is currently a fulltime home maker raising their son.

Umeko

Umeko is in her 80' and relocated to Australia in 1955 with her partner, Gary, who was an Australian military serviceman stationed in Japan. Umeko was a nurse in Japan when she met Gary. When Gary first proposed to Umeko she refused telling him that Australia was too racist. Gary proposed to Umeko again, but she refused his second, as well as his third proposal. Umeko's father persuaded her to marry and finally Umeko accepted Gary's proposal. In the last five decades since she left Japan, Umeko has only visited once to meet her family, relatives and friends.

Yoko

Yoko is in her early 20's. She is interested in different cultures and always wanted to live overseas. Yoko majored in English at high school and every year she took a trip to Europe and America. When Yoko was 19 years old, she quit university in Japan,

but found it difficult to live by herself, and accomplish her to desire live overseas. Yoko and Jerry met in 2002 when Jerry was staying at her house as an exchange student. After Jerry studied for a year in Japan, he returned to Australia to finish his degree. In 2003 he went back to Japan and met up with Yoko again. They started dating. Yoko's father stopped talking to Jerry when he learnt that he was dating Yoko. Yoko's father was upset because Jerry was a home stay student. He was also concerned about his daughter having an international marriage. Currently, Yoko and Jerry reside in Australia and Yoko is studying and working part-time.

Yoshimi

Yoshimi is in her 40's and came to Australia in the late 1990's as a teaching assistant. Before Yoshimi relocated to Australia, she studied in London and Ireland. After her study abroad experience in Europe, she became interested in working overseas. Since Yoshimi was teaching Japanese in Japan, she wanted to have an international work experience as a Japanese teacher. She applied for teaching jobs in Hong Kong, and other countries, but she was only accepted to Australia. Her contract was for 2 years after which she planned to move to Europe because she loved European culture. However, in Australia, she met Shane at a party, became friends, started dating and later married. Yoshimi decided to stay in Australia and relocate to the remote farming where Shane owned a farm. Later Yoshimi and Shane moved to coastal Queensland. They been together for 10 years and Yoshimi is a fulltime homemaker raising a daughter.

Interview process

The interview was organised in two separate phases—preliminary and secondary phases. In the first, five participants were interviewed and preliminary analysis was conducted to determine whether the right questions were being asked. The second phase included an additional four participants. The preliminary phase and analysis also informed the second phase in terms of possible future participants. Interviews lasted from 40 minutes to two hours and were conducted in Japanese at a library, café, campus or in the participant's home. They were digitally recorded apart from one where the participant declined to be recorded. During and after interviewing, field notes were taken. Some open-ended questions were prepared before the interview to inquire into how each participant met their partner and maintained contact with family members in Japan. In keeping with the nature of in-depth interviews, various topics emerged during the course of the interview. Recorded interviews were transcribed and translated by the researcher.

As Elwood and Martin (2000) argue, interview locations affect how interviewees respond, so arranging suitable interview locations is an important part of interview/data construction. In their study of neighbourhood organisation, it became evident that interviewees provided different responses depending on where they were interviewed; staff members who when interviewed in their offices gave answers based on the organisation's priorities, answered questions more freely when interviewed at their home or outside their offices.

Each location constructs or represents particular microgeographies of sociospatial relations, such that, in different locations, participants are situated differently with respect to identities and roles that structure their experiences and actions. Consequently, interview participants may offer different kinds of information, depending on where they are interviewed (Elwood & Martin 2000, p. 655).

Similarly, Storrs' (2000) study of war brides was based on an interview with her Japanese mother. She found that it was difficult for her mother to express herself freely in her own home as she felt constrained by the fact that her husband might hear her responses. Understanding the significance of interview location, my decision to interview only Japanese women in this research and to do so as far as possible in neutral locations, is likely to have been a productive one.

Data analysis

For the purpose of analysis, I wrote memos during and immediately after each interview. Field notes and interview data were analysed using two types of coding: 'a priori codes', which were developed prior to data analysis through literature reviews or the researcher's insight, and 'inductive coding', which was generated through the analytical process (Willis 2006). A priori codes comprised terms such as 'encounter', 'long-distance relationship', 'migration' and 'home visit', and inductive coding generated terms like 'motherhood', 'bilingual education', 'gendered space' and 'women's agency'. The data analysis applied 'thematic analyses' where the code

terms were thematised in relation to a consideration of topic discussed in the interview, the theme as it arises in other interviews, and the literature. This style of analysis is widely used in qualitative research, and argues that 'a theme is a central idea that emerges from the data' (Willis 2006, p. 271).

The interviews

The interview situation involves individuals taking on the role of interviewee and interviewer; the structure and process of interviews forms the specific relations and dialogue and distinguishes it from normal social interactions. Goffman's (1990) theory of dramaturgy analyses such interaction by examining the roles that individuals play in interviews. He argues that social life is theatrical performance where people act on a stage in front of an audience. In this human interaction, individuals attempt to present ideal-images of themselves (Goffman 1990). In the interview situation, interviewees perform the roles that they wish to present to the audience/interviewer. Thus the data generated in an interview is likely to vary depending on the nature of the interactions between interviewers and interviewees. As Schiffrin (1996) notes, the production of narratives during interviews is an interactive process that takes place between a researcher and the researched.

In research methodology literature, the way to avoid interviewer's effects during interviews is often discussed and interviewers are cautioned to retain objectivity and consistency throughout the interview (Berg 2004; May 2001; Punch 2003). However, no matter how much interviewers are conscious of their presence and seek to

minimise their impact on the interview, their presence cannot be cancelled out and should not be ignored. Rather, as Mishler (1986) warns, the interview should be regarded as a joint production of narrative construction where the roles of both parties are necessary to the story and it is simply not possible to remove or diminish the presence of various social actors from the process.

In this study, some participants were self-conscious about being interviewed. For example, during the course of one interview, the participant asked, 'are my responses consistent with your questions?' and 'my responses might not be useful. Sorry about that'. These statements suggested a heightened sense of responsibility and awareness by the interviewees and an anxiety that their role should be correctly performed for the researcher. It reminded me too that 'respondents give those answers which they anticipate the interviewer wants to hear' (Gilbert 2008, p. 127) and that such self-consciousness influences and informs the data itself.

Signs of 'presentation anxiety' were particularly obvious during questions about whether Japanese women had experienced prejudice or discrimination in Australia. Several participants appeared to be offended by the question. It was clear in Akiko's case that she believes Australia to be a multicultural society. In fact, it seemed necessary for her to believe this so that she could regard herself as a fully accepted member of Australian multiculturalism, rather than an Asian woman or member of a racial minority. During the interview, she emphasised the multicultural nature of Australia where everyone is accepted and concluded that she had never experienced

prejudice or discrimination. Akiko appeared to be annoyed by the question about discrimination, but later in the interview when discussing her experience in a school where she was a language assistant, observed that she had experienced prejudice. It seemed that she needed to present herself in a particular way to the interviewer. As a person who believed in Australian multiculturalism and equal opportunity, she needed to gloss over experiences that challenged or contradicted this self-perception.

In the theory of dramaturgy, it is also considered that interviewers act in certain ways in order to gain the required data. They may be friendly or distant, depending on the interview situation. Understanding the nature of interaction between interviewees and interviewers in this way means that the interview data generated is dependent upon two communicators—especially in qualitative, non-structured interviews where that interaction has a significant impact on the quality of the dialogue. Consequently, a discussion of the validity of the interview data that often occurs in qualitative research methods texts is problematic since the quality and nature of data generation will vary according to each interview situation. Moreover, the dynamics of relations between the interviewer and interviewees can be further complicated by their social roles outside of interview settings where participants and interviewers may become friends or find themselves in work relations.

Since interview methods have a long history and have been used across diverse disciplines, they have come to be considered a well-established and reliable method of data generation (Neuman c2003). In this sense interview data is automatically

assumed to be legitimate. Such trust in interview data, however, needs to be re-considered given that participants are necessarily presenting themselves in the manner described earlier. A point to be made here is that research methods in qualitative approaches are not weak science and have no need for justification on such grounds. They establish their own sets of conditions and issues of interview setting, interviewers' and interviewees' roles, and research dialogue address conditions that require consideration specific to the nature and context of the study.

Language and translation

This section draws attention to the issues of language and translation that were unique to this research. First, it discusses problems of translating data from Japanese to English, and then the complication of writing up in English data that was generated in Japanese.

The language used in the fieldwork was Japanese and all interviews were translated from Japanese to English by me. While this was time-consuming, it prevented misunderstandings that may have arisen had the interviews been conducted in English. It is argued that the translation process is not only a matter of technical detail which captures meaning by getting the grammar and syntax right, but also an epistemological and theoretical issue (Temple 1997). This is because the translator's understanding, interpretations, attempted explanations, perspectives and standpoints may affect the translation and thus the data itself (Birbili 2000; Temple 2005). Temple and Edwards (2002) note that researchers who depend on translators face the

problem of triple subjectivity, meaning that there are three layers of subjectivity—those of the researcher, the participant and the translator. The negative consequence of such multiple layers of subjectivity is reported by Porter (1994) who used translators in her research and which she subsequently came to regard as ‘second-hand ethnography’. She realised that what she was doing was studying her ethnographer/translators and how they interpreted the community. Porter’s point demonstrates the danger of depending on translators as well as the advantage of retaining the ability to interpret one’s own data.

The experience of researchers unable to use the same language as their participants is also reported in research conducted among Vietnamese women in Australia by Kamler and Threadgold (2003). They had to depend on translators for even the most basic requests. Later, they discovered that their translators had reinterpreted questions and modified participants’ answers according to how the translators wished to portray the participants and the Vietnamese community. This experience underlines the vulnerability of researchers who do not share the language and culture of those being researched:

When they don’t speak the same language as research participants this means that they have to question the baseline from which they make claims about them. They have to ask themselves about the implications of choosing someone to do the translation or doing it themselves (Temple, Bogusia & Young 2004, p. 167).

As a researcher fluent and literate in both Japanese and English, my capacity to translate the data was an advantage because it enabled me to manage my own data. Temple and Young (Temple, Bogusia & Young 2004, p. 18) address the advantage of researcher/translators as follows:

The researcher/translator role offers the researcher significant opportunities for close attention to cross cultural meanings and interpretations and potentially brings the researcher up close to the problems of meaning, equivalence within the research process.

While this advantage is beneficial for research, it is important to note that undertaking one's own translation does not necessarily imply legitimate translation or clearer meanings, since the researcher's self-translated version is also informed by his or her perspectives and standpoints, as well as attention to the complexity and details of the translation itself (Temple, Bogusia & Young 2004). The process is thus complicated and requires attention, vigilance and consistency (Peña 2007) on the part of the researcher to both the technical matters and his/her own biases and preferences.

Although translating my own data enabled me to pay close attention and reflect deeply on the interpretation, reporting Japanese data in English presented challenges. In this circumstance, the language difference between the people in the study and the academic text entailed in analysis and reporting means that gaining conceptual

equivalence becomes a crucial matter (Birbili 2000). Acquiring conceptual equivalence demands intense interrogation and thought. Indeed, it may entail recognising that some concepts have no equivalence in other languages because language 'carries accumulated and particular cultural, social, and political meanings that cannot simply be read off through the process of translation, and organises and prepares the experience of its speakers' (Temple, Bogusia & Edwards 2002, p. 5).

Such an issue emerged during my interviews. For instance, when one participant said '*nihonjin dato tsu-ka jan*' (It is easy to understand each other with Japanese people, right?). The Japanese word *tsu-ka* was used by this interviewee when she was discussing communication in Japanese and English. *Tsu-ka* is a slang word in Japanese meaning 'understand each other' (Konishi 1998). More specifically, the term means knowing one another so well that it is not necessary to say much in order to understand each other and additionally, getting along so well that meaning is implicitly understood (Shinmura 1998) The English translation of *tsu-ka* 'knowing each other well' does not provide the same connotations as those in Japanese, which go beyond just understanding each other into shared emotions and feelings. This is what the interviewee implied when she used the term to describe her feelings about communication in Japanese and English. She was trying to express the sense in which her use of English left her feeling ill at ease and never certain that the point she was making was finally understood, so that she was pressed into repeating it in order to check that it had been recognised. To translate this word well would therefore require

a deep understanding of the complex nature of the translation process so as to recognise that:

even an apparently familiar term or expression for which there is direct lexical equivalence might carry 'emotional connotations' in one language that will not necessarily occur in another (Birbili 2000, p. 2).

The distinction between Japanese and English grammar also makes word-by-word translation problematic. Translation between languages that do not have the same grammatical structure is complicated and hinders the process (Birbili 2000). For this reason, word-by-word translation was not used in this research to gain conceptual equivalence; rather, a form of lexical comparability was undertaken which sought to achieve some level of comparable equivalence. Careful consideration was given to direct quotations, given that 'in translated quotations the risk of losing information from the original is greater' (Birbili 2000, p. 3).

Ethics

This research was approved by the Human Ethics Committee of the University of the Sunshine Coast. Prior to interviewing, a research information sheet was given to each interviewee explaining the nature of this research and their responsibility and rights (see Appendix II). Interviewees signed the consent form upon agreeing to participate

in the project. I translated the information sheet into Japanese in order to avoid misunderstandings regarding the research project (see Appendix VI).

Substantive ethics

While formal ethics are emphasised in academic analysis, it is also crucial to deal with substantive ethics. Substantive ethics refers to ‘the moral content rather than the process of moral decisions’ (Pellegrino 2008, p. 2). In this section, I explain the substantive ethics that I encountered during the research process. Subsequent to initial interviews, sequential interviews became possible because some interviews produced friendly relations between myself and participants due to shared language and shared understandings of Japan. The nature of a friendly relationship between researcher and researched may provide the former with a means to gain further private and personal accounts of the participant’s life, and this information may be attractive as a source of rich data. However, for a researcher, consideration of substantive ethics would hold that it is important to protect participants and not to exploit them. As Constable (2003) observes, researchers are guests in the life-world of their research participants and they must act on the highest of ethical principles. This means that subsequent information gleaned in non-research contexts must not be used in the study unless permission to use it has previously been obtained:

The value of the best research is not likely to outweigh injury to a person exposed. Qualitative researchers are guests in the private

spaces of the world. Their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict (Constable 2003, p. 154).

I voluntarily discontinued sequential contact other than by phone or email because it also constituted an exploitation of the initial request to undertake one interview and would therefore constitute an invasion of the participant's privacy.

Some participants wanted to maintain contact after the interview, however as a researcher I hesitated to maintain friendships because it threatened to blur boundaries between research and private life. Information subsequently revealed in the context of an ongoing friendship may be sensitive, and yet important and difficult to disregard. In fact, Constable (2003) found that often participants do not wish such data to be published but that despite their best intentions, researchers often find themselves in a position where some of the most interesting information is material that participants are least likely to want discussed and published. The issue of 'betrayal' is commonly encountered in qualitative research and requires that research data be dealt with carefully and that priority is placed on the protection of participants' rights to privacy.

As the research was based on small number of participants, protecting anonymity was problematic. Thick description of participants may reveal their identity, therefore, describing participants required extra caution in the writing process.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to 'the ability of the researcher to stand outside the research process and critically reflect on that process' (O'Leary 2005, p. 11). This is valuable throughout the research process because it raises many interesting and important questions about the dynamics and integrity of the process. It usefully emphasises the significance of recognising the dynamics of the self and less powerful 'others' of fieldwork (Stoeltje, Fox & Olbrys 1999). This research is influenced by feminist research which argues that research is not organised and orderly, but rather muddled, and necessarily engages with the subject positions of researchers in fieldwork and their relationships with participants, both personal and professional (Lazar 2004).

Feminist research does not emphasise objectivity, but rather argues for recognition and acknowledgement of subjectivity to enable greater objectivity (Neuman c2003; Punch 2003). Similarly, Temple, Bogusia and Edwards (2002, pp. 10-11) argue that 'researchers need to reflect on the ways in which they, as individuals with social identities and particular perspectives, have an impact on the interpersonal relations of fieldwork'.

Feminism forced me to view myself in relation to the participants and pay attention to the fact that I was a Japanese male researcher, interviewing Japanese women. A reflexive approach to research allows the emotions of researchers about the research and its participants to be used as resources to enhance understanding (Lazar 2004). The reflexive approach used in this research allowed me to reflect on my own standpoint and on the power dynamics of gender and ethnicity that complicated the

processes and directions of this study. In this section, the issues that I encountered in fieldwork are discussed, in particular, the confusion of my feelings and emotions in relation to the discourse of international marriage and my standpoint as a Japanese male in the dynamics of its discourse.

Even prior to the fieldwork, I had the impression that every day and every moment of my research experience required reflection on and conversion into something that would inform my research. Such reflections occurred in a broad range of non-research settings. I found myself closely observing Australian and Japanese couples eating out in downtown Brisbane; I read advertisements placed by Australian and Japanese people in online classified websites seeking to find partners and relationship. At the airport, I watched a Japanese mother engaging in linguistic code-switching with her non-Asian looking children. I noted with interest a Japanese mother and Australian father at a Japanese Saturday school bazaar who were nursing their babies and speaking to them in both English and Japanese. Such moments, in such places and such memories became part of my research and influenced my thoughts, feelings and emotions about the research topic, my research participants and myself.

Subject position: Gender and culture

It is generally understood that a researcher's gender, ethnicity and social status affect his or her relationship with those being researched and also the research outcomes themselves (Constable 2003; Kelsky 2001b; Stoeltje, Fox & Olbrys 1999; Storrs 2000). This certainly occurred in my project.

My male subject position created obstacles to gathering data, particularly about aspects of the interviewees' lives that concerned their children and their relationships with their husbands. As Hyman (1954) observes, the responses of interviewees will differ depending on the gender of the researcher. It has been argued that men and women have quite different standpoints because they experience life differently (Maynard 1998). Consequently, being male may have served as a division between myself and the participants, despite my assumed linguistic and cultural affinity with them. Throughout the research, I was acutely conscious of being a male interviewing mostly females. Only occasionally did I find myself having to speak to their husbands. My single, male status also made it difficult to contact participants and this contact was not always welcomed by male partners. On one occasion, my contact with a Japanese woman had to be through her male partner since he did not feel comfortable with the idea of a man making direct contact with her. This made me hesitate to contact participants by phone, even after they had consented to being interviewed, because I was concerned about how their male partners would regard subsequent interactions. Ongoing contacts with some participants did not seem socially acceptable to some partners.

The concerns of researchers in this regard are discussed by McKeganey and Bloor (1991) who argue that contacting participants in qualitative research generally tends to be ongoing and intermittent and yet, researchers often deliberately place limits on access to participants so as not to produce unusual social behaviour which, in this

case, would involve a male researcher contacting married females. In this research, gender and married status added to the difficulty of contacting participants.

The sex of researchers can also limit researchers in locating interviews and gaining access to research sites (Herod 1993). During fieldwork, I located a children's playgroup comprised of Japanese mothers, however a male researcher using such a community to access women was not welcomed. Similar problems were experienced by McKeganey and Bloor (1991) when they attempted to access a site that would have put them in contact with female residents of a therapeutic community.

Apart from the significance of sex and gender in field work, the issues of shared national and ethnic identity require consideration. It is not just cultural background, language and national identity that I share with participants, but also the feelings, sentiments and emotions of a foreigner living in Australia. In this element of similarity, the gender power dynamics of male privileges were undercut by a shared subjectivity which seemed to emerge during the interviews to produce a platform of closeness and trust.

I share an ethnic and national identity with the participating women and this perhaps enabled them to tell anecdotes about their experiences in relation to cultural and national difference. As in the case with shared gender identity discussed by feminist researchers (Lazar 2004; Maynard 1998), the shared subject position of Japanese national living in Australia appeared to reduce gender to the extent that we

understood our similar status position in the context of being a Japanese national in Australia. Interviewing in a non-native language is likely to generate a power imbalance between researchers and researched (Storrs 2000). In turn, the affinity to be gained through communication in shared language and cultural background should not be underestimated as a means of producing positive affinity between interviewees and the interviewer. Indeed, a number of interviewees commented that speaking in their native language enabled them to feel more comfortable and express themselves better than would have been possible in English. However, it is also important to acknowledge that such similarities may block access to some information, since assumed understanding of a situation might mean that further commentary is deemed unnecessary.

Thus, it should not be assumed that an interviewer's insider and outsider status automatically implies less or more rapport, power, or indeed a better study. As McKeganey and Bloor (1991) observe, a researcher's non-member status in the community and their outsider-ness can enable them to gain more rapport with members of community, since the interviewee is able to relate to the interviewer in the absence of cultural assumptions, roles and values. On this matter, Constable (2003), who interviewed Asian women and their American husbands about their international marriage relationships, noted that she was able to produce positive rapport with Asian women who were closer to her age. She and her respondents connected on grounds of gender and age, in the absence of similarities of cultural and linguistic background. However, her western, female identity in the discourses about

international marriage between Asian women and western men impeded her capacity to generate affinity and rapport with the American men. This dichotomy between insider-ness and outsider-ness is rather perilous as ethnicity, gender, sexuality and so on are intertwined, and ambiguous as to how each factor influences the development of the fieldwork. It is argued that 'today we recognise that the very activity of fieldwork places us somewhere on a continuum between familiar and strange, self and other, domestic and foreign, same and different (Stoeltje, Fox & Olbrys 1999, p. 160). Throughout this research, I felt as if my own location in the research was constantly changing. Sometimes I felt like an insider to the study and thought that I shared similar experiences and fully understood what the women were trying to tell me; at other times I felt like an outsider whose life experience and sex meant that I could never entirely comprehend the women's experience of powerlessness or the horizons delimited by Japanese and western gender expectations.

Locating the self

As an unmarried Japanese man, exploring the field of international marriage in the Australian context, I often felt marginalised because the discourse of *kokusai kekkon* predominantly locates Japanese men as outsiders. Where Japanese men are encountered in the literature, it is as people who have been rejected for representing Japanese gender oppression or people who oppress by marrying 'mail order brides'. This was driven home to me on a flight to Japan when I met a Japanese woman married to an Australian man who said to me, 'I am sorry to say this in front of a Japanese man, but I think Australian men are more gentlemanly than Japanese

men...’ Her comment made me realise that to a great extent this research was also an investigation of myself in a discourse where I/Japanese man was represented as ‘not the best kind of man to marry’. In this position it was difficult for me to agree with a position that cast my own subject position as part of the problem.

The incident also drew my attention to how different the interviews might have been if I were a Japanese female researcher married to a white Australian man. Would the dynamics of dialogue shift entirely and generate stories that were out of bounds to me? Would the researcher–researched relationship be easier? Would I generate the same study and was I the right person to be undertaking this study? Reflecting on the complexities of her own study of Japanese women’s perceptions of the west, Kelsky, an American woman married to a Japanese man, observed that her situation prevented rapport with some Japanese women married to western men, who admire the west and have little interest in Japan or Japanese men:

During my fieldwork, I found that both my personal convictions as a feminist, which prevented me from simply accepting informants’ claims about an egalitarian, liberating West, and my personal circumstances, which directly contradicted informants’ foundational beliefs in the abjection and unacceptability of Japanese men, made rapport difficult, at times impossible, to achieve (Kelsky 2001a, p. 419).

Although being a Japanese man researching the international marriage field brings particular constraints, being Japanese women would bring different constraints, such as the temptation to impose one's own meanings and understanding on the analysis and findings. If this is the case, and all fieldwork brings into it complexities of researcher and researched subject positions, then it is all the more important to reflect upon and clarify the limits of the research.

Conclusion

The research process was planned, modified and reorganised. Such modification and flexibility reflect the messy reality of a research process seeking to capture the emotions, life experiences, ambitions, sentiments, disappointments and longings of others. A qualitative approach lends itself to this level of flexibility and sensitivity. It is able to summarize the theoretical standpoint of feminism, which justifies a gender focus and takes an ideological stance on the constructions of gender inequality. It encapsulates methods such as case studies and interviews, and opens up the possibility of reflection on the process of research production by highlighting the position of the research in relation to the researched.

Chapter 3:

Marriage, international marriage and *kokusai kekkon*

Overview

This chapter examines the meaning of international marriage (*kokusai kekkon*) in order to advance our understanding of what international marriage means for Japanese women who marry Australian men. To explain why Japanese women marry western men we must not only understand their personal views but also relate these to western and Japanese cultural, historical and contemporary circumstances. While it is important to relate questions of marriage choice to the historical situation of women in Japan, there is also much to be learned from sociological debates about the nature of marriage and the family in western contexts, as well as the more general circumstances of gender, marriage migration and international marriage.

The chapter begins by detailing western sociological understandings of marriage and feminist critiques that raise questions of gender inequality. It argues that western notions of marriage are not universal and by no means equitable for men and women, and that the continued appeal of marriage has as much to do with the status and prestige conferred on women as the actual reality of the situation. Indeed, marriage

often means unequal interpersonal power and labour relations. Marriage may disadvantage women in that it is based on an unequal division of labour where women provide a service role for men and the family. However, under patriarchal conditions where women are relatively powerless, disadvantaged and othered (Beauvoir 1970), the prestige gained through marriage makes it more appealing than remaining unmarried (Delphy & Leonard 1992; Beauvoir 1970). Through an examination of shifting perceptions of marriage and gender issues in the west, the chapter provides an account of similarities and differences between marriage in the west and in Japan. In particular, this discussion highlights issues of gender in both the west and Japan. Finally, the chapter explains the growing unpopularity of marriage in Japan, particularly among women, and how this relates to international marriage.

The comparative account of studies of international marriage and marriage migration relating to Japanese women and Asian women highlights the similarities and differences between various approaches to international marriage in four main bodies of scholarship: war brides literature, Japanese women's international marriage literature, interracial marriage literature, and the literature on Asian women and international marriage. This comparison shows that while international marriage works in a similar way for Japanese women as for other Asian women marrying western men, and while contemporary marriages in Japan follow similar patterns of gender inequality as elsewhere, their historical and cultural trajectories are different. This section sets the stage for a discussion of international marriage, or *kokusai kekkon*, the term used in Japan to describe marriage between Japanese and non-

Japanese people. The discussion underlines the different meanings and connotations of international marriage in Japan and the west.

The discussion in this chapter relies heavily on American literature because the bulk of research and studies into international marriage and marriage migration have been conducted in the US. However, it can be reasonably expected that the American context is broadly representative of Australia in terms of what the west means in general to Japanese women, and that we can generally apply theories developed in the American cultural context in order to understand international marriage in other western nations.

Historically, Japanese marriage meant the formation of family and had little to do with individual romance (Yoshizumi 1995). This was also the case for marriage in Europe, particularly among elites (Maley 2001). However, the functional view of marriage as political alliance that unites men to form families has shifted over time. In Japan this change has been influenced by feminism and notions of romance circulated in western cultural media. Although the romantic view of marriage is now as popular in Japan as in western nations, in practice, marriage partners are more likely to be chosen for pragmatic and practical reasons than for romance and love (Yoshizumi 1995). A more detailed discussion of the historical circumstance of Japanese marriage is undertaken later in this thesis.

Importantly, Japan currently has one of the highest rates of late marriage and a high unmarried population. This is for the most part a consequence of women's changing expectations of marriage (Kelsky 2001b). As in the west, marriage means different things for men and women, however, Japanese women are more likely to view marriage as a sacrifice of their lives and careers to their husband and family, and this has made many of them reluctant to marry. Women find it difficult to find an ideal partner who is egalitarian (Kelsky 2001b). In contrast, Japanese men are reluctant to marry because of the financial obligations of marriage and family.

Marriage and family

Marriage and family are interrelated concepts in the sociological literature because marriage is predominantly regarded as functional to the formation of families. Marriage has been variously defined across cultures, its meaning has changed over time and it has been influenced by the recognition of same-sex marriage, divorce and serial marriage. In sociology, marriage is categorised in four different types: monogamous, polygamous, polygynous and polyandrous. Monogamous marriages involve only one spouse at one time, while polygamy is marriage with more than one spouse. Polygyny refers to marriage with more than two wives and polyandry is marriage with more than two husbands. Interestingly, polygamy is the only form of marriage that is accepted in all cultures (Strong, DeVault & Cohen 2008). In western society, serial monogamy, which is series of monogamy in succession, has recently become more common (Steel & Kidd 2001). However, this is not the case in Japan (Kinoshita, Hosaka & Sono 2008). Moreover traditional and seminal works in the

field of marriage migration are unable to fully explain the historical and contemporary context of marriage in Japan because they apply western theories of marriage and family (Meguro 2007). This means that an equation of the modern Japanese family with the modern western family needs careful consideration (Takeyasu 1997).

Two different norms are practiced in relation to marriage: exogamy and endogamy. Following Newman and Grauerholz (2002), the rule of exogamy requires selecting a partner from a different social group from oneself. This norm prohibits people from marrying others from their own nuclear family, such as siblings, children and parents. Exogamy takes advantage of the potential for marriage to create alliances with social groups external to one's own because it involves selection of outside marriage partners. Endogamy is marriage between individuals from the same group. The distinction between groups can be based on religion, race, social class and or age. In this categorisation, the marriage of Japanese women to Japanese men is endogamous and their marriage to western men is exogamous because it crosses racial, cultural and national boundaries. Interestingly, such international couples can be regarded as endogamous if they are from a similar social class or status group. Yet, the concepts are somewhat problematical when applied to international unions where disparities of national status and economic situation can be identified.

Post-marital residence is an important aspect of international marriage. Unlike domestic marriage, the post-residence of international marriage often involves

migration. In sociology and anthropology, post-marital residence pattern is categorised as either 'patrilocal', 'matrilocal' or 'neo-local'. In a patrilocal pattern, the bride moves to live with the groom and his parents while in a matrilocal pattern the groom moves to live with the bride and her parents. In neo-local marriage patterns, married couples set up their own home (Gelles 1995). In international marriages it is common for women to set up their own home however they commonly relocate to their husband's country.

The concept of family is not static or fixed and, like marriage, family forms vary across cultures and social classes. Various sociological perspectives highlight the ways in which families can be defined and understood differently. The five main sociological theories of the family are socio-biology, structural functionalism, conflict perspective, symbolic interactionism and exchange theory (Newman & Grauerholz 2002). Socio-biology understands the family in relation to biological processes of human reproduction and mating. In this view, the family is a consequence of evolutionary processes and the theory pays no attention to social, cultural and historical influences on family form.

Structural functionalism is one of the most influential sociological approaches to the family, viewing it as a foundational element of society. From this perspective, society is regarded as a holistic entity where different social institutions take on different social roles in order better to serve the goals of society (Parsons 1968). The family contributes to society by ensuring the efficient organisation of reproduction as well as

taking responsibility for socialisation. Through socialisation, individuals learn values and behaviours, and they also learn gender identities and roles (Newman & Grauerholz 2002).

According to Strong, DeVault and Cohen (2008), within functionalism marriage and the family have four primary functions; they are a source of intimate relationships, a unit of economic cooperation, an institution responsible for the production and socialisation of children, and an institution that assigns social roles and status to individuals. Intimate relationships are an important element of human life and their absence can be detrimental to individuals in particular and social organisation in general. Marriage and family provide economic cooperation which again serves the interests of both the individuals concerned and the society at large. The division of labour is made according to gender, and men's and women's work is different but complementary. Traditionally men work outside and women remain at home doing domestic work which involves caring for the family; men's domestic role typically involves outdoors or manual tasks. These tasks are often culturally assigned in as much as they vary from culture to culture. The family serves as both a unit of consumption and a unit of production because domestic work conducted by each partner contributes to the economic functioning of the family unit though the family is not paid for its contribution to the economy of a society.

From this perspective, the family also functions to secure reproduction and socialisation. Raising children contributes to social reproduction by replacing the

older generation, and through family socialisation, social rules, norms and behaviours are transmitted to children. Human social development occurs within the family. The fact that individuals have two families, their family of origin and their family of procreation, means that they experience a range of developmental identities and roles. They are, for example, son or daughter in their family of origin and later, when they marry and set up their own family, they take on the role of husband or wife, and father or mother. Moreover, status is often given by the family because it locates individuals in particular social classes, and this location contributes to their experiences and perceptions of the world. Functionalist theories of the family assume the positive role of family in society and regard the family as beneficial to the society as a whole. However, the theory has been challenged for providing a too harmonious and non-critical account by ignoring family conflicts and economic and political issues (Steel & Kidd 2001).

In comparison with structural functionalist approaches, which emphasise social organisation at personal, institutional and social levels, conflict perspectives view society through the lens of group inequality and tension. Conflict theorists identify two types of groups or social classes—those that are privileged by contemporary capitalist economic systems and social relations, and those who are disadvantaged by them (Marx 1977; Weber 1981). In conflict sociology, the family is a component of a larger class system and smaller version of society. Political and economic conditions generate inequality between families of different social classes. There is also inequality within the family because some family members benefit more than others.

Gender oppression and exploitation occur within families and each family member has their own particular interests which generate conflict between them. Such inequalities between and within families are particularly addressed by feminist scholars who argue that women are invariably disadvantaged and frequently dominated by men (Oakley & Mitchell 1998). Marriage and family for women means gender inequality between husbands and wives, and a division of labour that requires men to take waged work while women do unpaid domestic work such as childcare, providing services for the male breadwinner and household labour (Newman & Grauerholz 2002).

Symbolic interactionism investigates society and social structures by examining daily interactions. The focus of interaction is symbolic communication such as language, gestures and posture, and which are affected by larger social structures and cultures. Symbolic communications are determined by people who attach meaning to particular actions and interactions (Goffman 1990). From this perspective, the nature and function of marriage and the family will vary between different family members. Therefore, this perspective suggests that the concept of family is interpreted differently by individuals through symbolic interaction (Newman & Grauerholz 2002).

Exchange theory is the approach and perspective that has had the most impact on studies of international marriage and migration. In sociology it focuses on marriage relations to elucidate people's decision-making processes and to investigate the ways

in which people are attracted to some people and not others. The theory assumes that human beings are rational and therefore balance choices in order to gain maximum profit at minimum cost. Profits can be in the form of material things such as money and goods, but might also involve less tangible elements such as personal attention, self-worth and improved status (Blau 1986).

Marriage and family forms are also manifest in different cultures at different times in quite different shapes and forms. Consequently, we must be cautious about seeking a universal conception of marriage and the family across all cultural contexts (Strong, DeVault & Cohen 2008). The following section seeks to clarify the meaning of marriage within the western contexts, from historical and contemporary perspectives, and to provide a comparison with marriage in the Japanese context.

Marriage in the west

Observing changing meanings of marriage in the US, Cherlin (2004) identified three different forms of marriage: institutional, passionate and individualised. The first type of marriage was practiced prior to 1960s and can be regarded as ‘institutional’ because during this period, marriage was considered to be compulsory and viewed as the way to gain full-family formation. Cohabitation was not a common practice. Marriage was rather regarded as something more than a relationship, especially prior to the 19th century. It was more an economic aspect of household arrangements which assigned husbands as the head of the household and wives in the subordinate role (Gillis 2004). The permutations of post-1960s society concerning individual freedom

and female emancipation had an effect on marriage and the family and increased the prevalence of cohabitation, same-sex marriage, and revised the division of labour. Marriage partnerships have changed in the modern era and in many western nations cohabitation arrangements that are not formally sanctioned in law are legally recognised because they involve consensual long-term relationships with the same intent, purpose and functions as marriage. These all contributed to new understandings and practices of marriage in the 20th century. New cultural understandings of marriage also highlight the significance of romance, the emotional aspect of commitment and relationships, and forms of individuality that allow the self-expression of each partner.

‘Compassionate marriages’ replaced institutional marriage in the 1960s. More people stayed single into their late 20s and cohabitation became common practice. Compassionate forms of marriage stressed the importance of being friends as well as lovers, and unlike in institutional marriage, the division of labour was less clearly assigned to each gender. Declining birth rates and an unprecedented low number of divorces provided further grounds for an emphasis on individual development and interpersonal relationships.

‘Individualised marriage’ involved a transition from compassionate marriage and accelerated during the 1970s. This type of marriage underscored the self-development of each partner, flexible roles within marriage and communication between couples. It can be distinguished from compassionate marriage in two senses. It involves more

diverse forms of marriage, including same-sex marriage and remarriage, as well as alternatives to marriage, and it became more flexible and able to fit with an individual's life course. It could include cohabitation as well as more formal marriage.

In the western context, marriage has undergone fundamental transformations in purpose and function to take on more personal and individualised meanings; such a shift is observed in Australia as well (Gilding 1997; Maley 2001; Sarantakos 1996). While it may no longer be a foundational aspect of the social structure, it retains symbolic significance and prestige status. One of the main causes of change to the nature of marriage is change in the status of women. Women now enter marriage with more power and higher expectations than their counterparts in previous eras (Nemoto 2008). Before examining changing perceptions of marriage in the Japanese context, it is useful to consider gender issues relating to marriage in the western context.

Gender issues in the west

Marriage is different for men and women, it functions differently and it affects them differently (Wharton 2005). In the labour market, married men are more likely to be viewed as an advantage for companies, while married women are more likely to be regarded as a risk. Married men are also believed to be more efficient because it is assumed that their spouse will take care of all their domestic work. Married women are thought to struggle to balance the responsibilities of work and domestic duties in the home and these circumstances generate employer preference for married men over married women (Wharton 2005).

The salary gap between married and unmarried men and women illustrates the assumption that married men are often regarded as financially responsible for women (Wharton 2005). A study of male college professors demonstrates that those with unemployed wives earn more than those with employed wives (Bellas 1992). Single men earn the least because it is not expected that they will need to support wives and families. Single or married mothers earn less than other women. Their income disadvantage is due to childcare responsibilities, which reduce their work experience and seniority. Also, mothers tend to take work that gives them flexibility, which is consequently more likely to be less well paid than other work.

The notions 'his' marriage and 'her' marriage are used to refer to the different consequences of marriage for men and women (Bernard 1973). Overall, marriage provides advantages for men and disadvantages for women. Married men are likely to be happier than unmarried men while unmarried women are likely to be happier than married women. Married men thus stand to gain the most health and happiness from being married. For Bernard (1973), marriage is a form of 'shock theory' for women. Women must make great adjustments to changed roles, expectations and status after they marry. For instance, women often change their last name to that of their husband and their title from Miss to Mrs. Men's occupations are more likely to take priority over women's and women tend to adjust their occupations because of their husbands. The reverse is less likely to occur.

According to Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley (2008), marriage is a gendered institution with different financial and emotional implications for men and women. In general, men earn more and experience authority and independence, while women earn less and experience powerlessness and dependence. Importantly, the marriage relationship in the domestic sphere magnifies a similar set of power distinctions in the public sphere. In view of the overall disadvantages of marriage for women in western cultures its popularity is perplexing and seems to bear a stronger relationship to status and prestige than to economic and practical advantages. Indeed, the prevalence of high divorce rates, remarriage, later marriage and single parents in the west suggests that women are increasingly dissatisfied with marriage. Statistics of the average age of marriage and the number of unmarried people shows an upward trend and the average age of first marriage for men and women, as well as the number of unmarried people, has risen since the 1960s. Since 1980, one-half of all US marriages end in divorce.

And yet, marriage remains highly valued: only 10 per cent of men and women have no intention of marrying, in contrast to 80 per cent who intend to marry in the future (Newman & Grauerholz 2002). While marriage may be threatened by rising divorce rates and cohabitation, its popularity and status among couples both with and without children remains high (Gillis 2004).

The alluring image and status of marriage may also be an effect of the status and economic security it provides some women. In patriarchal societies marriage

commonly involves an unequal division of labour where women provide a service role for men and the family in return for economic security and status (Delphy & Leonard, 1992; Beauvoir 1970). In societies where women are relatively powerless, disadvantaged and othered (Beauvoir 1970), it is not surprising that the prestige gained through marriage may be appealing than remaining unmarried.

The symbolic meaning of marriage remains stable in the west. It may not be as significant in terms of economic function as it has been previously but it appears to have retained its status and appeal. The symbolic image of marriage has shifted from an indication of conformity to that of prestige and standing (Cherlin 2004). In the past, marriage occurred prior to success in an individual's career and family. Today, marriage often comes after career and other personal achievements, and might be better seen as the capstone of life. It is more an achievement that occurs during one's life course than a natural event in it. Marriage may be losing its 'broad public and institutional character' but it is also 'gaining popularity as a "super relationship": an intensely private spiritualised union, combining sexual fidelity, romantic love, emotional intimacy, and togetherness' (Whitehead & Popenoe 2003, p. 13). Moreover, marriage provides better health and financial security for couples and generates 'haves' for the married and 'have-nots' for the singles. In the US context, it stratifies and creates a hierarchy of economic, culture and psychological advantages for married people (Furstenberg 2001).

In the west, the symbolic importance of marriage is that it provides status for married people and generates a gap between those who are married and those who are single. The symbolic significance of marriage and its association with notions of 'super relationship', which provides for a broad range of psychological and structural supports, explains its increasing popularity in the west despite continuing elements of gender inequality. In the following section, the comparison of western marriage systems with those in Japan highlights similarities and differences. While gender inequality prevails in both locations, it is international, not domestic, marriages that have taken on a symbolic representation of support and individual autonomy.

Aspects of Marriage in Japan

As in the west, the purpose and function of marriage in Japan has changed over time. However, it remains a gendered institution and despite the fact that it disadvantages women over men, its association with status and privileges make it an important social institution (Kinoshita, Hosaka & Sono 2008; Sekiguchi et al. 2009). To understand the particular appeal of international marriage to Japanese women, it is important to understand the historical and cultural context of marriage in Japan.

Marriage in Japan is understood to be a legal relationship comprised of rights and obligations, as in the west, the emergence of a romantic view of marriage took root in the 20th century (Arichi & Ueki 2008). In 1935 arranged marriages comprised approximately 70% of all marriages in Japan. In the late 1960s love-based marriages exceeded arranged marriages and by 1990 they comprised 90% of all marriages in

Japan (Kinoshita, Hosaka & Sonoi 2008). The popularity of love-based marriage in contemporary Japanese society confirms the influence of western values and practices (Borneman 2005). However, there are differences between the meaning and practice of marriage in the west and Japan. While contemporary Japanese marriages share with the west ideological similarities such as the value of personal affection and feelings, Japanese marriage projects remain in many ways distinct. This is because social, cultural and historical forces in Japan have constructed different attitudes to, and practices of marriage (Hendry 2003).

Marriage was regarded to be a crucial part of the life course of men and women in Japan, and a central component of the Japanese social system and combined family system known as *ie seido*. This system influenced the concept and practice of Japanese marriage. Along with the Emperor system, *ie seido* has been an important core of Japanese society since the late 18th century (Sekiguchi et al. 2009). *Ie seido* refers to a practice of continuity of household through successive generations, and was highly influential until World War II (Hirai 2008). Within the *ie* system, people registered as a family unit through *koseki* (family registration). This differs from the western system where people are registered individually. In *koseki* a husband is regarded as the head of the family and other family members are listed under his name in most cases. In this system wives are not conceived as full persons but dependents of their husband (Yoshizumi 1995).

Under the *ie* system and *koseki* practice, marriage was entered into for the purpose of continuing the family line. Marriage partners were selected by parents and other family members in consideration of their impact on the family and without consideration of romantic feelings or personal choice (Sekiguchi et al. 2009). Marriage was crucial for both men and women but its effects were different. First, marriageable age was more significant for women than for men. In Japan women were and continue to be expected to marry before the age of 23. After this age they were regarded as being too old. Not surprisingly many women feel under pressure to marry young. Second, marriage was a means of gaining financial security for women in the past, since they had difficulty achieving financial independence in circumstances where work opportunities for women were limited. These marriage practices were to change dramatically after the World War II.

When World War II ended the Japanese Constitution was modified to assure individual dignity and gender equality. The old family system was abolished and women were granted individual legal rights. Marriage no longer required the consent of the head of the family and marriage based on romantic feeling became accepted, common practice by the mid-1960s (Kinoshita, Hosaka & Sono 2008; Murray & Kimura 2003; Sekiguchi et al. 2009;). Japanese women came to consider marriage as a choice instead of a necessity, and no longer had to depend on it to be financially secure. It also became more acceptable to remain single (Meguro 2007). These changes were not exactly identical to those experienced in western marriage, but they had the same implications for women by providing them with the opportunity to

choose whom and when to marry. The different social and cultural structures in Japan and the west thus generate different reasons for engaging in the same act of marriage. The growth of romance and love-based marriage in Japan and the west have intrinsically different implications and ramifications; while western marriage emphasises ongoing romantic feelings within marriage, Japanese marriage tends to focus on the significance of parenthood and the mother-child, father-child relationship (Yoshizumi 1995).

The unpopularity of marriage in Japan

In the current era, marriage has become increasingly unpopular with Japanese women, as shown by lower marriage rates as well as later marriages. In arguing for an element of disillusionment on the part of Japanese women with marriage in general, this section paves the way for the suggestion that international marriages may be as much about what Japanese women do not want as what they do desire.

The 1990s was a crucial turning point for Japanese families; marriage rates declined and divorce rates increased. Traditional, three-generation family living ceased to be common practice and an increasing number of single men and women continued to live with their parents. This group has come to be referred to as 'parasite singles' (Rebick & Takenaka 2006).

Japanese men and women are marrying later. Between 1975 and 1995 the mean age for marriage in Japan increased from 24.5 to 27.7 years for women, and from 27.6 to

30.7 years for men. Moreover, the percentage of people who never marry went up over the same period from five to 15 per cent for women and from six to 22 per cent for men. The trend towards later marriage and non-marriage is due to the disappearance of arranged marriages, a rise in individualism, and increased educational attainment and labour force participation (Retherford, Ogawa & Matsukura 2001).

The other major reason suggested for the decline in Japanese marriage is the changing gender roles of women. Women tend to delay marriage since they presume that balancing family and work will be difficult once they become a mother and undertake child-rearing. Also, some women view marriage as unattractive since their domestic responsibilities make it difficult to continue their career upon marriage. Another contribution to the unattractiveness of marriage is that women's gender role is further expanded to include caring for their own and their spouses' elderly parents. It is reported that Japanese women have a pessimistic view of marriage, associating it with self-sacrifice and loss of financial control (Nemoto 2008).

In an attempt to theorise Japanese women's disinclination to marry, Kelsky (2001b) argues that there is a gap between Japanese men who expect to depend on women to do all the housework and Japanese women who seek egalitarian men. Indeed, it can be argued that Japanese women do not believe in the possibility of finding an egalitarian partner, since Japanese men prefer not to share equal domestic work (Ehara 2005). Consequently, it is difficult for Japanese women to achieve their ideal

marriage since they are fully aware of its negative consequences. A positive ideology of marriage is absent in the consciousness of many Japanese women. One Japanese woman's disinclination to marry was noted in a recent BBC television interview:

Women these days are doing far more men's work since men don't want to do anything that's traditionally considered a woman's role. That's why we find it so hard to relate to each other. I can't accept that man expects a woman to make housework a priority over her career (BBC 2004).

This comment summarises women's reluctance to marry. It is considered as a loss of freedom and a set of responsibilities that involve prioritising housework over paid work. Marriage is much less attractive among Japanese women than western women, and Japanese women are far more likely to view marriage as constraint on personal and economic freedom than American women (Bumpass & Tsuya 2004).

Japan has become one of the most globally competitive nations in the world and has adopted many aspects of western modernisation (Hendry 2003). However, its different historical and social contexts means that its cultural beliefs and practices reflect a distinctive picture of marriage—one which many Japanese women are coming to challenge.

Kokusai kekkon

The literal translation of ‘international marriage’ in Japanese is *kokusai kekkon*; however, the English word ‘international marriage’ does not have the same connotations as *kokusai kekkon*. Understanding the origin of the term *kokusai kekkon*, as well as an historical account of international marriage in Japan, will further our understanding of the distinctive nature of international marriage in Japan.

According to Kamoto (2001), the term *kokusai kekkon* came into being through a particular set of historical circumstances. Prior to its popular usage in the 1960s, the term *zakkon* (mixed marriage) was commonly used to describe unions between Japanese and non-Japanese nationals. In the west, ‘mixed marriage’ has racial connotations and refers to unions between people of different ethnic, cultural and racial heritages. It is rarely used to refer to marriages between Americans and Europeans, for instance, where both are white. In the west, mixed marriages have long been discouraged. What was regarded as being ‘mixed’ was the purity and the superiority of the white ‘race’. For example, Californian law in 1880 did not allow marriage between white and non-white partners, such as those between western men and Asian women, and even today, despite the enormous growth in biracial and bicultural unions and children, mixed marriages are often regarded as unusual or problematic.

The terms endogamy, referring to marriage within a social group, and exogamy, referring to marriage with outsiders, are western sociological concepts often used to distinguish between different forms of marriage (Newman & Grauerholz 2002).

Mixed marriage and international marriages are frequently exogamous, where the union is between people of different cultural, national, ethnic and racial backgrounds. However, what constitutes endogamy and exogamy and the appropriateness or inappropriateness of marriage partners in this respect reflects the history and culture of different countries. *Kokusai kekkon* highlights marriage across national borders, where the social group is the nation-state and marriage with 'foreigners' constitutes exogamy. Western notions of endogamy and exogamy are not restricted to nationality, and highlight the inner social values of groups relating to such matters as race, religion, ethnicity and culture as well as nationality. Consciousness of national borders is high in Japan compared with other countries. In many western countries, national borders are regarded as being more flexible and fluid. Japan is surrounded by oceans and regards itself as clearly bounded in comparison with nations in Europe, for example, where national borders have shifted and been revised due to wars and other events, and people are able to cross borders with relative ease (Kamoto 2001).

National borders have to be continually reasserted and redrawn (Anderson 1991). In Japan, however, the act of forging the nation through the unification of conflicting clans and the identification of a common threat, namely the 'foreigner' or outsider, has been a state preoccupation since the system of *sakoku* (national seclusion) was established in 1639. The association of Japan and Japaneseness with the national borders of the nation-state is grounded in the border control and historical political system of *sakoku* which ended in 1853. *Sakoku* prevented Japanese people from leaving Japan and foreigners such as the Dutch and other traders from entering Japan.

The self-imposed seclusion was based on Japan's fear of the destructive influence of western culture, in particular Christianity. Under the policy of *sakoku*, foreigners were segregated from the Japanese and forced to live on the *dejima*, a small island near Nagasaki. The only access to the island was via a bridge from Nagasaki City and travellers were required to have a permit to leave or enter (Kamoto 2001).

During the *sakoku* period, romances occurred between Japanese women and western men; however these relationships were almost entirely between *yujo* (prostitutes) and western men because they were the only Japanese women allowed access to the *dejima* (Kamoto 2001). After WWII, another group of Japanese women married western men—these women became known as war brides and their unions were a precursor to the *kokusai kekkon* of today. During the 1950s, approximately 50,000 Japanese war brides migrated to the United States, 650 to Australia and unknown numbers to Canada, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand (Tamura 2001). War bride unions were discouraged in Japan as well as in the west. One reason they were viewed with suspicion was because historically, prostitution was most commonly regarded as the means by which Japanese women encountered western men. However, the lack of Japanese men of marriageable age after WWII and the loneliness of western servicemen in Japan, made contact and romance both necessary and likely (Glenn 1986).

Japanese women and kokusai kekkon

The study of international marriages and *kokusai kekkon* is important because it is increasing. In 1981 international marriage comprised only one per cent of all marriages in Japan (Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare of Japan 2006). By the 1990s, the proportion had reached more than three percent of all marriages. The figure for 2004 indicates that this has increased to 5.5 per cent—a five-fold increase over the last 20 years. The trend towards international marriages is gendered, as I have noted in the introduction. While more Japanese men in international marriages in Japan marry predominantly Asian women and reside in Japan, more Japanese women marry western men and migrate to live outside of Japan (Kamoto 2008).

Kokusai kekkon is often regarded as the antithesis of Japanese marriage and yet international marriage with westerners appears to reflect Japan's ongoing interest in westernisation and an idealised, overestimation of western achievements and successes. Indeed Japan's attitude toward the west and westerners can be regarded as a reverse form of orientalism. Orientalism refers to a process of representation undertaken in the colonial era whereby the west created an imagined Orient in literature and the arts. This view became the reality of the Orient for the west (Said 2003). In Japan it can be argued that the imaginary of the west and western people constructed in the media and global culture has come to replace the reality of the west. This argument is further developed in relation to the notion of *akogare* (yearning) in Chapter four below.

International marriage literature

Research into international marriage relating to Japanese women can be divided into two categories: war brides and contemporary international marriage literature. Other research not particularly focused on Japanese women, such as interracial marriage literature and studies of Asian spouses, also provides some insight and understanding of the situation of Japanese women in international marriages. Much of the war brides literature accounts for the experiences of women from Japan and elsewhere who married servicemen after various wars and international conflicts, such as WWII and the Korean war, and migrated and settled in the US, Australia, the UK and Europe (Glenn 1986; Saenz, Hwang & Aguirre 1994; Schnepf & Yui 1995; Storrs 2000; Tamura 2001). The studies of contemporary Japanese women's international marriage particularly focus on relationships between Japanese women and western men. They illustrate Japanese women's desires for the west and western men, and how such ideology is further enhanced in comparison with the perceived limits of conservative Japan and Japanese men. These studies are most closely related to the case study of this thesis and provide rich accounts and explanations of contemporary international marriages of Japanese women (Kelsky 2001b; Kobayashi, A. 2002; Ma 1996; Takahashi 2006). A third body of literature reflects Americans' concerns with racism, integration and assimilation, and discusses racial and ethnic consciousness within the context of interracial or intercultural marriage, applying exchange theory mostly based on the US context (Barnett 1963; Fu, VK. 2001; Fu, XN. 2008; Labov 2002). Finally, a more contemporary body of work studies issues of gender, marriage and migration' particularly focusing on Asian women (Burgess 2004a, 2004b; Constable 2003; Cooke 1986; Faier 2007; Lauser 2008; Nakamatsu, 2005; Piper

1997; Suzuki 2000, 2007). Much of this literature focuses on marriage between women from less privileged countries and men from privileged ones, and highlights issues of gender and female subjectivity.

Similarities between studies of contemporary Japanese women's experiences and Japanese war brides concern the shared history and cultural context of patriarchal Japan and the desire to improve one's situation. Moreover, although the time period is different for contemporary and war brides, *akogare* plays a role in both cases. While it can be argued that globalisation facilitated the initial contact and possibility of romance and marriage, the intrinsic experience of contemporary Japanese marriage migrants and war brides differs. For instance, travel back and forth between new home and homeland was expensive and time-consuming for war brides, and without internet communications, their connection with home was made solely by telephones and letters.

Many studies of international marriage focus on the experiences of women rather than men. The main reason for this is that it is largely women who migrate after marriage to settle overseas. Much of the international marriage literature addresses the experience of Asian women from less industrialised nations, such as Filipinas who have married and migrated to the US, Australia and Japan (Burgess 2004a, 2004b; Constable 2003; Cooke 1986; Faier 2007; Nakamatsu 2005; Piper 1997; Suzuki 2000, 2007). It is worth noting here that the focus of this scholarship on the experience of foreign wives indicates the close relationship between marriage, labour migration and issues of settlement. Many of these studies point to the ways in which

economic disparities between countries parallel the global gender disparities within them and how these affect the decision to marry, migrate and settle, and the experience of these. In other words, there are economic differences between rich and poor countries and women in those locations and there are economic differences between women within various countries. In particular these studies parallel the studies of labour migration which focus on the movement of people from less privileged to more privileged countries, in order to highlight social and economic factors (Castles & Miller 2003).

The marriage of women from less economically developed countries to men from wealthy ones supports the theory of female hypergamy, which holds that in the domestic national context women marry up to men from a higher social class and thereby gain social and economic advantages (Constable 2003). The theory has been applied to studies of international marriages between men and women from different countries. To be hypergamous, women need to marry into nation-states that are culturally and economically valued, and will bring them more privileges than if they were to marry domestically. For example, in the case of Japanese war brides, it has been argued that Japanese women from a recently impoverished and defeated country married up into richer and more economically secure circumstances (Tamura 2001).

Marriage between Japanese men, who are now considered to be from a highly industrialised nation, and non-Japanese Asian women from less industrialised countries is receiving attention in the international marriage literature, and the reasons for women's marriage is often theorised in these terms of financial security (Piper

1997; Suzuki 2000, 2007). This point demonstrates that hypergamy is fundamentally associated with both issues of gender and more strictly economic factors such as the relative status of national economies. Below, studies of international marriage are examined in more detail in relation to war bride literature, Japanese women's contemporary international marriage, interracial marriage literature and the literature on the international marriage of Asian women, which predominantly relies on arguments about hypergamy.

War brides

The study of war brides has been a focus of interdisciplinary attention in the US and Australia (Bentley 2003; Enari 2000; Fortune 2006; Schnepf & Yui 1995; Tamura 2001; Wood 1991). The focus on the experiences of Japanese war brides tends to highlight the historical context of the experience and its racial and cultural context of women's reception, assimilation and settlement (Glenn 1986; Storrs 2000; Tamura 2001). Although the accounts of war brides differ from contemporary international marriage in relation to time period, there are great similarities between the two groups. Cottrell's (1990) reports that war brides studies emphasises Asian women's passiveness which played a role in making them more attractive to American men who felt threatened by empowered American women. In turn, Japanese women idealise American men as sensitive, kind and financially secure. These accounts reflect similarities with contemporary Japanese women's *akogare* for the west and western men because contemporary international marriage literature shows how such idealisation has become an important element in international relationships and

marriage between Japanese women and western men. Further details of contemporary marriage literature are discussed later.

As noted above, after WWII, about 50,000 Japanese women migrated to the west (Tamura 2001). As the majority went to the US, most studies of war brides have been done in that context. For instance, Glenn's (1986) study of three generations of Japanese-American women illuminates the gap between the way women imagined life would be in the US prior to their departure and their actual settlement experience, which generally involved downward mobility, limited career prospects, low occupational status and domestic work either in the home and or in the labour market. Glenn's study thus highlights the interplay of race and gender for ethnic minority migrant women in the US labour market. A study by Storrs (2000), who interviewed her own war bride mother, came to the same conclusion—that there is a gap between the idealisation of American life and the settlement experience of racial minority marriage migrants. Storrs' account also reflects how the imaginary America and ideal image of American service men impacted on this international marriage.

Australian studies of Japanese war brides are limited and tend to comprise biographies and autobiographical literatures. For instance, the life story of the first Japanese war bride in Australia, Cherry Parker, is well documented. The account explores the emotions and sentiments that Cherry and her partner experienced through a long-distance relationship and the eventual unification of their family in Australia (Endo 1989). Legal issues of migration from Japan to Australia, and social conditions during the 1950s emerge in this account of a romantic relationship

complicated by war. A similarly insightful study was conducted by Tamura in her case study of Michi. The personal account illustrates Michi's hardship as she struggled to be accepted in Australia. After the war, anti-Japanese sentiment was high and led to racism and discriminatory treatment of Japanese nationals (Tamura 2001). Cherry's and Michi's stories underline a history which shows what foreigners meant in the west, how they were treated during a specific era and the complications of border crossing for romance during this period. Although these accounts provide rich and detailed accounts of the migrant experience of war brides, they tend not to offer detailed theoretical explanations of the nature of the gendered marriage migration experience.

War brides literature is thus important because it furthers understanding of the historical contexts and complicated realities of a migration experience that involves political conditions beyond the lives of people concerned, and addresses the specific implication of gender and race. However, the influence of World War II is not sufficient to elucidate fully contemporary Japanese international marriage, even though the focus on contextual political and social factors is invaluable. In the following section I detail further those studies that offer theoretical accounts of the nature of contemporary international marriage for Japanese women.

Contemporary international marriage of Japanese women

Although research focusing particularly on Japanese women's international marriage is limited, some studies reveal the ways in which Japanese women come to long for

the west and western men, and pursue romantic relationships as well as international marriages (Kelsky 2001b; Kobayashi, A. 2002; Ma 1996; Takahashi 2006).

Kelsky (2001b) investigated 'internationalist' Japanese women who devote their efforts to the consumption of western culture by studying and working in western countries, and engage in romance with western men. She uses the Japanese word *akogare* (yearning) to depict Japanese women's desire for the west. She examines how cultural products such as movies, books and advertisements project the image of the west and western men in particular ways to attract Japanese women. These images project the modernity, advancement and gender equality of the west in contrast to the conservatism of Japan. Admiring the west and romance with western men is seen as a solution to traditionalist Japan and Japanese men in women's consciousness. Further details of Kelsky's study are discussed in the next chapter.

Akogare is further developed by Takahashi (2006) who focuses on the relationship between language, desire and romance with western men among female, Japanese, English students in Australia. *Akogare* does not only work as a motivation for Japanese women to learn English, but also pushes them to pursue romantic relationships with western men. Some Japanese women use romantic relationships to solve the problems of their difficulties mastering English and associating with local Australian people. By dating Australian men, they are able to improve their linguistic ability. In this context some young Japanese women in Australia take advantage of romance with Australian men to improve their English language skills.

Ma (1996) investigates marriages between Japanese women and western men. She argues that despite tremendous social change, stereotypes of Japanese women and western men still affect the romantic desires of Japanese women. The traditional image of Japanese women as passive and feminine is alluring for some western men. The globally circulated image of egalitarian western men attracts Japanese women who seek gender equality. Ma stresses, however, that this image has nothing to do with the individual characters of either Japanese women or western men. Rather, it relates to a set of cultural beliefs and myths about western men and Japanese women in a general dynamic of cross-cultural romance.

Kobayashi's (2002) study of Japanese women in Canada reports on different characteristics between female Japanese migrants before and after the 1990s. From 1960 to 1980, Japanese women who entered Canada were highly educated, pursuing graduate degrees in Canada and aiming to advance their careers. It is suggested that this early group of Japanese women felt under pressure to marry and experienced constraints to advancing their careers in Japan. Although the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was introduced in Japan in 1986 with the purpose of creating gender equality in working environments, this group of women did not receive such benefits. Migrating to Canada freed them from gender roles and expectations in Japan and allowed them to pursue higher education, which led to the advancing of their career opportunities. Most Japanese women entering Canada since the 1990s arrive as working holiday makers and their educational and socioeconomic standing is reported to be lower than their earlier counterparts. They are more marriage-oriented than career-oriented. If these working holiday makers intend to stay in Canada, then they

have only two choices—find a career or marry a local. Establishing a career is difficult because of the language barrier and if they were career-oriented they would have chosen to study instead of travelling on a working holiday visa. If they are of marriageable age, then they are more likely to seek marriage with locals.

These four studies provide valuable insights into the ways in which race, culture and gender are intertwined in the discourse of international marriage between Japanese women and western men. The Canadian situation described in Kobayashi's research has strong similarities with Australia, which also has an agreement with Japan about working visas.

Interracial marriage

As already mentioned, interracial marriage studies are mostly carried out in the US context (Barnett 1963; Fu, VK. 2001; Fu, XN. 2008; Labov 2002). The emphasis on race and culture over nationality means that individuals are differentiated on the basis of race and culture rather than their migrant status and nationality. Research in this field often relies on 'exchange theory' which emphasises what each partner exchanges in the process of marriage. Furthermore, these studies often rely on large-scale surveys or quantitative research. Research into individual experiences and the historical and social contexts of that experience is largely absent.

Social exchange theory is one of the most common sociological explanations used to explain peoples' choices of marriage partners in national settings. It is not surprising therefore that it should be applied to international marriage. This theory postulates

that individuals who seek to maximise the rewards and minimise the costs of marriage achieve the most profitable outcomes (McDonald 1981). Following Merton (1941), attributes such as race and social class are exchanged in the dynamics of marriage; for instance, females of higher racial status marry males of lower racial status provided that the men have other dimensions of higher status. Exchange theory has also been used in studies of marriages between American military men and Korean women during the Korean War, where Asian women were seen to exchange their status as exotic sex symbols for the higher financial status of their European American husbands (Kim 1972). Race, social class, youth and so forth are exchanged through marriage within the exchange theory paradigm.

In international marriage, social exchange theory can be applied to the case of Asian women from less industrialised countries and western men. This is because the decisions of women from less industrialised countries to marry those from more developed countries is commonly based on the assumption of economic benefit and support for themselves and their families at home. Cooke (1986), in her study of Australian-Filipino marriages argues that the 'mail-order bride' system involves Filipina women in a process that exchanges domestic work and sexual relations for economic security. Social exchange theory in international contexts may explain relationships between men from developed countries and women from less privileged countries, but it does not hold for marriages between Japanese and Australian partners where both are from industrialised countries. Social exchange theory has also been criticised because it views human relationships as a rational process which prioritises economic perspectives (Castles & Miller 2003). In addition, the exchange theory

perspective can be regarded as presenting an Anglo-centric view which implicitly assumes that 'whiteness' is internationally regarded as of higher exchange value than 'non-whiteness'. Defining what token is worth what in exchange theory in cross-cultural contexts is problematic because what is and is not valued changes from time to time and across cultures.

Thus, exchange theory is problematic because it has been predominantly devised to explain national rather than international situations and does not fully comprehend the particular contexts of international relationships. For instance, exchange theory, which highlights the gains and losses in interracial marriage discourse and contemporary international marriage studies—simply adds in the dimensions of global economic disparity. The theory does not therefore address the complex historical, cultural and national contexts of gender relations within countries and how they play out for marriage migrants who bring with them the gendered experiences of their own historical, cultural and national contexts.

Asian women in international marriage

This section discusses literature related to international marriage focusing particularly on Asian women. While these studies do not entirely fit the case of Japanese women, they offer some insight into understanding Japanese women's romantic relations with western men across national boundaries. As stated earlier, studies of Asian women in international marriage highlight the experience of female marriage migrants from less industrialised countries and seek to explain variations in this phenomenon (Burgess 2004b; Nakamatsu 2005; Piper 1997; Suzuki 2005).

These studies demonstrate the complexities of international marriage in the case of Asian women. Due to the economic disparities between men and women, women's motivations are frequently explained in terms of financial and material gain. Yet, these studies also stress that Asian women's motivations are more complex, and linked to elements of national politics, culture and gender. They thus bring to bear a deeper understanding of the ways in which macro-level structures of politics, economics, culture and gender relations affect individual, personal relationships. Romantic desire and longing are linked to the broader social conditions in the countries of both partners. These studies further crystallise the ways that the migration and settlement experiences of Asian women relate to minority racial and cultural status to create a particular experience of marginalisation.

The experience of Filipinas in Japan has been described by Suzuki (2005) who shows that Filipinas have a fantasy image of international marriage based on the alluring image of the comforts associated with the culture and advanced economies of overseas countries. Because of Japan's strong economy, marrying Japanese men represents global hypergamy for many Filipinas. Unfortunately, however, the economic standing they confront in Japan as a migrant may not be as rosy as they had imagined. Filipinas face marginalisation as racial minority women; their situation is further complicated by their Filipino families' expectations and fantasy images of Japan. The expectation of remittances and other financial support places an extra burden on Filipina brides whose international marriage necessarily involves their family members in the Philippines so that transnational connections are invariably growing but not always glowing. In fact, they may also create bitterness and

resentment. In the case of Filipinas' international marriages, political economy, gender relations, cultural hierarchy and family responsibilities generate a complex reality. The experience of these women bears a strong relationship to the notion of *akogare* and the impact of imaginary beliefs about the west and western men. Interestingly, here, it is not the west that represents future freedom and possibility as in *akogare*, but Japan—the very culture that for many Japanese women represents oppression and restriction.

In a study of Filipina spouses of western men, Lauser (2008) argues that women do not simply marry to migrate, but in many cases they migrate to marry. This is because being married is an important status in the Philippines and some women have difficulty finding an ideal partner because of the negative status associated with being a single mother or divorced. By relocating to the west, these women hope to generate better opportunities for themselves and their families. Another interesting reversal relates to the fact that while Filipinas seek egalitarian, modern men outside of the Philippines, western men in turn seek the opposite—traditional women from the Philippines who conform to the gender stereotype of women whose primary role is to service the needs of men and their families. A similar set of orientalist reversals may account for the allure of Japanese women for western men.

The issue of stereotyping Asian women has been addressed by Constable (2003) in her work on international marriages between Chinese and Philippine women and American men. She states that these unions are grounded on racial and gendered stereotypes which assume that men are by nature conservative, and women passive

and feminine. This locates power and agency with the American male; however, issues of class, race and nationality also intervene to complicate the power relationship so that it cannot be explained entirely in terms of an ideology of female subordination. Constable further points out critical attitudes toward what has come to be known as Filipina 'mail-order brides' frequently assume that women from less industrialised nations are more oppressed and more likely to suffer from inequitable gender relations. Due to complications of race, ethnicity and nationality the situation is more complex than this, and women's agency and power are exercised in other ways.

Taking up the ways in which migrant women operate as active social actors who have important impacts on the wider society into which they migrate, Burgess (2004b) argues that Asian brides have the potential to change Japanese society through their everyday interactions and activities in Japan. They bring diverse cultures into Japanese society, and as they acquire and exercise agency in Japan, they challenge old stereotypes and prejudices.

These studies of international marriage demonstrate a complex mesh of global circuits of marriage, relationship and romance between Asian women and men from industrialised nations. Romantic desire cannot be simply reduced to economic rationale, because such desire is linked to culture, politics and gender relations. This also means that the personal relationships of Asian women with foreign men must be understood in relation to the broader social structures that extend beyond national

boundaries. Finally, Burgess' account shows how international marriage brings global mobility not only for people, but also for cultures and ideas that affect the host society and thus accord with Appadurai's (1996) theories of 'global scapes' that are now changing nation-states everywhere.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the concept of marriage in the west and in Japan, and the way the institution has changed over time. While endogamous marriages have become more appealing to western women, exogamous marriage has become more appealing to Japanese women. Marriage in both the west and in Japan continues to sustain gender inequalities but in the west its popularity persists because marriage manages to retain a particular appeal, image and status. In Japan, the institution and ideology of marriage, as in the west, continues to reflect gender inequality; however, in Japan this inequality has strong historical and cultural connotations which continue to be sustained in contemporary society. The dissatisfaction of some women with Japanese gender roles and inequality is apparent in the growing numbers who remain unmarried or marry later in life. In Japan, it is exogenous *kokusai kekkon* that appears to have taken on new appeal, image and status. Despite its history of negative associations with prostitution, international marriage has come to represent the possibility of change and improvement. The desire for perceived or assumed western forms of gender equality is thus based on an idealisation of the west that is fundamentally related to disillusionment with Japanese gender inequality.

Chapter 4:

Globalisation, *akogare* and hypergamy

Overview

The previous chapter discussed historical and cultural issues relating to marriage and the appeal of western marriage for Japanese women. This chapter introduces three factors which increase the likelihood of Japanese women marrying western men and leaving Japan. I suggest in this chapter that globalisation, *akogare* and hypergamy are important push factors towards *kokusai kekkon*. The data analysis component of this chapter illuminates these processes in women's accounts. It also examines the reasons why international marriages are often regarded by Japanese women as 'raceless' and how this assumption highlights normative understandings of *kokusai kekkon* as comprising relationships between Japanese women and white men.

Globalisation, accessible transportation systems and communication technologies in particular, have facilitated encounters of people from diverse cultural and national backgrounds and helped them to sustain connections. The circumstances of globalisation facilitate the formation of friendships around the world and increase the possibility of men and women from different backgrounds encountering one another. Nonetheless, the decision to marry and migrate usually requires romance and interpersonal attraction. *Akogare* refers to a reverse orientalism or ideal representation

of the west that occurs in Japan. The term has been applied by Kelsky (2001b) to explain the attraction of the west and western men to some Japanese women as elaborated in the previous chapter. It is associated with a yearning for the west, and involves the idea that western men of a higher status and more egalitarian than Japanese men.

Hypergamy refers to the practice of marrying a partner of equal or higher social standing. Originally used to refer to marriages within national contexts, Constable (2003) has coined the term 'global hypergamy' to refer to the practice when it involves people from less industrialised countries marrying people from more industrialised ones. In the context of the declining economic growth in Japan and the increasing economic independence of Japanese women, finding partners of equal or higher socio-economic status is not easy and to some extent encourages Japanese women to look elsewhere. In particular, *akogare* encourages many Japanese women to regard the west and marriage to western men as a way to achieve hypergamy, even if the western men concerned are not actually of a higher socio-economic status than the women concerned.

Globalisation

The boundaries of economics, technology, politics, societies, cultures and nation-states are no longer clearly distinct but interconnected and interrelated in complex ways. The global circulation of these dimensions of social organisation reflects an unprecedented intensity, speed and volume in world transactions. It is now possible to

travel around the world in less than 48 hours and people have become increasingly conscious of being connected to one another across vast distances. People who live on the other side of the world can go online or pick up the telephone and speak instantaneously with family and friends. They can travel overseas to see them face-to-face far more frequently than ever before and their own lives, no matter where they are physically located, can be shaped by global events far away (Robertson 1992; Waters 1995). To capture the contemporary condition of the world, a great many social scientists have examined what has come to be referred to as globalisation (Giddens 1990; Harvey 1989; Robertson 1992; Waters 1995). Globalisation, according to Waters (1995), is a:

social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding (Waters 1995, p. 5).

Water's definition summarises the growing insignificance of geographical boundaries and the growing significance of globally interconnected space. He predicts that notions of territory that inform current social and cultural considerations will disappear. This means that geography will no longer be able to say much about social and cultural distinctions, practices, and rules. However, he argues that under these new conditions the importance of human social relationships will not change and

regardless of how close or far people are from each other, they will seek to maintain connections and relationships with each other.

Anthony Giddens (1990) also theorises globalisation, using the concept of 'time-space distancing', a process that describes the new ways in which people are connected through time and space. Information technology allows people in distant locations to communicate instantaneously so they are no longer required to be at the same place and in same time-zone. Today, long- and short- distance communication is more possible than ever before and in many cases internet communications are replacing more traditional face-to-face communications.

The social geographer, David Harvey introduced the concept 'time and space compression' to illuminate our new consciousness of this collapsing of time and space in a global world of more accessible travel and instantaneous communication. For Harvey (1989), distance has become less important because of the acceleration of time. Working from Marxist theories of capitalism, Harvey (1989) details the ways in which capitalist expansion increased the efficiency of production in order to maximise the turnover of profits. To this end technological innovations were devised to speed up production processes. Included in the advancement of technology were innovations that made the world smaller and simultaneously reduced the importance of distance, including the car, railroad and aircraft, as well as communications technology such as telephone and the internet.

Innovations associated with globalisation also altered people's consciousness of time. The shift in people's perceptions of time and space is further highlighted by Robertson who points out that globalisation is a 'compression of the world' and an 'intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole' (Robertson 1992, p. 8). He stresses that the significance of globalisation lies in people's contemporary consciousness of the interconnectedness of the global whole. Robertson provides a historical perspective into globalisation and divides it into five time periods: (1) 1400–1750, (2) 1750–1875, (3) 1875–1925, (4) 1925–1969 and (5) 1969 to the present. The emergence of states and communities is a characteristic of the first phase, during which time modern geography emerged and the Catholic Church expanded. Phase two established the global arena wherein international relations emerged between European and non-European countries. The third phase comprised the beginning of contemporary globalisation. During this period, advancements in communications as well as social, economic and political connections occurred. The fourth phase is distinguished by the struggles of nation-states for power, such as occurred in World War II, and the rise of foundational international organisations such as the United Nations. Finally, the last phase of development has seen the rise of global institutions and organisations which operate at a faster speed and greater volume than ever before. In this phase, nation-states have become more closely involved and connected with one other. It has also seen the emergence of discussions about human rights, race and ethnicity, and gender around the world. Robertson's historical account of globalisation shows that global connections post-1969 were exceptional because of the speed and volume of circulation. This is why

contemporary globalisation must be regarded as different from previous forms of globalisation.

Cultural anthropologist, Arjun Appadurai (1990) agrees, and argues that this new form of globalisation has transformed social organisations into something entirely different from past social arrangements. He divides globalisation into five main elements: ethnoscaples, technoscaples, financescaples, mediascaples and ideoscaples. This typology assists us to see the ways in which the social organisation of the world has changed. Ethnoscaples refer to the massive movement of people such as migrants, tourists and guest workers around the world. Human mobility is more frequent and faster, and even influences the politics and social organisation of nation-states. Technoscaples refer to the faster speed and greater volume of communication technology, a configuration of the technological flows that are not controlled or driven by any one force such as economics or politics. Financescaples refer to the global flow of capital where the frequency of transactions is unprecedented and borderless so that national economies can no longer be regarded as free-standing. Mediascaples refer to the circulation of images and narratives that connect audiences to media generators, and where the distinctions between reality and images are increasingly blurred. Finally, ideoscaples refer to ideas and ideologies such as freedom, rights and so forth that are globally circulated. This theory of globalisation highlights the unprecedented connectedness of all sectors of societies and nations in such a way that they are not only transformed but also further transform one another.

These accounts of globalisation seek to detail the massive transformations of the social world that have occurred over the last few decades so that links, transactions and relationships intersect all aspects of the social and material world connecting countries, counties, communities and individuals or, in Appadarui's terms, global transactions in and between ethnoscaples, technoscaples, financescaples, mediascaples and ideoscaples. The emphasis of globalisation is on unlimited, intricate and interlinked sets of connections which enable an understanding of a new and compressed world—a world in which the transnational connectivity of individuals is enhanced, which in turns leads to a subjective sense of the possibility of connecting and maintaining interpersonal links across vast distances and nation-states.

Globalisation therefore has the capacity to disperse every social institution and organisation and at the same time reach down into people's personal and private lives (Spybey 1996). It has opened up the possibility of relationships and marriage beyond national boundaries (Constable 2003; Plummer 2003; Thai 2008) and made it easier for people to initiate and sustain friendships and relationships across great distances (Waters 1995). Globalisation has transformed the economic, technological, social and political conditions of the 21st century and set the stage for Japanese women and western men to encounter one another and form long-term relationships. Japanese women and western men are thus part of a transnational circulation of interpersonal connectivity that has emerged in the new era of globalisation.

Akogare

While accounts of globalisation assist us to comprehend the intensification of borderless human connections in general and how it has become increasingly possible for individuals to meet one another and to form and sustain long-term relationships, it is insufficient to explain the growing frequency of international marriage between Japanese women and western men in particular. It does not explain why more Japanese women marry western men than vice versa. What is required is a specific explanation that takes into account not only the importance of globalisation but also the specific micro-context of Japan and Japanese women and their relations with the west.

The notion of *akogare* is useful in this regard because it recognises the relevance of global connectivity and yet also addresses the gender issues in the increased mobility of Japanese women and their relationship with the west. According to Takahashi (2006), *akogare* means longing, yearning or fantasy, and the object of *akogare* is often something impossible or difficult to attain. It can be argued that it is this very notion of unattainability, intrinsic to the notion of *akogare*, that appears to increase Japanese women's *akogare*.

The strong condition of Japanese *yen* and Japan's bubble economy in the late 1980s facilitated the global mobility of Japanese people in general and yet this mobility is gender specific, many more women leave Japan than men (Habu 2000; Ichimoto 2004; Kelsky 2001b; Kobayashi, Y. 2007). Similarly, four out of five Japanese overseas students were female. In the previous chapter, gender inequality was

highlighted as one of the main factors contributing to the outbound mobility of Japanese women. In Japanese society women are disadvantaged in both domestic and public spheres. In the latter, their career opportunities are limited simply because they are women; they are often in clerical positions with fewer prospects of career advancement than men. In the domestic sphere, women are expected to take responsibility for all domestic work and are thus limited in continuing or advancing their careers. While these factors work to push women into leaving Japan, *akogare* also pulls them out of Japan (Kelsky 2001b).

Akogare describes the yearning for and idealisation of western society that is prevalent in Japan. Kelsky (2001b) argues that among women, it takes the form of longing or desire for a situation which offers something better than what is currently available to them in Japan. *Akogare* can also be understood as a search for some exemplification of the hierarchical relations that have characterised western–Japanese interactions in the modern era (Kelsky 2001b). It suggests a simultaneous sense of Japanese inferiority and awareness of Japan’s complex east/west ‘not-white/not-quite’ status in a racialised global hierarchy (Suzuki 2007, p. 13). It underlines the awareness that while Japan’s economic power is globally recognised, the Japanese cannot be represented in the same terms as western nations, because of their non-white Asianness. It should be noted that the term is commonly used in Japan and was frequently used by the women who took part in this study.

In Said's (2003) account of orientalism, the east, or non-west, is represented by the west as uncivilised, backward, pre-modern and a place where women are constrained and oppressed by oriental men. In contrast to the west, 'the Orient' stands for conditions that are lesser than or undesirable in comparison. The discourse of *akogare* adopts a similar position to the orient/east and depicts the west as more open, liberal and egalitarian. The west is represented as offering women equal opportunity and self-fulfilment, without gender discrimination and inequality. Evidence of the influence of *akogare* on Japanese women emerges in the increasing number of Japanese women who learn foreign languages, travel to the west, study and reside in the west and seek to date western men (Kelsky 2001b; Takahashi 2006).

This discourse of the west is further extended to western men who, by virtue of association with the west, are assumed to be egalitarian and *yasashi* (sensitive) compared with Japanese men, who are projected as conservative and insensitive. Within this discourse, western men are idealised as 'gentlemen' who can offer women a way out of the gender inequality they experience in Japan. Finally, it has been argued that 'white men have been viewed in Japan as coveted erotic commodities linked to a kind of transnational social upward mobility' (Kelsky 2001b, p. 156). In Kelsky's study of young, Japanese professional women's relationships with western men, Japanese women are reported as regarding western men as follows:

In women's narratives of internationalism, Japanese men embody the feudal, oppressive family and corporate structure of Japan that exclude and demean women, whereas White Western men embody and enable the freedom, equality, fulfilment, and delight of the West. If in women's discourses of Westernisation, the intimate relationship of love or marriage imposes the greatest oppressions on them in Japan, it follows that only through the same intimacy with a White man can a woman's ultimate liberation be achieved (Kelsky 2001a, 419)

Western men embody and are expected to offer the opportunities and freedoms associated with an idealised conception of what the west has to offer. Japanese women's professional motivations and personal desires are thus related to career aspirations and self-fulfilment and their ability to realise them in international marriage (Kelsky 2001b).

A final point to be made about *akogare* concerns the safety and security that is assumed to be offered by the west and western men. Marriage to foreigners is deemed to ensure legal status in marriage as well as permanent residency status (Suzuki 2005); in comparison with other types of migration such as labour migration through entertainment work, marriage accords with certain moral standards and satisfies the ideologies of female gender and family role (Del Rosario 1994). In short, western men function as gatekeepers to the west and marriage provides not only access to an

ideal condition but also permanent residence and employment in western countries (Kelsky 2001b). Globalisation has made access to the west via travel, study and work, and enabled Japanese women to experience the west as well as to meet western men (Habu 2000; Ichimoto 2004; Kobayashi, Y. 2007); unfortunately however, their temporary visas do not allow them to stay indefinitely (Kelsky 2001b; Takahashi 2006). Indeed, all of the participants in this study gained their permanent resident status not through a 'skilled' or other similar type of visa, but through a spouse visa conferred after marriage.

The discussion of Namie's experience below provides some insight into the way *akogare* informs Japanese women's perceptions of the west. It illustrates how globalisation and *akogare* work together to facilitate initial and ongoing transnational connections. It is possible to see how *akogare* is embedded and justified through discourses of romance. Namie is in her late 20s and gives the impression of independence and familiarity with Australian cultural norms. When we met, I soon noticed that she did not have any of the particular mannerisms and gestures of many Japanese women. This may well be because she has spent most of her adult life since high school graduation in Australia. In the last ten years, she had been married, had children and divorced.

Talking about her early years, she explained that she wanted to come to Australia because she was disillusioned with Japanese society. She said '*kojin no iken ga sonchou sarenai*', (individual opinions are not valued in Japanese society) and thus

situated the west as a society that allows more individual expression, in contrast to Japan which is a much more collective society. Her narrative reveals a critical attitude towards collectivism and simultaneously expressed admiration for the west and its individualistic society:

I do not like Japanese life style. In Japan, if one person does one thing, everyone follows to do the same. Like when I was in high school, people had an attitude that if we do not go to college, we do not get a good job. That is characteristic of Japanese society. I do not like that everyone does the same thing. If someone does not want to go to college, they can do other things. But if I lived in Japan, I would feel such social norms of collective society pressing against me.

The dichotomisation of Japan and the west was not uncommon in the responses of the women interviewed for this study. Namie's motivation for moving to Australia after high school was her desire to become bilingual. This aspiration was prompted by a trip to Guam with her mother when she was in senior high school.

I went to Guam with my mom and met a Japanese tour guide who was working there. He was a bilingual and I thought he was really cool and I wanted to be bilingual like him. Since then I became very interested in learning English and that impacted on my desire to

study abroad. Most of my friends were planning to go to college in Japan, but I did not see any point in doing that without any reasons. I really wanted to study English, so I decided to go abroad to master English.

Travel is more possible for Japanese women than ever before and it is important to note that being able to speak English represents a particular status for Japanese women.

According to Kelsky (2001b) women's success in the field of business gives them advantages over men and allows them access to employment opportunities as interpreters and translators. Indeed, in 1993, 90 per cent of female broadcast interpreters at NHK (*Nippon Hoso Kyokai*) Japanese Broadcasting Association were women, as were 60 per cent of bilingual guides. Bilingualism confers not only professional advantages but also the means to express independence and identity. The Japanese language restricts female self-expression due to coding systems, rules of hierarchy and gendered speech patterns, making it difficult for them to express themselves freely. English allows women to express their identity differently and is a means of liberation. It is significant to note that for Japanese, *akogare* is not only about yearning for all that is western but also concerns a capacity to express themselves in new, different and empowering forms of speech.

On arrival in Australia, Namie enrolled at an English language school in Queensland. She enrolled for one year but finished the program earlier than planned. During this time, she avoided contact with Japanese people in order to improve her English and she did not want to return to Japan, fearing that she might forget her English. She met her partner John at a party in 1998 and after a few months of dating, they married. Regarding that decision, Namie recalled that ‘he proposed to me and I had desire to be married. Well, it did not have to be him, but I did not dislike him, so I did it...’

International marriages amongst Japanese women are characteristically interracial, because Japanese women mainly associate with western men. The relationship is thus racialised and sexualized. Kelsky (2001b, p. 154) observes that the attraction of western men for Japanese women is also embedded in a history of western eroticisation of oriental women:

What I am claiming is this: just as countless scholars have shown that racialized and sexualized meanings adhere to the Asian female body that exceed any individual’s ‘intentions’ or will, and that are irretrievably connected to histories of orientalism and the eroticization of the Oriental woman, so—it scarcely seems necessary to say (and yet how telling that it is)—racialized and sexualized meanings adhere to the bodies of white men, meanings that have nothing to do with either the good will or the political impulses of individual men, but that are deeply imbricated in histories of

modernity, colonialism, and white hegemony in the West and globally (Kelsky 2001b, p. 154).

For Kelsky, romantic relationships between Asian women and western men are problematically grounded in a history of colonialism which depicts Asian women as sexual subjects and western men as their saviours from Asian men. In this discourse Asian women and western men have little control over how they are represented and how power relationships between them are perceived. Notions of romance and individual attraction cannot be completely removed from this historically and culturally structured set of representations and power dynamics.

The reverse case, interracial relationships between Asian men and western women, highlights the logic of the orientalist interracial relationship between Asian women and western men. Relationships between Asian men and western women are less prevalent and less imaginable because of a historical conceptualisation that it is more logical and natural for Japanese women to marry western men. The situation is further informed by western stereotypes of masculinity and femininity where Asian men are represented as less desirable to western women because they are more feminine in terms of body size, asexual, and more sexist and narrow-minded than western men. Conversely, western women have been represented as less feminine than Asian women. These factors also influence the likelihood of Asian men engaging in international relationships and romantic liaisons with western women (Constable 2003).

Accordingly, the logic of orientalism and east and west interracial relationships were an influential part in the romance of Namie as ‘feminine Asian woman’ and John as ‘masculine western man’. It is argued that ‘union between Westerners and Japanese women as enactment of multicultural utopia and solution to the problem of Japanese male sexism and insularity is that it is recirculated back to Japan through a variety of means’ (Kelsky 1999, pp. 245-246).

Following Kelsky (2001b), further, this interracial relationship has extra implications and possibilities for Japanese women. Marriage to western men promises permanent residential status for Japanese women, which is one of only two ways by which Japanese women can gain permanent legal status in another country. Thus, marriage is worth significant consideration for some women who seek to live permanently outside of Japan.

Namie’s marriage decision was influenced by her desire to stay in Australia, which she admits. After completing her study in Australia, having learned English and gained some tertiary education, Namie was eager to stay in Australia. Australia appeared alluring and tranquil in comparison with the Japan that she dislikes. Consequently, Namie’s marriage with John was a combination of her desire to stay and romance. When our interview was finished, Namie started talking about her concerns about other Japanese women in Australia, considering her own *akogare*,

marriage and divorce, and her observations of other young Japanese women at the hospital and courts where she works as an interpreter:

You know, sometimes as a translator I have to help Japanese women who have filed for divorce at the court or who are pregnant, at the hospital. I see their partners and wonder 'why?' But in general many Japanese women here want to date Australian men and want to stay in Australia, so people date those men as long as they are Australian... I want other Japanese women to choose their partners not just because they are Australian; they should look at who they are instead of at their nationality.

In her opinion, Japanese women should choose their partners on the basis of their individual characteristics. Namie indicates that many Japanese women are motivated to embark on relationships with Australian men simply because they are Australian. This suggests her awareness of the desires of many Japanese women to use such partnerships as means by which to access the western dreams they have imagined, which will give them permanent resident status and an escape from Japan.

There is a sense in which Japanese women thus use romance and love to access individual power and Rebbun (2007) argues that this can be regarded as a strategy of the disempowered. In her studies of the relationships between American GIs and Filipina entertainers she shows that love is a means for Filipina entertainers to

empower themselves within an unequal relationship where American GIs have the economic power. Namie can also be regarded as being in the situation of turning her powerlessness into power. Her temporary status in Australia made her vulnerable in that she would have to leave Australia. However, she was able to empower herself through a relationship with John, which enabled her to gain permanent residency. The relationship that *akogare* seeks to 'manage', as Kelsky (2001b) points out, is one that reflects unequal power differentials, where one party has access to something that the other desires. Love and romance thus become means by which the 'weak' are able to fulfil their desires.

Hypergamy

Japanese women have long practiced hypergamy, but with the decline of the Japanese economy they have had fewer opportunities to meet Japanese men of higher economic standing than themselves (Kamoto 2008). This situation has contributed to lower marriage rates in Japan. In sociology the notion of hypergamy is often used as a scale to assess various forms of domestic marriages within nation-states (Correia 2003; Mohanadoss 1995). Global hypergamy is often used to explain international marriages between men from rich western countries and women from developing countries. Global hypergamy enables women to gain upward mobility through relocation to a richer country (Constable 2003). A good deal of research in the field of international marriage has sought to explain why husbands and wives frequently come from countries where economic disparities are quite large (Lauser 2008; Piper

1997). What has often been overlooked in this literature is the significance of the socio-economic situations of individual marriage partners.

In the case of Japanese women, the notion of global hypergamy needs to be supplemented with an understanding of *akogare*. Global hypergamy occurs here when Japanese women marry into the west and because of *akogare* the actual socio-economic position of the man they marry is irrelevant because they are necessarily marrying out and up. This explains why western men come to represent desirable marriage partners in Japanese women's consciousnesses, regardless of any real consideration of their socio-economic standing in their home countries (Kamoto 2008). The west is more desirable than Japan and by default western men become more desirable (Bailey 2006, 2007; Kelsky 2001b; Takahashi 2006). The notion of *akogare* enables us to understand that global hypergamy occurs even when Japanese women marry western men whose socio-economic position is lower than their own.

In this study, the socio-economic position and social class of Australian partners was sometimes higher and sometimes lower than that of their Japanese wives. Some women had higher educational qualifications than their male partners; in one case a Japanese woman with a master's degree was married to an Australian who had only a high school diploma. In fact, most of the Japanese partners in this study were from a higher social class than their Australian spouse. The women's parents include upper middle class professionals such as lawyers, and business people. International travel and studies were attainable for these women. Nonetheless, because of *akogare*,

kokusai kekkon by its nature implied global hypergamy for these women. It must be remembered, conversely, that while globalisation, *akogare* and hypergamy are important, as argued in chapter 3 above, they are also variously related to the historical and cultural factors of marriage relations and gender inequality in the west and in Japan.

Nobuyo's situation offers insight into how women from high socio-economic backgrounds can become undesirable marriage partners in the Japanese marriage market and the way international marriage can offer an alternative route to global hypergamy. Nobuyo is in her late 40s and from an upper middle class family. She is the eldest of three daughters and graduated from a prestigious private university in Tokyo. After graduation, she worked for different companies and later founded her own marketing consultancy firm which rapidly became a success, generating over one million dollars in turnover assisted by the Japanese bubble economy in the late 1980s. Her business success enabled her to travel overseas and experience different cultures. Such a lifestyle was not available to many Japanese women of her generation. At that time most women still stayed home and even if they had a career, they normally took less demanding part-time work in order to avoid limiting their roles to wife and mother. While she was enjoying own independence and business success, she was getting older and at thirty began to feel pressure from her parents to marry:

I had never thought about marriage, but I felt so much pressure from my parents. They kept telling me to marry as soon as possible because I was reaching 30 years old. I was really sick of my parents telling me to marry, so I did it for them. At that time I was dating an Australian guy and we just got married. I was not planning to marry him, but I did it because I was so irritated by my parents who had even set an arranged marriage for me, which really frustrated me. He was a son of my father's friend, and of course it did not work anyway... But my parents were still trying to set up *omiai* (arranged marriage). They really put pressure on me to marry. When I got married to the Australian man, my parents were so happy. You know, I never had any intention of marrying, but my parents' pressure made me think that if I got married once, they would not tell me to marry again.

Nobuyo's first marriage, to an Australian man, illustrates the powerful social pressure to marry in Japan where a women's youth is a highly valued commodity in the marriage market, and where aging for women is expected to be accompanied by marriage, pregnancy, child-rearing and family (Kobayashi, Y. 2007). In the past, to marry within the marriageable period was crucial for women and the social pressure to do so was often so strong that women would marry without taking into account the compatibility of their marriage partner (Yoshizumi 1995). Marriage and family

formation are strongly related to Japanese women's expectations of life, and therefore Japanese women are conscious of being unmarried.

The strictly structured life pathways of Japanese women allow them to shift from being single to being married only between certain ages (*tekireiki*) (Kelsky 2001a). Even though it has been argued that women's happiness and success comes through marriage and child-rearing, a particular marriageable age is no longer significant (Ueno & Nobuta 2004); traditional beliefs about women and marriage still linger for many women in Japan, and as she gets older, a single woman's social position becomes a cause for concern (Ichimoto 2004).

It is not only age but also socio-economic status and education that have been problematic for Nobuyo. In Japan, it is increasingly difficult for elite women to find marriage partners whose status is higher than their own (Kamoto 2008). While high income and university qualifications may be considered desirable traits for men, they work against Japanese women when it comes to marriage. This status differentiation in marriages is a predominant pattern in many countries. While women tend to marry men with higher education and socio-economic standing, and who are older than they are, men tend to marry younger women of lower socio-economic standing with less education (Thai 2008). Based on a study of Vietnamese international marriage, Thai (2008) also observes that highly educated Vietnamese women are considered to be unmarriageable because of their capacity to earn high incomes and the fact that they are usually well past marriageable age. 'In the eyes of many men influenced by

traditional Asian and Confucian hierarchies of gender, age, and class, highly educated woman are not regarded as desired marriage candidates (Thai 2008, p. 148).

Importantly, hypergamy works differently in the global context. As Thai's study shows, highly educated Vietnamese women are able to seek Vietnamese men in the US. Whereas such men might be regarded as unmarriageable because of their low status in America, they are regarded differently by Vietnamese women overseas. Although many migrant Vietnamese men have struggled to move up the social ladder in the US, they seek a 'traditional' wife from Vietnam; someone who is domesticated and family-oriented. This contradicts the motivations of Vietnamese women looking for overseas Vietnamese male partners assuming they are more egalitarian men. Nevertheless, these marriages deliver global hypergamy for women because they have married 'up' into the globally competitive world despite the fact that their prospective partners are of lower income and education. The same goes for men, since it is expected that they will marry 'down'. This is because Vietnamese women are associated with the lower profile of Vietnam's political economy, regardless of their education and socio-economic status.

This account is relevant to Nobuyo who was considered unmarriageable in the Japanese marriage market because of her elite status. Expanding the sphere of marriage opportunities to the global arena, Nobuyo found a partner. He was not of a higher socio-economic status than her, but being from the west meant that he facilitated her global hypergamy.

Race and ethnicity

Few studies of international marriage address questions of race and ethnicity. This is mainly because understandings of race and ethnicity are frequently tied to discussions of race and racism, and tends to be more interested in the power dynamic of racial oppression than the interpersonal aspects of relationships between Asian women and western men. The first thing to observe in international marriages is an interracial gendered hierarchy insofar as Japanese women tend to marry western men and not vice versa. The focus of this thesis is on the actions and choices of Japanese women, not the decisions of western men. While it is beyond the scope of the dissertation to address the reasons why western men marry Japanese women, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the study of Asian women sheds light on the orientalisation, sexualisation and racialisation of Asian women such that they have become increasingly desirable to western men (Kelsky 2001b). As argued in this chapter, contemporary conditions of globalisation, *akogare* and global hypergamy all make international marriage possible and desirable for Japanese women. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there is a normative assumption that the western men with whom Japanese women will associate will be white. The experience of Yoko, detailed below, drew my attention to the importance of this expectation. Her account shows how whiteness and ethnicity are 'hidden' features of international marriages.

Yoko's partner is of mixed racial heritage, with a skin tone visibly darker than that of many Australians. Yoko is in her early 20s and met her partner in Japan while he was teaching English at a university there. Coming from a traditional family with 600

years of history, Yoko was brought up with the idea that she would marry a Japanese man. Her relationship with Jerry, therefore, caused some tension within her family. After they revealed their relationship to Yoko's family, her father stopped talking to Jerry. It has been three and half years since they last spoke.

When I met Yoko, she was enrolled in a technical college where she was studying beauty therapy. She also worked as a café attendant at a nearby university. Yoko presents herself as very active and confident person, keen to explore and build a new life in Australia:

I have been always interested in foreign cultures since my childhood. So, when I was in high school and university, although I attended only for one year, I went to the US and Europe for vacations. I thought that someday I would want to live overseas, which motivated me to major in English at high school as well. But at age 19, I dropped out of university (in Japan). I left home, so I had no money and was having hard time surviving. I was not sure what to do. During that time, I met Jerry and after dating for a while, he asked me, knowing my desire to live outside of Japan, if I wanted to go to Australia with him. You know, when I was fourteen, I decided to attend high school overseas, but I had not made my dream come true, so at age 21, I decided to come to Australia with Jerry.

Like Namie, Yoko had a strong interest in other cultures. When she mentioned *gaikoku* (foreign countries), she usually named western countries such as the US, Canada, and European, suggesting a preference for western cultures over others. Her desire to live overseas increased after she dropped out of college, but the possibility of overseas travel diminished due to financial limits. Jerry's proposal that she move to Australia with him was therefore welcome and timely. Yet, Yoko was aware that Jerry was not highly regarded in Japan because of his skin colour:

People stared at us when we were walking together. And you know, after they passed us, they looked back to see us again. So, we felt bit depressed after experiencing this public gaze daily, and we tended to stay inside... Oh, when my *hakujin* (white) friend, my boyfriend and I went to shopping together, one shopkeeper came to me saying 'wow you are hanging out with two *gaijins* (foreigners). So cool! Is he your boyfriend?' and she looked at my white friend, not my boyfriend. When I told her that my boyfriend is Jerry, she just said 'Ok...' Experiences like this happened not only once or twice, but frequently. Also, when the three of us were together, some people asked me they could take a photograph of me and my boyfriend, but they assumed that I was with my friend who is white, so I always had to tell them that Jerry is my boy friend.

This illustrates the normalised racial pairing of Japanese women and white western men, where non-western men are not expected to be the partners of Japanese women. The situation draws attention to the racial discourse within international marriage. As Kelsky (2001b, p. 423) observes, ‘white men and Japanese women belong together’ as an unspoken code in interracial relationships, and white western men ‘figure as sensitive husbands, as the heroes in the mythos of *‘kokusai kekkon’*’. As a result, Japanese women and western white men are regarded as the norm in interracial relationships in Japan.

In a study of Japanese women studying at an *eikaiwa* (private English language school) in Japan, Bailey (2007) reported that it was frequently assumed that he was married to a Japanese woman. He noted that this supposition was based on the assumption that a *gaikokujin* (foreigner), English teacher and long-term resident in Japan man would be married to Japanese women. He further observed:

This naturalisation of heterosexual relationships between Japanese women and white males demonstrated the degree to which the search for this particular cross-cultural romantic/sexual/marital partnership within *eikaiwa* was normalised by students, staff and other instructors and even, on many occasions, observers and others positioned outside *eikaiwa* (Bailey 2007, p. 600).

The naturalisation of this pattern of interracial relationships between Japanese women and white men observed by Bailey and Kelsky simultaneously positions non-white partners as outsider and not-quite-right. Importantly, the experience and positioning of Japanese women's non-white marriage partners also underlines Japanese practices of racialisation. Following Kelsky (1994), the application of the term *nihonjinron* to Japanese people emphasises their distinctiveness from others and involves ongoing claims about what constitutes Japanese culture and Japaneseness. In the light of the ambivalent position of Japan in the colonial racial hierarchy, the assertion of special cultural and ethnic status affirms Japan's affiliation with the west and whiteness, and distances it from other Asian nations and culture. The preference for western whiteness therefore reflects a general stance toward non-white others that appears in expectations of the ideal racial background of international marriage partners. Yoko is very aware of the skin colour preference of other Japanese women interested in international relationships and is highly critical of their behaviour:

It seems that here, many international marriages are between Australian men and Japanese women. I have not seen any partners who have a darker skin tone like Jerry among my friends. They are all white. You know, Japanese girls often date white men. I have a friend on the [name of area] who is one year younger than me, 21 years old. She met her partner in [name of area] and got pregnant and married. She said that she would not mind who they are as a partner as long as they are white. She wanted a baby... She said she

is not interested in guys who have darker skins, white guys only... I think many Japanese women say they want to get married with whites, not just foreigners—white... Such people tend to think like white people. I do not like that...

While Yoko was very aware of her own and her partner's racial minority position and openly expressed this in our conversations, most of the other women participating in this study had little to say about their racial minority status. In fact, some seemed to be quite annoyed by questions about race and racial identity, making me feel that I had breached some unspoken taboo. One participant insisted that her marriage should not be called international or interracial because race has nothing to do with it. The suggestion here is that the person regards herself and her relationship as in some way raceless.

The tendency of some Japanese women to regard their relationships with white western men as nothing to do with their husband's race has been noted by Kelsky (2001b, pp. 146-7), who states that participants in her study used the *tama-tama* ('happens to be') argument which suggests that their partners and husbands 'just happen to be' white. They claim that partner selection was not based on race. I argue in turn that this contributes to a raceless discourse given they were not chosen as marriage partners because they were Japanese or Asian. This not only renders the race of partners invisible, but also erases their Japaneseness. There is a sense in which the women were reticent to talk about race not simply because they find it irrelevant

but also because they are acutely sensitive to that fact that while it is a consideration, it should not be.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed discourses that play key roles in global encounters between Japanese women and western men, and shown how interpersonal relationships between Asian women and western men are affected by historical, cultural and contemporary, racialised, social organisations. It is often assumed that falling in love is the proper prelude to marriage and that ‘happiness is found in love’, yet with such attitudes we tend to ignore other influential factors in marriage and partnerships (Kurland 1953, p. 72). The accounts of Namie, Nobuyo and Yoko discussed here illuminate how in women’s everyday lives relationships are not only consequences of personal attraction and romance but also overlaid by other considerations.

The next chapter explores the migration and settlement of Japanese women into Australian society. For Japanese women in international marriages, migration and settlement are frequently an inevitable consequence of the process. The dislocation of this form of migration comprises a form of global mobility and transnationalism that are often overlooked in the migration and settlement literature. The accounts of women’s experiences in the following chapters detail what border crossing and transnationalism mean to these Japanese women, who are positioned as ‘Asian’ in Australia, and yet who frequently arrive regarding themselves as raceless.

Chapter 5: Migration and settlement

Overview

The previous chapter examined international marriage through the key elements of *akogare*, hypergamy and race, arguing that along with globalisation, these have a powerful influence on why Japanese women choose to enter international marriages. This chapter focuses more specifically on experiences of migration and settlement. In particular, it highlights the importance of taking into account gender and race in theoretical understandings of migration and settlement, as well as the analysis of their effects. It begins with a critical account of international literature in the field of migration and settlement, and underlines its limits in explaining the situation of Japanese women in international marriages. It argues that the dominant interest of this migration literature in labour and economic migration, and its limited attention to gender issues and social mobility (Pessar & Mahler 2003), mean that the new and growing field of marriage migration studies (Constable 2003; Palriwala & Uberoi 2008; Saroca 1997) offers greater opportunities for a deeper and more complete understanding of migration and settlement.

The analysis conducted in the latter section of the chapter emphasises aspects of migration and settlement that should receive more attention if we are to understand

the situation of Japanese women. These issues include racism and discrimination, downward career mobility, and social isolation. With respect to racial prejudice and discrimination, I argue that the yearning for the west that pushes Japanese people to idealise the west and seek contact with western culture and people, does not equip Japanese women to deal with the racial prejudice and discrimination that they can encounter, and the ways in which they are racialised, perceived and treated as an Asian ethnic minority. The section argues that the denial of racialisation is one strategy for dealing with this problem.

Although western society is viewed as a place where gender equality is a possibility if not a reality, many Japanese women have difficulties establishing and maintaining careers upon relocation. The discussion of downward career mobility argues that women often end up taking low-paid, service sector occupations. This is linked to their decisions not to work and explains why many also find themselves in the role of homemaker. Most participants in this study became full-time homemakers after their relocation to Australia, either because of difficulties finding appropriate employment in Australia, or simply because they prefer to do so. This is ironic in light of the expectation that the west provides access to gender equality and career opportunities, and the expectation that marrying into the west offers hypergamy and the possibility of raising women's social and economic status. It is also interesting to note that the same was experienced by a previous generation of Japanese marriage migrants, namely, war brides. While contemporary marriage migrants and war brides differ in relation to transnational connectivity, there are great similarities in their experiences

of racism and racialisation, limited occupational opportunities, becoming homemakers, and social isolation. What appears to be different is the effect of the discourse of *akogare* in the ways that different generations of women have addressed its failure to provide the anticipated benefits of associations with the west. For both groups, the discourse failed to prepare Japanese women for the range of migration and settlement experiences, detailed here, and the loss of their immediate friendships and family support networks.

International migration

International migration refers to ‘crossing the frontiers which separate one of the world’s approximately 200 states from another’ (Castles 2000). It is a ‘process that unnerves, motivates, excites, upsets or demoralises individuals, or moves them in alternative ways’ (Svašek 2008, p. 214). Thus, migration involves moving from one nation-state to another and comprises a multiplicity of changes in the ways people experience their past and current locations, and also how they perceive themselves and their identities. It involves profound personal adjustments and ‘entails a change, sometimes radical, in the life style or personal and social environment of the individual’ (Freidenberg, Imperiale & Skovron 1988, p. 212).

Although migration is a complex process of mobility across space, culture, identity, such that people must create new paradigms about life, in general migration literature does not reflect the profound details and nature of these aspects of migration. Migration and settlement literature tends to focus at a macro-level on labour and

economic migration. Moreover, its object of study is predominantly the mobility and settlement experiences of male migrants who move across borders to find work. Notwithstanding the extensive research on the particular experiences of Filipina women's migration motives, women's international mobility outside economic and labour motives has not been of great interest or concern.

Migration literature is generally interested in human mobility at a macro, genderless level and often applies structural-level analysis, and or relies heavily on quantitative research (Borjas 1989; Brettell & Hollifield 2000; Castles & Miller 2003; Ghosh 2000). Women are frequently absent or overlooked in these studies. Migration studies mainly apply neo-classical economic theory, and push and pull approaches, which seek to identify factors that push people out of their countries of origin and draw them to other countries. For the most part, these approaches assume that people make rational choices and decisions which maximise utility and value. In neo-classical theory, push factors are such things as growth in population, low living standards, insufficient economic opportunities and political suppression, while pull factors include labour demand, land availability, economic prospects and political liberty.

These approaches are problematic because they assume that the flow of migration is one-way, from less economically developed countries to richer ones. They focus on economic relations and consequently little account is taken of the other forms of social interaction and connectivity brought about by labour migration. Furthermore, labour migration theory has little to say about migration between countries of similar

economic standing. Finally, push and pull factors do not necessarily correlate between individuals and groups. The factors that pull and push individuals may not be the same as for social groups. People do not always make migration decisions based on economic reasons and it is important to understand that they might desire to migrate for social and cultural reasons (Fujita 2004; Kobayashi, A. 2002; Kobayashi, Y. 2007). Marriage migration, for instance, is not necessarily based on economic factors and does not necessarily involve migration from economically developed countries to poorer ones, yet until recently migration literature has failed to address the reasons for female mobility beyond those of standard economic arguments.

The most crucial point for this study is that migration literature has predominantly focused on male migrants motivated by economic advantages (Mahler & Pessar 2006). While the presence of women in migration flows is not unsubstantial, research into women's experience of migration and settlement is limited and until recently received little attention. Grounded in the experiences of male migrants who are assumed to make their own migration decisions, the literature has viewed female mobility as a secondary movement caused by male economic migration. Understandings of female migration have been based on the assumption that these women are predominantly the wives or daughters of male migrants who relocated in order to sustain their family (Pedraza 1991). It has become increasingly clear that such assumptions are problematic and that female relocation is no less significant than male relocation. In fact, since 1965, the number of female migrants has increased faster than male migrants and consequently, this phenomenon has come to

be known as the 'feminisation of international migration' (Ho 1993; Park, C. B. 2008).

It is argued that men and women experience migration differently (Pedraza 1991). 'Gender is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, forces shaping human life and, accordingly, it influences migration and migrants' lives' and yet over the past 100 years international migration literature has failed to consider gender as a significant factor informing the migration processes (Pessar & Mahler 2003, p. 812). Importantly in studies focusing on gender and migration, it is clear that gender substantially influences the causes and consequences of migration in general (Curran et al. 2006). Since the early 1980s, gender-blind accounts of migration have been supplemented by work that has added women to the picture in an effort to provide a more complete account of migration (Day & Icduygu 1997; Freidenberg, Imperiale & Skovron 1988; Gulati 1997; Hartman & Stinner 1982; Yeoh & Khoo 1998). All these point to the critical importance of understanding gender issues in studies of migration processes.

While many of these studies provide detailed and important insights into the various conditions and circumstances of women's migration and settlement, as Pedraza (1991) argues, we still need to generate theories of gender migration to gain a holistic understanding of female migration. Recently, more sophisticated analyses have appeared, which examine the social and power dimensions of female mobility associated with gender, sexuality, citizenship, race, class, nation, caste and religion; much of this research contributes to the growing field of international marriage

migration (Constable 2003; Habu 2000; Ichimoto 2004; Kelsky 1999, 2001b; Kobayashi, A. 2002; Nitta 1988, 1989; Palriwala & Uberoi 2008; Piper 1997; Saroca 1997; Silvey 2006; Suzuki 2005; Takahashi 2006; Yeoh & Khoo 1998). In international marriage migration it is often women, not men, who are active transnational agents crossing national borders (Constable 2003). Although migration studies scholars have paid little attention to marriage migration, it is emerging that marriage migrants are becoming an important aspect element of the international migration flow (Cahill 1990; Lauser 2008; Nakamatsu 2002; Piper 1997; Suzuki 2003; Toyota 2008; Yea 2008). The rapidly growing field of gender migration, marriage migration and international marriage is a sign of the recognition of the importance of this gendered phenomenon in the field of social science. While gender migration is receiving more attention in the scholarship of international migration, marriage migration and international marriage studies continue to be overlooked. One major difference between international migration scholarship and studies of marriage migration and international marriage is the quantitative approach taken in the former. International marriage and marriage migration studies are more likely to provide qualitative studies that address migration and settlement, and provide rich narrative accounts. Another is that many accounts focus on women from less economically developed nations (Cahill 1990; Constable 2003; Cooke 1986; Lauser 2008; Nakamatsu 2005; Palriwala & Uberoi 2008; Piper 1997; Piper & Roces 2003; Saroca 1997; Suzuki 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007; Yea 2008), and a few studies examine migration from economically advanced nations to other wealthy nations (Kobayashi, A. 2002; Nitta 1988); migration studies, in contrast, pay little attention to the

relationship between economically developed and less developed nations. Due to this focus, the migration experience of Japanese women migrants is often overlooked in migration literature. To rectify this omission, the following section focuses on migration and settlement by Japanese women.

Japanese women's migration and settlement

Literature related to Japanese women's international marriage is limited. Some studies in this field were mentioned in chapter three above; this section discusses the migration and settlement experiences of Japanese women in more detail.

Kelsky's (2001b) work is important for this thesis because it provides a rich account of Japanese women's attraction to the west and western men, and explains how this leads to international marriage and migration. Unfortunately, however, a detailed account of the actual migration and settlement experiences of these women is absent. Clearly, we need more research on these experiences if we are to understand how *akogare* survives the realities of the racialisation, downward mobility and social isolation experienced by Japanese women.

Takahashi's (2006) research on Japanese female students in Australia provides a brief but useful discussion of the marginalisation of Japanese women who have settled in Australia. Their limited proficiency in English leads to their marginalisation and they have difficulty associating with Australians, and thus their career prospects are limited in Australia. One solution to these difficulties for some Japanese female

students is to seek a romantic relationship with local Australian men in order to improve their English and increase their contact with the Australian community. This brief account does not, however, provide a full understanding of the settlement experiences of Japanese women in Australia.

A study of Japanese migrant women in Canada gives a more detailed picture (Kobayashi, A. 2002). It shows that some Japanese women have difficulties socialising with local Canadians due to their limited language ability. This makes it hard for them to communicate with teachers at their children's school, and raises concerns that they will not be able to communicate properly and interact with their own children when they grow up. One participant in her study mentioned that interacting with Canadians who look different and think differently raised confusion about her own identity, and that she was finding it difficult to locate herself in Canadian society. Finally, racial discrimination and racism is identified as a significant element of the settlement experience in Canada where Japanese women come to be regarded as 'Asian migrants'.

Matsuo (2005) investigated Japanese women's international divorce and offers further insights into their settlement experiences. She points to the gap between the idealisation of settlement prior to migration and the actual settlement experience. She observes that:

It seems that for people who reside in Japan, '*kaigaiiju*' (international migration) means a particular image of a cultural experience that will rock their world. Those who relocated upon their international marriage were very excited... [at the thought of] living in a big house with a swimming pool, on a large block with green grass, clean air, spending time relaxing... There are people who imagine such a life... But ... from the time they come to realise the realities, those who dreamed about life overseas understand that it does not mean just enjoying foreign living. Migration means living and working in the country and immersing themselves in the society, that is to say, becoming '*imin*' (migrants). If they do not assimilate to their host society, their life will never start (Matsuo 2005, pp. 122-123 my translation).

Matsuo's comments illustrate the way that migration and settlement is idealised by the Japanese so that it becomes the reality, even if they do not themselves experience it. The reality of migration and settlement, and the gap between the imagined and actual experience, bring people to recognise that they are no longer privileged, with endless possibilities, but rather simply migrants. Language problems, and cultural and social distinctions challenge these women's self-perceptions—they did not expect to experience difficulties on relocation but were forced to realise that international relocation means a radical shift in their lives and identities.

As discussed above, literature examining the migration experiences of Japanese women involved in international relationships and marriage is relatively limited, however, there are studies that look at other types of Japanese women's migration, mainly in relation to international education and career prospects (Habu 2000; Ichimoto 2004, 2005; Izuhara & Shibata 2001; Ono & Piper 2004). The accounts of Japanese women's global mobility in these studies provide some insights into women's migration and settlement experiences when they enter an international marriage. Here, international education is identified as a key to global mobility. The gender constraints of Japanese society such as limited academic and career prospects are push factors and self-fulfilment overseas is pull factors in international education literature.

Habu (2000) examined the experiences of Japanese women in higher education in Britain. She argues that globalisation facilitates the international mobility of Japanese women but the reasons for their mobility in the first instance are twofold. First, conservative social conditions in Japan limit the personal autonomy and career prospects of women and encourage them to leave. Second, the possibility of achieving better career opportunities, skills and self-fulfilment draws them to Britain. The experiences of these women in academic institutions were mixed. Whereas some felt they were part of the university and were able to develop their academic skills, others sensed that they were just a source of financial income for universities. Globalisation promotes the circulation of international education and generates greater career prospects for international students; however, it simultaneously turns

international higher education into an economic market. The experience of Japanese women's marginalisation in academic institutions is thus problematic in light of the possibilities that international education offers for female mobility and career prospects.

Similarly, Ichimoto (2004) investigated Japanese female students in the Australian context. She too argues that Japan's historical, political, and social exclusion is a push factor in Japanese women seeking new locations where they can gain intellectual capital and a career outside Japan. Japanese women in her study create a new femininity and form of Japanese-ness in Australia, which for Ichimoto is a positive element of identity construction. However, their status as racial female subjects in Australia society forces them to confront racialisation and marginalisation.

As with the two studies above, Ono's and Piper's (2004) study of Japanese female MBA students in the United States shows that the driving force is the lack of opportunities to pursue a career in Japan and their economic marginalisation. The marginalisation of women in Japan is a result of an employment system dominated by hierarchical and male-focused companies bound by the seniority system. Izuhara and Shibata (2001) investigated Japanese female migrants in the UK who relocated between 1950 and 1970. The study does not focus on international education, but came to similar conclusions about the causes of Japanese women's migration to Britain. The motivations were linked to economic reasons, gender constraints in Japan and desires for self-fulfilment. Upon migration, many women were distanced

from other Japanese people and communities, because of post-war cultural conditions in Britain that encouraged assimilation. As migrant women, they suffered career disadvantages in the labour market and some took up low-skilled occupations in domestic service, cleaning and child-minding. Even though some worked for Japanese companies in the UK, these working environments reflected traditional Japanese corporate culture as well as the gender constraints that they had sought to escape. Although many women wished to teach Japanese to their children, the cultural conditions of the UK did not facilitate bilingual education. As they got older, they would have liked to live in both countries, yet fading family ties over the years and financial limitations restricted their opportunities to live such a transnational life.

These studies underline the various factors in Japanese women's migration and provide some account of settlement experiences. However, apart from Izuhara's and Shibata's (2001) study, details of such experiences are limited. Studies of other migrant women provide more comprehensive accounts and thus more effectively assist in the comprehension of Japanese women's settlement, by demonstrating the ways in which migrant women's racial and gender minority position make for particular experiences of migration, highlighting prejudice, racism and downward career mobility.

Research on the Filipina spouses of Japanese men highlights women's marginalisation and negative settlement experiences in Japan. Filipinas experience racial prejudice and discrimination due to the negative image of and connotations

attached to Filipina brides. These women are commonly stigmatised by sexualised connotations, which negatively affect their capacity to find employment and receive fair treatment. It further affects their daily lives in Japan (Faier 2007; Suzuki 2003).

Another study of Filipina migrants focuses on the dynamic of relationships between Filipina maids and their Taiwanese employers (Lan 2003). It illustrates the marginalisation of Filipinas in Taiwan because of their low-skilled migrant status. Filipina maids are disempowered by traditional Taiwanese employer–employee relationships. For Taiwanese employers, having maids enhances their social class status; in turn, prejudice against foreign maids in Taiwan disempowers Filipinas. In order to cope with this, they utilise their English ability as social capital. English is a global language and an indicator of global status. Filipina maids make tactical use of their skills in English to overcome their marginalisation. Their English language ability upgrades their status from just maid to bilingual English speaker, and thus their marginalisation is moderated. The dynamics of this relationship are complex because they mesh the political economy of Taiwan and the Philippines, the interpersonal relationships of the maids and employers, social class within national and transnational fields, and the symbolic power of English language. Lan’s study illustrates the way migrant women manage and cope with their marginalisation tactically.

Some studies focus on the career prospects of migrants. For instance, Skachkova’s (2007) study interviewed 34 female immigrant professors who confronted obstacles

in academia because of their gender and their racial, ethnic and cultural distinctions. These features can work at various times in the US as an advantage in career opportunities but also simultaneously prevent career advancement. In the domestic sphere, gender role expectations place additional burdens on immigrant professors to balance work and home life. The study thus highlights the particular details of migrant women seeking to manage family and career.

Park's (2008) research also illuminates the complex nature of empowerment and disempowerment at work and in the home for Korean migrant women in New York City. On migration, Korean women are involved in paid work and gain some financial independence. From one perspective, this independence can be regarded as empowering but from another it can be viewed as disempowering. In Korea, to be a homemaker is a luxury, thus a woman's shifting status from full-time homemaker in Korea to working wife and or mother in the US can be regarded as disempowering. Moreover, the kind of work they often have to take is of lower status than their qualifications and skills earned in Korea. In this sense they also experience downward career mobility. Engaging in paid work takes up family time and challenges them to balance home and work. A similar account is given in Foner's (1998) study of migrant women in New York City. While waged work gives them financial independence and enhances their self-esteem, their jobs are often lower skilled and paid at a lower rate than men's work. Managing domestic work is a burden as full responsibility falls to migrant wives, whose husbands rarely share domestic tasks.

These studies point to the complexities of empowerment and disempowerment relating to paid work, domestic work and gender roles for women migrants.

Thus, international marriage literature can illustrate various aspects of migration and settlement for Japanese women. In particular, literature focusing specifically on Japanese women's migration highlights the push and pull factors of their mobility, in terms of gender constraints and future career prospects outside Japan. This general literature can enhance our understanding of Japanese women's settlement. However, we also need a focus on women from less industrialised countries in order to develop a fuller understanding of women's responses to patriarchal conditions and the ways in which the west comes to represent an idealised form of empowerment, freedom and opportunity.

Settlement: Racism, downward career mobility and social isolation

Literature about Japanese women underlines their marginalisation after migration and their negative experiences in terms of daily encounters, limited career prospects and the problems of the homemaker role. Participants in this study spoke in similar terms about their settlement experiences in Australia. The data highlights three particular settlement themes: prejudice and racism, downward career mobility, and social isolation.

Racism

This section examines the meanings of race and ethnicity in western locations and the ways in which they inform the migration and settlement experience. Race here is understood to represent both socio-political conflicts and interests in marking differences between types of human bodies. Following Winant (2000), world history has been racialised and racial hierarchy is globally sustained even in modern times. The impact of 'race' in everyday experience cannot be underestimated because migrants are often positioned within a specific race category, that is, they are racialised. Racialisation refers to 'a process that ascribes physical and cultural differences to individuals and groups' (Barot & Bird 2001, p. 601). In racialisation practice, the normative understanding of 'Australianness' is whiteness while Asian migrants are immediately recognised as different and not-white. After migrating to the west, Japanese women are not only recognised as migrant women but also as 'Japanese' and/or 'Asian', and this racialises their experiences of themselves. This racialisation is likely to serve as the basis of racism and racial prejudice or discrimination against groups perceived as subordinate. According to Castles and Miller (2003, p. 31), racism can be defined as 'the process whereby social groups categorize other groups as different or inferior, on the basis of phenotypical or cultural markers'. Racism exists in many countries and is often related to political, economic and social power and status.

Castles and Miller (2003) identify three ways that migrants can be received by the host society. New settlers or immigrants may merge into a society where they share similarities of race, ethnicity, culture and socio-economic status—for instance, British

settlers in Australia or French settlers in Switzerland. Second, settlers who are not excluded from citizenship and political and economic opportunities may be able to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage by living closely together in certain neighbourhoods, for example Italians and Asians in Australia, Canada or the US. Finally, there are settlers who live in ethnic communities and seek to sustain their language and culture but are disadvantaged socially and frequently experience racism and prejudice—for instance, African refugees in Australia, Canada or the US.

This typology suggests that migrants' cultural as well as racial backgrounds influence the settlement experiences of individuals and groups. It has been observed that the visible difference of migrants provides inescapable phenotypical markers of difference, and that skin colour and racial appearance are the basis of minority status (Papastergiadis 2000, p. 238). The position of Japanese migrants is ambivalent in this paradigm because while Japanese migrants are privileged in that they are from a rich country, and have the same political and economic opportunity as the second type of migrants in Castles' and Miller's typology, their racial and cultural distinction from white Australians generates a racialised experience similar to the experiences of the third group of migrants.

The concept of 'everyday racism' theorised by Essed (1990) is useful for examining Japanese women's experiences of racism. Essed investigated the racism experienced by Surinamese women and African American women in Holland and coined the term 'everyday racism' to refer to:

... the various types and expressions of racism experienced by ethnic groups in everyday contact with members of the more powerful (white) group. Everyday racism is, thus, racism from the point of view of people of color, defined by those who experience it (Essed 1990, p. 31).

Marriage migrants around the world have encountered racial prejudice and discrimination when they have settled overseas and a broad range of scholarship on international marriage illustrates this (Constable 2003; Faier 2007; Kobayashi, A. 2002; Suzuki 2003).

The Japanese women in this study become a racial minority in Australia because the normative assumption of Australians is that they comprise people from white, Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. The following accounts illustrate these racialised experiences of prejudice and discrimination. They focus on women's everyday accounts of their experiences of settlement. Nobuyo's account below illuminates the unpredictable and frustrating experience of everyday racism:

Interviewer: So, have you experienced any prejudice or discrimination in Australia?

Nobuyo: Yes, there have been many minor experiences. When I was teaching in [name of area], a father of my student suddenly came to

the class. ... He said to me, 'Why does my son have to study Japanese? Japanese people are taking Australians' jobs. I do not want Japanese people to come to Australia.

Interviewer: How did you feel about the experience?

Nobuyo: I was agitated. The town was in the countryside. It is about an hour from here. The economy of the town used to be mainly sustained by the timber industry, but now many people are employed in the prison. I have seen many strange people. Someone shouted at me 'what is this?' pointing me out.

These incidents occurred in the classroom where Nobuyo was teaching and in the street. To some extent, they are characteristic of what happens in economic recessions when jobs become scarce and people are anxious about migrants, blaming 'foreigners' for taking their jobs. These individual migrants are blamed for the condition of the national and global economies; Nobuyo's experience of being singled out as different is not an unusual one for racialised migrants in western locations (Clark & Legge 1997; Hollinsworth 2006; Montgomery 2001; Yuan 1983). Nobuyo also mentioned that some people expected her to have difficulty speaking English:

Another problem is finding housing here. When I was looking for a house, the real estate agent to whom I was talking said, 'Do you speak English?' I was speaking to her in English. She said 'it's a

problem that many people do not speak English...' I have experienced such encounter many times.

Finding accommodation often creates trouble for migrants. In Essed's (1990) study, Surinamese women experienced unfair treatment when trying to find housing. While the research site, country and ethnic background of the participants in this study and Essed's study are quite different, they share similar experiences of indirect racism. Nobuyo's frustration with the agent who questioned her capacity to speak English underlines what others who visibly differ from the mainstream population may confront.

Yoko was not shy about talking about her experience of racial and sexual harassment:

I was running by myself, and I saw four or five teenage boys were hanging out. I felt bit scared, but I was going to run through them anyway, but then from the trees on the opposite side one boy jumped down and tried to frighten me. They laughed at me. The other time, someone screamed at me, 'Korean girl, don't drop the bomb!' I have those bad experiences. Here it is a white society, so there is racial discrimination. You know, when I go to the surf club here with my partner, they stare at us because he has a darker skin and he is with me. I thought Australia was a multicultural society, but racial prejudice or discrimination remains in the countryside.

Yoko's idea of a harmonious multicultural Australia was shaken by the physical threat of harassment, as well as the everyday experience of being seen as different.

Other participants have had negative experiences of racism but reacted to my questions about racism by denying it. For instance, part of the interview with Sakura, a career-oriented person living in between Australia and Japan for the past 10 years went as follows:

Interviewer: Have you had any negative experience or difficulty in Australia?

Sakura: Regarding negative experience or difficulty, if I have to say Yes or No, I would say no. I think that there have been some difficulties, but I have not encountered experiences which emotionally left a wound inside or made me feel miserable. So, I have been lucky.

The way in which Sakura answered reflects ambiguity. She says she has not had negative experiences and difficulties, and yet she also says she has had difficulties. Her qualification of the comment suggests, however, that these negative experiences have not emotionally harmed her. This ambivalent response to assessments of racial prejudice and discrimination is not uncommon, according to Essed (1990). She argues that there is a difference between *feeling* you are being discriminated against and

being discriminated against, the former renders the refusal to acknowledge the effects of discrimination a powerful and effective strategy.

Conversely, by recognising and admitting prejudice or discrimination, individuals position themselves as powerless subjects. Importantly, if the research participants recognise that their settlement experience was negative and that they have been allocated lower rather than higher social status, then their marriage cannot be regarded as bringing them into global hypergamy. The issue of social location and racism highlights the difference between the imagined nature of settlement and the actual experience of it.

Namie also denied the experience of racism and asking this question seemed to generate some emotional tension during the interview:

I have never been told discriminating words by anyone. I might have been told such a thing, but I have never noticed. I do not care about others' opinions. If there were such people, I did not pay attention. My nature is not to pay attention to others' opinions. I do not like to live being influenced by others' judgments, so if there are people who discriminate against me, let them be that way...

Although Namie said she has never been racially abused, she went on to suggest first that she may have disregarded negative racial comments, and second that she would

not be concerned were she to hear them anyway. She indicates an intention not to recognise or mind prejudice or discrimination and this reflects her refusal to regard herself as in a racial minority position. The annoyance and irritation that some participants expressed when I asked about racism and racial discrimination led me to hesitate and feel nervous about asking the questions. The following field note details my concern:

I have started feeling bad about asking their negative experience since some participants appeared to be annoyed or little upset with me asking such a question. I have been considering cutting out the question from interview questionnaire, but I came to realise that I need to understand the tension caused by the question. The inquiry seeks to unfold their settlement experience. If they did not experience such negativity in Australia, their straight answer would be no. But the question definitely produces some emotions and feelings at least, so I believe there must be a reason for my participants to act in that way. It is necessary to unpack the relation between the question on racism and the social location of my participants who seemed to have difficulty to answer the question (field note Takeda 2007).

Experience of settlement in Australia is influenced by gender and race and yet some participants were more comfortable commenting directly and openly of their negative

experiences of racism and racialisation than others who sought to deny the experience. It seems that racism is more prevalent in Australia than proponents of multiculturalism would like to believe (Healey 2003; Hollinsworth 2006), and both anecdotal and documented evidence of it is not difficult to find. The question that concerns this study is why some participants were reticent to make such judgements. I want to suggest that it may be a matter of contingency. To decide categorically that a situation is disadvantageous and harmful when you are unable to remove yourself from that situation is difficult to live with. Such a luxury is not possible for many marriage migrants who not only have Australian husbands, but also may have children who feel connected to Australia. Since marriage migrants cannot easily relocate to other places, it is more reasonable to learn to live with negativity by minimising its degree. Denying or avoiding the seriousness of being treated unfairly may be one way to give themselves the emotional space to live as a racial minority in Australian society.

A similar situation was reported by Matthews (2002), who showed that the effects of racism and racialisation are contradictory and while they may be 'oppressive and powerful' they can also be subverted. One way of subverting them is to deny that they exist or have the ability to limit and restrict your activities. If this is the case, then negative responses to questions about racism are tactics by which Japanese women seek to escape being racialised. The purpose of this discussion is to not to make a categorical assessment of racism, but to show that the racism cannot be easily explained by the external application of such an assessment.

Downward career mobility

This section focuses specifically on the relationship of migration and settlement to women's career prospects. A number of studies have reported the downward mobility that migration and settlement means for immigrants in general, as I have shown in the early section of this chapter. It is said that immigrants come to realise that they must start from the bottom in the labour market (Papastergiadis 2000). However, it is clear from studies focusing specifically on women and migration that men and women experience downward career mobility differently. Women migrants experience greater downward occupational mobility than men (Freidenberg, Imperiale & Skovron 1988).

It is argued that women migrants have more difficulty than men using their qualifications and skills because their assets do not always transfer from one country to another (Park, K. 2008). While this is no doubt the case for men too, gender has certain implications for women migrant careers. First, their gendered role as homemaker places additional pressure on them when they seek to continue their career. Whereas for men social networks are tools that assist career opportunities, this is less likely for women because fewer women are employed in the first place and their increased social isolation generates lesser opportunity (Imamura 1988).

Yoko expressed concerns about her limited career opportunities and downward career mobility.

Interviewer: So, how is your job experience in Australia?

Yoko: It is really tough because it's so hard to find a job on the Sunshine Coast. I have felt racial discrimination here. It seems there are many elites such as lawyers or doctors so it is not easy for someone like me who does not have educational qualifications to find a job here. It is so hard to find a good job... I have sent so many resumés and it took three months to find even this job (café waiter). I used to be a secretary for a mayor and did some work as an interpreter, so I was confident in myself, but after I came here, I lost my confidence. Now I make coffee so I feel that I have had to crawl up from the bottom. It's very hard...

Yoko struggled to find work after she migrated and felt that the downward mobility and what she has experienced is a possible consequence of racial discrimination. The term 'institutional racism' has been coined to explain the form of racism that Yoko might have encountered and refers to the ways that institutions such as businesses and organisations prevent certain ethnic minority groups from receiving the same rights and opportunities as those in the mainstream (Essed 1990). Yoko clearly has the qualification for the position as she worked as an office administrator as well as interpreter in Japan. Essed (1990) further divides institutional racism into overt and covert discrimination. Overt discrimination occurs when employers give preferential treatment to people from particular ethnic backgrounds (often white and English speaking) over those from minority backgrounds who are equally qualified. Covert

racism refers to the more subtle ways that discrimination is practiced in institutions through procedures that appear equitable but which end up giving preference to certain racial and ethnic groups over others. Yoko appears to have experienced covert racism, since one of the jobs she applied for was given to an 18-year old with no previous working experience.

In addition, Yoko's account highlights the situation of minority women who are forced into accepting low-status service occupations. This has historical precedents in the case of Japanese war brides, many of whom ended up in domestic service because of the restricted occupations open to minority women in American history. The employment of ethnic minority women in service work and white women in white-collar positions described by Glenn (1986) appears to remain true today in Yoko's situation. Matsuo's (2005) describes a similar situation where a Japanese woman migrated to the UK to reside with her English partner and found that her academic qualifications and career experiences meant little in the UK. It is argued that such career issues were not anticipated by Japanese women.

Park's (2008) study of Korean women in the US reports that many held college qualifications but on migration had to accept non-professional jobs. Moreover, the study of migrant women's labour force participation in New York City by Foner (1998) confirms that because of matters such as English proficiency, legal status and qualifications not being recognised in the US, former professional immigrant women often occupy relatively low-level positions. Yoko's career mobility reflects the same

pattern as migrant women in these studies. Yoko regarded Australia as a country where she was more likely to gain equal treatment regardless of her gender, and race and yet her settlement experience actually challenged this.

Sakura was clear about her desire to maintain a career and stated that she would not move anywhere if her partner relocates. This is because first, she does not want to live in a place where it would be difficult to find a job and second, she prefers to reside in an area where there is a Japanese community. Sakura does not desire a career for herself as full-time homemaker and mother, but rather as a full-time career worker. She has worked both in Australia and Japan, mainly in the tourist industry. Yet, she does feel restricted in terms of job choice because of her English language skills and said that she would keep her job in a Japanese travel agency because she does not think that she would get the opportunity to work elsewhere:

I cannot do other work besides tourism and [the number of] Japanese travel agents are limited here. So, if I quit this job and look for a local job, I would hesitate as I think my English is limited.

As for other Japanese women in Australia, Sakura's career openings are limited to Japanese-owned companies or other corporations dealing with Japan, where she can use her Japanese language skills. Sakura is a member of a Japanese mothers' group which meets weekly for a few hours. She observed that other Japanese women were similarly concerned about career limitations:

Japanese mothers there say that they feel it is difficult to be employed because of English. Others want to be employed by Japanese companies, but they cannot find a job. You know, it [the opportunity to do so] is limited. There are so many people who want to find a clerical job in Japanese [companies] but very many cannot find such a job. That looks like the reality [among Japanese women]...

Japanese women are conscious that their limited English ability restricts their occupational choices. While they are willing to be employed by Japanese companies where they can take advantage of their bilingual ability, the numbers of such companies in the local area are inadequate. Almost all the women in the mothers' group are full-time homemakers and many in the group envy Sakura because she has a job to go back to. A similar account is depicted in Matsuo's (2005) study. Many Japanese women face difficulties finding an occupation that accords with their educational qualifications and work experience because such former career assets do not transfer. Furthermore, they are reluctant to take lower-skilled jobs; consequently, they choose to be full-time homemakers instead. Most participants in this study had had an occupation in Japan, but after migration and settlement ended up becoming full-time homemakers.

The women's views of their homemaker status emerged in several interviews. For instance, after one interview finished and I thanked the interviewee for her participation, she said '*watashiwa hima na shufu desukara...*' ('I am just a dull housewife'). Despite her achievements raising her child in an unfamiliar environment, she regarded herself as 'just a housewife'. Some participants were highly self-conscious about their unemployed status and hope to find a job in the future. Another person said that she feels guilty because she is not working. She had always worked previously and feels that she is not contributing to the household.

None of the participants of this study were in full-time employment at the time of their interviews although several worked part-time. Living in Australia where about 58 per cent of the female population are engaged in the work force (Australian Government 2008) makes it all the more difficult for Japanese women who have previously had employment and are constantly aware of their unemployed status even though they are involved in homemaking as well as child-rearing in some cases. Prior to migrating and settling in Australia, Japanese women tended to compare their situation with that of other Japanese women who were likely to be of the view that 'staying home' after marriage was natural and evidence of upward mobility. Some regarded their own aspirations as differing from this group and wanted more than the prospect of becoming a homemaker. After migration their reference group appears to have shifted to include Australian women who are more likely to be involved in paid work. In comparison with this group, they see their career aspirations as limited by language and cultural background. Matsuo's study of Japanese women shows such

cases. When one Japanese woman relocated to the US with her American husband, she felt out of place among her peers because other wives in her community had their own careers. She had assumed that being a full-time homemaker would not be problematic, but found her actual experience devalued her status in this position. The case shows how relocation puts Japanese women in a different social location and forces them to re-evaluate their position in the host society.

The experience of career downward mobility contradicts the assumptions embedded in the discourse of *akogare* where the west is deemed to be a haven of gender equality and liberation in comparison with the feudalism of Japan (Kelsky 2001b). The west is viewed as a place where gender equality is practiced in both the private sphere of the home and the public sphere of work. This ideology of gender equality is alluring for Japanese women with hopes that better conditions exist elsewhere. Unfortunately, however, their actual migration experience appears to be affected by their racial minority status in the western society.

It has been argued that the supposition of gender inequality in the west is racialised to the extent that it is based on the experience of white, English-speaking women, not ethnic minority women from non-English speaking backgrounds (Glenn 1986). That is not however, to suggest that white, English-speaking women experience gender equality, rather that notions of gender inequality do not take into account the racialised experience of 'Black' and 'Asian' women. In this assumption, white women are viewed solely in terms of gender, and a consideration of ethnic minority

women needs to take into account the effects of both gender and race. In other words, ethnic minority women do not necessarily have the same privileges and opportunities as white women. Mahler and Pessar (2001) note that in combination with gender, race, ethnicity, class and nationality affect the power and privilege of women migrants. Thus, the examination of minority women's migration experiences must consider not only gender but also race, ethnicity and social class, because those factors are intertwined in the narratives of migrant women.

Interestingly, however, downward career mobility for migrant women may not necessarily mean disempowerment since this is an assessment that must be made in the specific context. Interpretation of migrant women's empowerment and disempowerment is a sensitive and complex process. In studies of the labour market participation of migrant women it has been argued that there are both gains and losses (Foner 1998; Park, K. 2008), and that there are multiple interpretations of women's experiences of empowerment and disempowerment, and upward and downward mobility. No matter what the employment context, earning wages empowers migrant women, allowing them to be financially independent and to gain personal autonomy; at the same time, labour participation constrains women's time for their family. Taking a waged job can be regarded as disempowering if, as in the case of Park's (2008) study of Korean migrant women in the US, they feel forced to take low-status, unsafe or unlawful jobs. The women in Park's study interpreted their involvement in waged labour as downward mobility since they had luxury to be full-time homemakers in Korea, but upon migration were no longer able to do so. Although the

first jobs of most women were recognised as being in a devalued occupation without the requirement of qualifications, their interpretation of this work shifted some years later towards a more positive interpretation of the benefits of being a wage earner. For Japanese women, while having a career is viewed as empowerment for career-oriented women, for those who seek to be full-time homemakers—a desire grounded in post-WWII ideas about Japanese family life in which the husband works and the wife stays at home—it indicates disempowerment. Taking a lower skilled occupation may be interpreted as downward mobility by those who had a higher skilled occupation in Japan.

Social isolation

Migrant women also experience social isolation because their language limitations and cultural backgrounds make it difficult to make local connections and form true friendships with non-migrants (Cooke 1986; Lauser 2008; Matsuo 2005; Suzuki 2003). Certain studies highlight the ways in which linguistic difficulties, cultural difference, and racial and ethnic distinctions limit migrant women's associations with locals. Imamura's (1988) study shows that migrant women in Japan experience friendship as 'token friends'—they regard their friendships there as superficial. Matsuo (2005) demonstrates that being a full-time homemaker, together with having language difficulties, creates obstacles to Japanese women integrating into local communities and they often end up experiencing social isolation. Cooke's (1986) study gives a similar account of foreign spouses' experiences, describing Filipinas

who have not been able to integrate into Australian society because of the unfamiliar Australian accent and cultural differences.

The following section examines the Japanese women's perceptions of their relationships with the local community. The interview data shows their struggles to associate with local Australians and the difficulties they encounter due to language and cultural differences. They had not previously anticipated these problems.

Tomomi met her partner, Mark, while she was a Japanese language assistant at a primary school in Queensland, on a twelve-month contract. She later bumped into him on the beach while she was taking pictures and soon they started dating. When Tomomi returned briefly to Japan for a home visit, she discovered that she was pregnant. Upon her return to Australia she told Mark about the pregnancy and they decided to raise their child in Australia. Mark's family, relatives and friends were very supportive of the marriage, but Tomomi's family were strongly against it; some of her relatives even said that they would sever all connections with her if she did not change her mind. Since Tomomi relocated to Australia, she has been a full-time homemaker and child-carer. Unlike Sakura and Yoko, who have strong career aspirations, Tomomi is content being a full-time wife and mother.

The following account of Tomomi's social interactions is representative of the situation of women in general and migrant women in particular who are mainly occupied with childcare and have few opportunities to interact with others.

Interviewer: So, how about your social network?

Tomomi: I have some Japanese friends whom I meet maybe twice a month and they are mother as well. But you know, I do not think that I can make friends here with whom I can talk about anything, like I used to have in Japan.

Interviewer: Don't you think you can make such close friends even with Japanese people here?

Tomomi: If they were Japanese, it may be possible to make close friends, but my friends in Japan are from high school or even elementary school, so we are really close. I think it will be difficult to make such close friends here. My neighbour asks me to visit her for lunch, but I have to communicate in English, so it is not easy to hang out with her. Before I met my husband, I had an Australian friend whom I used to hang out with and we went to beaches and clubs and it was fine even though we had a language barrier, but it is in English and my English ability is limited and I did not come here to study English... Being with Australians, I pull myself away because I do not know how much I should talk and ask about them. If I'm with Japanese, I know the [unspoken] codes, but with Australians I have no idea. So, I feel lonely as my close friends are in Japan... My English is limited, so it takes time to communicate with others in English. I wish my English was better. If my husband

is with me, he can help me, but without him it is hard... When my husband brings his friends, it is OK with female friends as I can hang out with them, but I do not understand what his male friends are saying, so I go to a different room with my son. That's the difference. If I was married in Japan, I would know what to do, but I do not know when and what I should talk about in Australia...

Tomomi feels that her difficulty in socialising with Australians is due to her English language ability as well as her cultural differences which are the causes of her isolation. Callan and Gallos (1987) argue that incompetence in English among migrants to Australia leads to limited interpersonal interactions, which also affects their opportunities for employment, schooling and welfare. Thus, linguistic capacity not only plays a role in career advancement, but is also crucial in social interaction in a daily context.

The situation of migrant settlement in western, English-speaking locations illustrates the difficulties that speakers of English as a second language encounter when they try to sustain social interactions with local people (Cooke 1986; Matsuo 2005). It is not clear if these issues are entirely a matter of language competency, however, and many studies have documented the lack of interest and willingness of the English-speaking host communities to interact with others (Hage 2000; Wise 2005). However, the facts that in Tomomi's household Japanese is the main language that her partner speaks to her in Japanese at home, and she speaks with her child in Japanese means that her

confidence in spoken English is unlikely to improve quickly. The fact that her partner acts as an interpreter for her reflects her high dependency on him and deeply embeds her in the role of homemaker/mother. Tomomi's experience resonates with earlier accounts of Japanese war brides, which discuss their material and emotional dependency on their husbands (Glenn 1986). Many war brides found themselves in similar situations made yet worse by post-war antagonism towards Japan and Japanese people. War brides had to familiarise themselves quickly with a new language and cultural conditions.

Sakura also identified language/communication as a key reason for social isolation; however she notes that language proficiency is not the only issue, but that it relates to a sense of feeling comfortable in a language and a shared cultural understanding:

I can use English in business or daily conversation, but our culture is quite different... So, it is hard to make real friends because of the cultural difference and it is much easier for me to be friends with Japanese people. You know, after all, I have not faced serious discrimination, but... I don't know... I am not strong and not so serious about study, so maybe I need the environment where I can speak Japanese. You know, for me, communicating in Japanese is much easier. Even if I do understand conversations in English, sometimes I cannot express myself well. It is hard to join a conversation among 5 or 6 people, and sometimes I just listen... I

think such a situation is different in Japan because if someone is not talking to others at parties in Japan, Japanese people would talk to the person. Here, people assume if someone is quiet, they are just a quiet person and they do not bother talking to them. I do not think if I go to parties here, people would talk to me if I was quiet. I am not saying that I do not have any Australian friends, but I feel the limits of my English, and when talking about something serious I feel much more confident in Japanese. Also, I do not have many chances to meet local Australians, maybe if I had gone to university, it would have been different. At work, as the company is small, there are not many people, so there are not many occasions to meet Australians. I guess that I did not try hard to make friends with Australians since I already had good Japanese friends.

Although Sakura she has a high level of English proficiency, she feels that it is not adequate enough to communicate with people in the local community. The struggle and frustration this causes for other migrants has been documented by Adams (2004) in her study of 37 individual international marriage partners who felt a loss of identity when they were unable to use their own language.

In order to counteract social exclusion from the local community, Japanese women may join local Japanese community groups such as Japanese clubs and networks (Denman 2008). Nevertheless, some women do the reverse. They seek to distance

themselves from other Japanese people and have few contacts with the Japanese community, in order more easily to become part of mainstream Australian society. Such an attitude seems more likely among participants who reside in the Sunshine Coast area than Brisbane. One reason that participants choose to live on the Sunshine Coast was that there are fewer Japanese people and well established Japanese associations. They said that they avoided the Japanese community and had no interest in being part of it. Yet, their self-segregation from Japanese people and the local Japanese community does not result in their integration into mainstream Australia. In fact, it can end up making them more reliant on their partners. It can lead to isolation and reduce their capacity to socialise in their own right. Yoko for instance had the idea that this was a good way to approach life in Australia:

Yoko: My friends here are actually from my boyfriend's friends. My personal friends came through working at functions on campus. I do not have close friends here...

Interviewer: How about Japanese friends here?

Yoko: I do not think I get along with Japanese people. Well, there are Japanese people I get along with. I do not like it when people ask me 'how did you find your boyfriend. I envy you...' I have met so many [Japanese] people asking me such questions here and I do not like that at all. They say to me 'wow, you have bought a house together. That is great. You are so young...' and I hate it.

Interviewer: How about Japanese clubs?

Yoko: Anyway, I do not want to have any connections with Japanese people at all. I am here, so I think it is the best for me to be with Australians. Japanese people like gossip and I do not like it.

Yoko is keen to assimilate. She is very sensitive to the opinions and judgements of Japanese people and second-guesses their views, assuming that they have negative perceptions of her choices and gossip about her. It does not occur to her that Australian people might have similar views about their youth and life choices. Her decision to associate solely with the Australian friends of her partner, and her lack of close friends of her own, mean that she is unlikely to encounter similar views in Australians. Yoko's account suggests that she is still of the view that she will be able to assimilate into mainstream culture without facing any real obstacles or struggles. The discourse of *akogare* sustains such assumptions.

A study of foreign wives in Japan and Africa notes that prior to migration, these women had not anticipated difficulties forming friendships, yet later came to realise the difficulties in associating with local people (Imamura 1988, p. 301). This was certainly the case for Yoko and Tomomi. Imamura (1988) further argues that there is a naiveté about the expectation of easy assimilation into the host society, as in the case of Tomomi, who considers Australia to be an open, multicultural society where all are embraced and accepted regardless of race, ethnic or cultural background. While at the policy level, Australia takes such a stance on multiculturalism, in daily

practice it does not quite manage to achieve a community where distinctions of race, ethnicity, and culture are irrelevant (Ang 1996).

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the migration and settlement experiences of Japanese women, highlighting issues of racialisation, racism, career limitations, downward social mobility, homemaking and social isolation. It observes that the interdisciplinary field of migration studies does not address adequately the gender implications of migration or the specific details of women's migration experiences. It is commonly assumed that migrants are male social subjects who move to improve their own and their families' social circumstances. Settlement studies appear to pay more attention to gender and the complex situation of women's migration and settlement experience. This literature takes more account of the different national and cultural contexts of women's migration, and the national and cultural contexts of countries of reception. This chapter underlines the point that a good deal of innovative and interdisciplinary work is currently blossoming in the field of marriage migration, and that this field is located in the broader interdisciplinary field of gender and migration studies. International marriage studies is also located within both of these fields

The analysis of Japanese women's migration and settlement experiences offered here thus draws from a broad body of interdisciplinary literature. The settlement experiences of Japanese women illuminate the complexities of making new lives

which are predominantly mediated by gender and ethnicity. These experiences are shared by other migrant women who have difficulty establishing careers in the host country and thus experience a form of downward mobility. Many women are forced to accept lower qualified positions. In the case of Japanese women, many simply stay at home to become homemakers. The social isolation that Japanese women encounter is also common to many migrants; however, what is different for Japanese women is the lack of preparedness for these experiences because of their *akogare* and previous desires, hopes and perceptions of the west. While international marriage and relocation do generate transnational connections enabling women and their families to experience life beyond Japan, their local experience is not as rosy as it is often projected in Japan.

The experience of migration and settlement can be regarded involving as many aspects of disempowerment. However, it is probably too crude to dichotomise the experience of Japanese women as either empowering or disempowering. It seems that these two conditions are interrelated and generate contradictory and multiple experiences of migration and settlement, as occurs in the case of encounters with racism. Migration for Japanese women involves a perception of the west as providing upward mobility and yet being located in Australia as part of a migrant minority of Asian women can be regarded as downward mobility because they are exposed to racism, limited career opportunities and social isolation. To make a final pronouncement that this or that situation is disempowering would be to discount those women who reinterpret their experience of 'racism' in such a way that it

enables them to retain their sense of pride, and the possibility of further advancement. Understanding the migration experience of Japanese women is a more complex and perplexing endeavour as observes:

the social locations of such men and women do not simply involve an upward move, but involve complex shifts in the relative importance of—among others—wealth, occupation, education, nationality, race, gender, marital status, and physical appearance in different geographical settings (Constable 2005, p. 185).

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to comment on the extent to which this situation is ongoing and permanent, or on the ways that women are able to negotiate the new landscape of Australia to secure better opportunities. However, recent work does suggest that women are organising through formal and informal networks to give each other support and advice in order to counter social isolation and improve their career prospects (Denman 2008). My preliminary investigations of internet blogs and websites support this supposition.

Chapter 6: Transnationalism

Overview

This chapter focuses on Japanese women's transnational mobility and connections to homeland. It looks at patterns of transnational movement and practices of communications adopted by Japanese women as they travel and connect across national borders with family and friends in Japan. I argue here that Japanese women are transnational citizens insofar as their transnational identities reflect flexible connections with both Australia and Japan regardless of which one they are resident in. The chapter discusses theories of transnationalism, which are interested in how contemporary migrants locate themselves in relation to homeland and host society, negotiate their identities and maintain ongoing connections with their homeland. Transnationalism offers a useful theoretical framework and analytical tools with which to examine the situation of Japanese women in international marriages.

The first section of the chapter examines notions of transnationalism detailed in the key literature, in order to identify the various dimensions of the debate. The scholarship examined here is limited to transnationalism theory in the social sciences and focuses mainly on individual social actors rather than the transnational operations of business, government and politics. I argue that while the concept of

transnationalism is not entirely new, the mobility and connections enabled by globalisation have created different set of connections than were possible in previous eras. The analysis in the second section of the chapter addresses the mobility and multiple connections forged by Japanese women. These connections involve both physical movements back and forth, as well as those made possible through new forms of communication which challenge traditional assumptions about migration and settlement involving permanent relocation.

A consideration of Japanese women's ongoing mobility, settlement, relocation, identity negotiation, family responsibilities and the role of internet communications in sustaining these point to new ways of understanding transnationalism. With this in mind, the chapter identifies various elements of transnationalism often overlooked in the contemporary research: the subjective experience of transnationalism, intergenerational transnationalism and uneven transnationalism.

Subjective transnationalism is a term intended to illuminate Japanese women's consciousness of their relationships with the homeland and seeks to underline the importance of the feelings of the Japanese for those in Japan. While 'virtual' connections may sustain relationships across vast distances and travel has sped up the possibility of regular visits to Japan, this section reminds us that actual distance is meaningful and still generates sadness for Japanese women, who feel guilty about not being in Japan and not being more available to their families.

The discussion of *intergenerational transnationalism* examines Japanese mothers' desires for their children to be bilingual and the importance of this in linking families, particularly grandchildren in Australia with grandparents in Japan. Here, Japanese mothers act as bridges between their children and their parents to form new transnational connections across the generations.

Uneven transnationalism underlines the point that transnationalism is not a fixed state. Transnational connections change over time and are influenced by different factors including the health of family members, financial resources, work and school commitments, and age. It is also made irregular by three additional points: access and familiarity with technology, the need to provide health care at various points and the complexities of family relationships. Those who have access to and are familiar with technology may sustain instant and intense communication, yet others who do not have such access or whose family members are not able to use it must use more traditional and less frequent means of communication such as letters and telephone. Transnational healthcare can also create uneven connections. For instance, when family members require health care in Australia or Japan, this may generate more frequent and intense transnational contacts. Finally, complex personal matters, such as decisions not to have contact with families, may create problems.

Transnationalism

Globalisation is fundamentally underpinned by connections across national boundaries. What globalisation theorists have emphasised are the multiple layers of interconnections sustained by people, corporations, institutions, communities and governments (Castles & Miller 2003; Giddens 1990; Harvey 1989; Robertson 1992; Waters 1995). Social scientists across a broad range of disciplines have shed light on the nature of these global connections. To capture the unique nature of contemporary connections, some social scientists have coined the term 'transnationalism'. It has been argued that the term was originally introduced in the 1970s in the discipline of international relations to refer to cross border institutions and governance (Levitt & Waters 2002). Since then, it has migrated across disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, political science and geography (Smith & Guarnizo 1998). The term has thus been captured by different disciplines to highlight different themes. Nevertheless, it retains common elements of globally circulated connections at different levels and crystallises the idea of unbounded connections between people, institutions, community, corporations and governments across nation-states and communities. There has been a great deal of recent interest in transnationalism as an automatic corollary of the forms of mobility and connectivity made possible by globalisation. While each discipline stresses different elements of transnational connection and global mobility, anthropologists have shed particular and new light on transnationalism among migrants (Portes 2001).

In the fields of anthropology and sociology, the term transnationalism is commonly used to describe the nature and form of migrant involvement with two or more

national locations, to encapsulate the ‘multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states’ (Vertovec 1999, p. 447). The term implies multiple interconnectivity extending beyond national borders which work through political, cultural and geographical levels (Blanc-Szanton, Basch & Schiller 1992). It avoids viewing a linearity in migrants’ thinking, decision-making, and changing lifestyles and practices (Wolf 2002). Migrants practicing transnationalism have been referred to as transmigrants who ‘take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links together their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement’ (Blanc-Szanton, Basch & Schiller 1992, p. ix). These transmigrants are positioned both in their new homeland and between their homelands, and thus comprise a unique but growing global phenomenon (Schiller, Glick & Fouron 2001). Consequently, transnationalism highlights the multiplicity of social relationships generated by individuals and is facilitated by the forces of globalisation which have dissolved national borders to create new transnational spheres where there are no rigid geographical boundaries.

Debates on transnationalism

Different studies highlight different features of transnationalism. In support of the idea, some scholars argue that it is new and entirely novel, by elucidating the differences between the experiences of current and earlier migrants (Basch, Blanc-Szanton & Schiller 1992, 1994, 1995). This work notes that these differences establish the foundations for the emergence of transnationalism in relation to the global capitalist economy, experiences of racism and prejudice, and nation-building

projects. Some scholars caution against the dichotomisation of assimilation and transnationalism (Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2004). Migrants' assimilation processes are often addressed as the counterpart of transnationalism because it is supposed that transnationalism demonstrates migrants' affection for their home society whereas assimilation is a sign of their loyalty to the host society. Some scholars are critical of transnationalism and argue that the practices of contemporary migrants were also present in the past and thus the concept is not novel (Kivisto 2001).

Schiller et al. (1995) underline the particularity of transnationalism for contemporary migrants. Earlier migrants were uprooted and relocated in the host society's social, political and cultural spheres, and by comparison, contemporary migrants' lives are lived between two countries. They suggest that the three possible grounds for transnationalism are each fundamentally a response to the current global connections of nation states: (1) the global capitalist economy that generates migration flows from less industrialised nation-states to more industrialised ones, (2) the racism and prejudice that contributes to the insecurity of new migrants who do not feel safe in particular locations and need to move, and (3) the nation-building projects of both home and host societies that produce loyalty to sending and receiving nations. Schiller et al.'s (1995) account highlights the novelty of transnationalism and elucidates the causes of transnationalism by demonstrating the ways in which these three factors are intertwined.

However, there are scholars who caution against enthusiasm for the newness of transnationalism. For instance, Kivisto (2001) argues that transnational practices have been present since the 1960s. Portes (2003) observes that not all migrants engage in transnationalism and researchers frequently exaggerate migrant transnationalism. Some migrants, namely those who do not have the financial capacity, or access to visa and citizenship rights—such as refugees and women labour migrants—are unable to participate in the sorts of transnationalism anticipated by global mobility. Therefore, we cannot assume that transnationalism is universal; yet many studies of transnationalism reflect this misconception and assume that all migrants are transmigrants. An additional point by Portes (2003) concerns the unevenness of transnationalism. The conditions under which migrants have left their home and their reception in the host country have effects on transnationalism. Those who leave their homeland to avoid violence, such as asylum seekers and refugees, tend to assimilate into their host nations and understandably avoid transnational connections. Interestingly, migrants are less likely to be involved in transnational connections when they are settled in an area where the ethnic minority population is less concentrated. Conversely, they are more likely to engage in transnational connections when they settle in areas of high ethnic minority populations. These observations enable us to view transnationalism from a more critical standpoint and thus further enhance our understanding of it.

For Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), it is important not to dichotomise transnationalism and assimilation. They stress the significance of nation-states in the

experience of transnationalism. In the discourse of transnationalism, discussions of nation-states is often absent, as if migrants' lives are not related to the economies, politics and cultures of both host and sending nations. Waldinger and Fitzgerald emphasise the power of nation-states in individual migrants' lives. For instance, affection for a home country can be regarded as problematic in a world where nation-states exist as mutually exclusive and people are expected to express love and loyalty to only one at a time. It is also important to recognise the forces at work in host societies which encourage assimilation, or conversely encourage attachment to homeland. Thus it is important not to regard assimilation and transnationalism as opposing dichotomous forces in accounts of migrant experiences. Rather, these forces are intertwined in complex ways to affect migrants' lives. A similar point is made by Kivisto (2001) who argues that transnationalism is one variant of assimilation because while migrants maintain homeland connections, they also assimilate into host societies. Consequently, it is not possible to reduce migrants' settlement processes to either assimilationist or transnational.

In light of these debates, Portes (2001) remains convinced of the importance of transnationalism. He borrows Merton's (1968) argument that a concept may already exist and yet be developed quite differently as it comes to include new activities, and further adds that the new meaning attached to the concept is valuable because it enables earlier cases to be taken into consideration. Thus, a novel perspective on an old concept can shed light on previous cases and link them with contemporary cases.

This thesis takes the view that critiques of transnationalism theory are useful, but also that the concept is useful for analysing contemporary migration and settlement. While transnationalism did occur earlier, contemporary transnationalism comprises new and quite different forms of mobility and settlement. During previous eras, transnational connections were limited to a small portion of the population of some nation-states, and quite often to business elites. Not everyone was able to engage in transnational mobility and connections. A study of Japanese migrant women in Britain underlines this point to show how sustaining connections with family and homeland in the contemporary period is greatly facilitated by reasonably priced air travel and phone calls (Izuhara & Shibata 2001, p. 576). Even though Japanese war brides were able to communicate by letters and the occasional phone call, this was less affordable, and communicating by letter and post-card was slow and time-consuming. Today, migrants are also able to use communication technologies such as email, Skype, Messenger and blogs such as Myspace and Facebook, which provide instant communication. Although there are various degrees of involvement in transnational connections, living at a moment when transnational movements are more imaginable, as well as affordable and feasible, means that the feeling of being dislocated from the homeland is less intense, even when migrants are not actively connected. In other words migrants are likely to have a heightened sense of closeness and a lower consciousness of time-space separations. In the case of Japanese women married to western men, it can be argued that transnationalism serves this very purpose. We can see that while these women maintain transnational connections through travel and IT communication, previous generations, the Japanese war brides, were less able to

sustain transnational connections until quite recently, when many have been able to increase the intensity and frequency of their connections and relationships with family and friends in Japan.

The following conversations illuminate how multiple mobility and transnational connections differ for current and earlier migrants. Umeko observed that she had been unable to return much to Japan in her lifetime, but insists that some of her friends frequently go. Her account underlines the difference between previous forms of transnationalism and the contemporary experience for this generation of Japanese brides:

Umeko: I did not go back to Japan much... But some of these people often went back to Japan [pointing to a few Japanese war brides in a photograph].

Interviewer: So, some people went back to Japan, like, once a year?

Umeko: Look at her in this picture... She went back to Japan many times. This person has been in Australia for last 50 years and she already visited Japan *ten times* (my emphasis added)...

By way of contrast, in response to the same inquiry, Sakura, in her mid-30s, said 'I usually go back home once a year. That is the average... But if I could, I would like to go back there even two or three times per year'.

Sakura's view that going back to Japan once a year is a minimum and her preference for more visits is common among other, younger participants. Yoko's father insists her visiting family in Japan at least twice a year and others said that they would visit Japan more frequently if time and money permitted. However, Umeko's family neither requested nor expected her to visit Japan and it is only in recent times that visits back have become a possibility. There is a common expectation that younger women will visit Japan regularly and these visits home will be supplemented by visits to Australia from family and friends in Japan.

Sakura and David have lived in both Australia and Japan. Their move to Australia was not problematic for Sakura since she was considering travelling here anyway:

When I was thinking about going to Australia, I met David who was a working holiday-maker in Tokyo. One day I went to a working holiday office in Nakano [Tokyo] where people can get information about working holidays for both Japanese people and foreigners who are living in Japan, and I met David there. We became friends through teaching each other Japanese and English. When David was going back to Australia, I was about to come here as well, so our dating in Japan continued in Australia. Even though David was from Brisbane, I wanted to live in Sydney, so we moved to Sydney together. We did not really think about what we should do after one year, but I got a job and applied for a de facto visa, which enabled

me to work. We lived in Sydney for 3 years and I was thinking to continue living in Sydney, but then David said that he wanted to try living in Japan. So, we moved back to Japan and lived there for five years.

Sakura's and David's experience demonstrates the mobility of young married couples. Their home base has shifted from Japan to Australia, Australia to Japan and once again from Japan to Australia. This transnational relocation was enabled by Sakura's Japanese citizenship and David's Australian citizenship, which allows them to live in either country with relative ease. Their transnational experiences challenge the common assumption that permanent settlement is the end-point of transnational mobility. Although they are currently settled in Australia, they may move back to Japan. While they were in Japan, they maintained connections with family and friends in Australia, and while they were in Australia, they kept connections with Japan. Consequently, they are neither migrants nor sojourners but located between two national spaces. They have never had to sever or restrict relations with either country but maintain ongoing transnational links.

Other Japanese women expressed similar preferences for multiple national residences.

Tomomi wants to reside in Japan for a while but does not plan to stay there forever:

I am thinking about it [moving back to Japan] these days. My husband loves Japan and also I want to go back there to live for one

or two years... But I think regarding education, Australia is better than Japan for my child as they do not have *juken* [entrance exams] so I want to send my child to schools here [Australia]. That is why I am thinking of coming back when my child is going to attend school if we move back to Japan... I am hoping to relocate to Japan within one or two years.

Tomomi and her partner Mark are able to consider and indeed choose to live either in Australia or Japan, and like Sakura they can move back and forth. Transnational relocation or plans for relocation among Japanese women illustrates their ongoing movement between two places. Such mobility may not be possible for migrants who are prevented from going back home for political, financial and citizenship reasons. Studies of settlement decision-making processes among international marriage couples point out that migration decision-making is rarely final but more often an ongoing discussion, even after couples have settled in one country (Adams 2004, p. 464). Multiple relocations thus also challenge assumptions that settlement involves the permanent relocation of individual or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new locations. The migration and settlement of Japanese women implies a form of transnationalism that is not necessarily permanent, but possibly temporary and ongoing. Therefore, the idea of transnationalism challenges assumptions of migration theory, which views settlement and permanent relocation as a final end-point.

Subjective transnationalism

While the above section has described the embodied, corporal experiences of transnationalism, this section discusses the subjective experiences. The heightened consciousness of globalisation is emphasised in globalisation literature (Robertson 1992; Scholte 2005; Vertovec, Steven & Posey 2003). Likewise, contemporary migrants are aware of their connections across nation-states and this consciousness is manifested in participants' narratives about their emotional connectedness to families left at home. Subjective transnationalism refers to the process of sustaining transnational connections at the level of emotions and ideologies (Wolf 2002). It is important to understand subjective consciousness and how emotion plays a role in the construction of people's lives in migration studies (Ryan 2008) because people are involved in family networks, and family life is intrinsically connected to feelings: 'it is impossible to think of the transnational family without appreciating the links with emotions and the experience of migration' (Skrbis 2008, p. 234). Hence, the subjective level of transnationalism is a key to understanding certain elements of the phenomenon. Indeed, the narratives of Japanese women inform our understanding of this subjective level of transnationalism where dislocation from family members in Japan often makes them feel sentimental, sad and gloomy, reminding them of the actual distance between Australia and Japan.

A number of studies have been made of transnationalism at the subjective level, focusing particularly on women (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997; Parrenas 2001; Ryan 2008; Skrbis 2008; Svašek 2008; Viruell-Fuentes 2006). These studies examine

migrant women's subjective perceptions and the emotional consequences of migration. They summarise the ways in which migrant women are connected to homeland on the subjective level and also how their gender roles affect their transnational connections to homeland.

A study of Mexican migrants to the US by Viruell-Fuentes (2006) demonstrates the trajectory of first and second generation migration, and reports on women's subjective experiences of transnationalism. Although contacting family members by telephone provides them some comfort, it also reminds them that they cannot be in Mexico and causes feelings of guilt. Such guilt is affected by their gender role as caretaker and further emphasises absence from the family. A similar account of subjective transnationalism is reported by Asis et al. (2004) who investigated Filipina migrants working as maids or nannies. Migrant women have to deal with their sadness and longing for their family because they are apart. To minimise their loss, they maintain long-distance, transnational family relationships with kin left at home. Geographical distance thus complicates the life of migrant mothers and their family members, and stimulates transnational connections.

A study of migrant mothers by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) focuses on the transnational motherhood of immigrant Latinas whose occupation is in childcare and housekeeping in the US. The authors identify mothering at distance as a form of 'transnational motherhood', through which migrant mothers manage motherhood beyond spatial and temporal separations. The experience of transnational motherhood

is of course complicated by the fact that the separation is often a last resort and not desired by the women concerned. Moreover, it creates financial strain for the women overseas who need to support themselves as well as send money back home to support their families. The authors stress that in this case transnationalism is a contradictory process because it comes at great cost and often with limited options. They suggest that considering the loss, sadness, anxiety and alienation that transnational mothers experience because of the separation from their families, a celebratory attitude toward the transnationalism of migrants should be approached with caution.

These studies illustrate the subjective links between migrant and family members. This transnationalism is invariably affected by their gender roles (being a mother, a daughter and family carer). Loneliness and sadness are common feelings for these women. Again, it is clear that transnational family engagements are an imperative for many women distanced from their families.

The discussion of Yoko, Sakura and Arisa below explores elements of subjective transnationalism and shows how Japanese women face complications and difficulties in being apart from their families and homeland. It emphasises the consciousness of emotional connection and feeling across national borders. Although Japanese women relocate to Australia to reside with their partners and make new families, subjective transnationalism highlights the ways that their family and friends in Japan remain foremost in their minds and consciousness.

When Yoko talked about her family back in Japan, strong feelings about disconnections and connections emerged. She had only recently moved to Australia, in comparison with others in this study who have been away more than a decade. So, her account illuminates the experience of recent migrants. She was particularly concerned about her mother left behind in Japan:

Although I have two older sisters, they are not reliable... When my mother broke her bones, even though I had already left home [in Japan] and was living by myself, I used to go back and forth between my parents' home and my apartment to cook for them because my sisters who were living there at that time did not do anything... So when I was leaving Japan, I thought if I was gone, who would take care of my parents?... Sometimes my mom calls me crying and telling me, 'it has been really tough since you left...' So, I listen to her patiently and sometimes she even gets upset with me... My father told me to visit Japan for my mother at least two or three times a year and he would pay for it.

Yoko constantly worries about her mother because she does not believe that her two older sisters will take care of her. Hearing her mother crying over the phone creates emotional hardship and melancholy because she is not there to do her duty. Yoko's concern illustrates the subjective elements of transnationalism across distance. The

globalisation literature argues that distance is less important in the globalised world and it is certainly the case that physical connections with homeland are more easily maintained than ever before (Giddens 1984; Harvey 1989; Waters 1995). However, there is a real distance between countries, which looms large in people's minds and no matter how near or far, the fact of not being at hand can be troubling. This point is illustrated in the study conducted by Viruell-Fuentes (2006) of Mexican migrant women in the US that shows migrant women are deeply concerned and worried about the families they left at home. They worry about the health of siblings and aging parents, and talking to family members on the telephone often makes matters worse—reminding them of their inability to be there to help (Viruell-Fuentes 2006 p. 355).

Additionally, what emerges from Yoko's narrative is her mother's account of missing her daughter. Family members left behind often find it difficult to cope with the absence of their migrant kin (Parrenas 2005; Viruell-Fuentes 2006). A consideration of subjective transnationalism enables us to see the limits of theories of transnational connections which celebrate virtual connections (Falicove 2005). Yoko's mother's sense of loss is a constant reminder of the actual physical distance between them. Subjective transnationalism thus opens up understanding of transnational connections and disconnections as both imagined and real (Falicove 2005).

Sakura also faces an emotional struggle, feeling sad and sorry for the family she left behind. She feels particularly guilty about leaving her grandmother because her parents were divorced when she was young and she and her younger sister were cared

for by their grandmother. Sakura was very close to her grandmother, who took on the role of her mother:

My father was divorced, so our family was my father, grandmother, my younger sister and I... As I had my grandmother, I was raised by her, so was my sister. We were really close to my grandmother... If I was married in Japan, it would have been possible for me to visit my grandmother, but my partner is from Australia. When I left there the first time, it was only for one year, but then it became three years. My grandmother felt lonely, so I felt guilty. When my grandmother was still alive, she used to ask me when I was coming back to Japan and she used to tell me that she felt lonely. It was only a positive burden because I care about her. I always felt sorry for my grandmother...

Sakura's connection to her home is linked to her grandmother left in Japan. Her guilt for not being in Japan is heartbreaking and divides her between wanting to be in both Australia and Japan. While she relocated to Australia in order to be with her husband, her relationship with her grandmother continues on a subjective level and has challenged her decision to move to Australia.

Arisa expressed a great deal of interest in this project and volunteered to be interviewed twice. At the first interview, she was relaxed and friendly. Sometimes she

joked about different things, yet she also expressed thoughtful opinions on various topics. Arisa is in her 40s, living with her partner whom she met in Australia during a stop-over. She revealed her concerns for her mother and aunt in Japan:

My brother is really close to my mom and aunt and he always takes care of them so much. I understand that well, but women and men are different in the way we think. So there are things I can do and my brother cannot do, and there are things I cannot do but my brother can do. If there are ten portions of responsibility, his part is five and the other five is my responsibility, but I cannot do my part as I am away from home. Although my brother is there, I am sure that my mom and aunt want to be close to me as well. So, I feel bad that I make my mom and aunt feel lonely.

Arisa thinks constantly about her mother and aunt and is conscious of the geographical distance between them. Her emotional concern and care for family in Japan highlights the dilemma of being physically in Australia and wishing to be closer to family in Japan. A similar sentiment concerning the dynamics of transnational families is discussed in a study undertaken in the Philippines. This study reported that migrants and their family members feel great sadness and pain because of the distance, as well as feeling incomplete as a family (Asis, Huang & Yeoh 2004). An elaboration of this is provided by Svašek (2008, p. 218):

The multi-sensorial dimension of co-presence, the ability to see, hear, smell and touch each other, and to interact emotionally within the same time/space frame, allow for a unique form of intimacy which is irreplaceable by communication at a distance.

Svašek stresses the significance of physical proximity as well as the vulnerability of distance communication: the longing for family and homeland, and the desire to be closer, are not overcome by instant telecommunications.

Arisa's comments further highlight how gender shapes the life courses of Japanese women (Franklin 1996; Kimmel 2000), and processes of migration and settlement do not necessarily render them irrelevant (Pessar & Mahler 2003). Women thus experience migration differently from men. The Japanese women in this study are no exception and their transnational social reality remains informed by gender ideology. In Arisa's case, even though her brother in Japan is taking care of the mother and aunt she cares about so much, Arisa still feels guilty for not being in Japan. The gender role demand that women be the family caretaker (Fujimura-Fanselow & Kameda 1995) influences how women perceive their role in family dynamics. It makes women feel that they have roles and responsibilities that cannot be taken over by anyone else.

Consequently, migrant women's hearts are often divided between missing their family and feeling guilty for not being there. The following comment by Falicov

shows how clear-cut divisions and loyalties are challenged by migrants' occupation of two worlds:

If home is where the heart is, and one's heart is with one's family, language, and country, what happens when your family, language, and culture occupy two different worlds? This has more or less always been the plights of immigrants. The outcome was often to live with one's heart divided (Falicov 2005, p. 399).

This comment underlines the common misconception that migrants' lived experiences automatically create conflict and divided loyalties. It assumes that their heads and hearts are split in two irreconcilable ways so that their physical body is located in a host society but disconnected from the 'real' source of their emotions. If, however, we understand transnational subjectivity under globalisation as consciousness and emotional flows between two locations, then it becomes possible to understand the subjective aspects of individual experience beyond the idea that the experience of transnationalism is invariably split. While it is certainly conflicted and problematic, the divided subject consciousness of transnational migrants is something that transnational migrants simply learn to live and practice.

Transnationalism across generations

The literature on subjective transnationalism discussed above highlights not only the emotional aspects of transnationalism, but also its intergenerational practices within

families. Transnationalism is practiced within families across generations of children, parents and grandparents located in different countries. Family connections not only cross national borders but also different generations, to involve people also connected to the person who has physically relocated. This aspect of transnationalism can be identified among Japanese women in this study. Japanese women are connected to their parents in Japan, yet they also draw their children and other family members into transnational connectivity. Like subjective transnationalism, intergenerational transnationalism relates to the roles of Japanese women as mothers and daughters and carers.

Bilingual education plays a key role in intergenerational transnationalism because it links children in Australia to family and grandparents in Japan. Bilingualism is not simply about bicultural language ability as such but is also something that contributes to and extends transnational connections. It produces intergenerational connections and links between grandchildren, parents and grandparents. Transnationalism in the context of this study is grounded in intergenerational relationships and is also gendered because it concerns the maintenance of relationships of migrant women.

Literature about transnationalism among Japanese women is limited. Moreover, little research has highlighted the cross-generational aspects of transnationalism discussed here. What they investigate is often limited to two generations, such as parents and children (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997; Parrenas 2005; Ryan 2008); the roles of grandparents and other family members are rarely taken into consideration.

The Japanese mothers in this study expressed their strong desire that their children be able to understand and speak Japanese. Similar enthusiasm for bilingualism on the part of mothers was reported in Nitta's (1988, 1989) study of international marriage couples in Japan. The research showed that American partners of Japanese men living in Japan also insisted on their children having a bilingual language education. The American mothers point to the importance of being able to communicate with their children in English, their native language. American mothers' desire for bilingual education is not matched by a similar interest or enthusiasm on the part of American fathers married to Japanese women. They do not show a great deal of interest in their children's bilingual education or capacity to speak with them in English (Nitta 1988, 1989). It appears that mothers are more likely to be concerned about bilingual communications than fathers.

The stance of contemporary Japanese women towards bilingual education and the way in which they view transnational connections between their children and their parents in Japan exemplifies a generational distinction between contemporary Japanese women's experiences and those of older women in international marriages. The views of Japanese migrant women who migrated post-war to Britain is discussed by Izuhara and Shibata (2001), who report that older Japanese women felt a dilemma about teaching their children Japanese because they wanted them to assimilate to western culture and did not want their children to be marked as different. At a certain

age, the children themselves resisted speaking Japanese, and told their mothers not to speak Japanese in public.

The second generation, those born in the post-war era of the 1950s and 1960s tend not to be bilingual (Izuhara & Shibata 2001). The relative rarity of active bilingualism and intergenerational transnational connections between Australia and Japan was in part a consequence of post-war antagonism and the assimilation policies of the host nations (Nagata 1996). Previous migrants, such as Japanese war brides, were not easily able either to generate transnational relations or to imagine global mobility—because of different global conditions as well as broader ideological pressures (Tamura 2001).

Transnationalism is also generated by those people who are left behind. For families, migration concerns not only those who relocate but also those who are left behind (Falicov 2005). Non-migrant family members also become engaged in transnational connections and forms of transnationalism (Baldassar, Baldock & Wilding 2007). Family, friends and grandparents in Japan do not simply receive overseas visits but are actively involved in visiting themselves and sustaining transnational connections.

Unfortunately, not all family members left in the homeland are able to visit family members in Australia. It is mainly mothers who do so, highlighting the closeness of the Japanese mother–daughter relationship. This closeness between mothers and daughters is underpinned by the particular relationship between them. Women are

said to associate with their mothers more than men do because the mother's role is of early carer, that is, a primary source of children's identification, yet as the mother–daughter relationship continues, the mother–son relationship discontinues, as a son's identification shifts to the father or other male figures (Boyd 1989). Thus, a daughter's progressive relationship with her mother yields closeness between them, in comparison with the mother–son relationship.

Three factors shape this mother–daughter relationship. First, mothers and daughters share the same gendered experiences and roles; second, a mother's feelings are often directed towards her daughters; and finally, a mother's interaction with her daughter often reflects her own experience of daughterhood (Eichenbaum & Orbach 1985). These three factors position mothers in unique relationship with their daughters. It explains why we need to see transnationalism as a gendered phenomenon, often grounded in the close relationship of mothers and daughters. Across distance, these relationships continue.

Yoko has a passionate interest in Japanese culture and language. Although she does not have any children yet, she expressed interest in teaching her future children the Japanese language. Her interest in teaching Japanese relates to a desire to further understand Japanese culture and tradition and reinforces her own awareness of being Japanese:

No matter where I am, I am Japanese. So, I really want to pass on the great aspects of Japan such as language, culture and tradition. I have learned *kitsuke* [Kimono dressing], studied the meaning of Japanese words, and I also did some research into Japanese culture when I was in high school. You know, there are so many great things about Japan, so I want to teach my children about them.

Dislocated from Japan, Yoko is very conscious of the difference of her own cultural background and the importance of transmitting Japanese culture and values. Her physical disconnection from Japan has generated a great sense of Japanese cultural distinctiveness and an enhanced desire to learn more about it. Indeed, all of the Japanese mothers in this study demonstrated a great deal of concern about their children's bilingual and bicultural education.

Bilingualism and biculturalism are a reflection of intergenerational transnationalism. Talking about her future plans, Yoko stresses the importance of her children speaking Japanese so they can experience living in Japan and get to know their grandparents:

Sooner or later, I am thinking of living in Japan for two or three years... Because when we have a child, I want my child to have living experience in Japan and for my parents to experience their grandparenthood.

Such possibilities were beyond the consciousness of previous generations of Japanese women in international marriages.

Passing on Japanese language bequeaths cultural heritage and identity, and acts as a link between the families in Japan and Australia. It allows grandchildren to know and communicate with their grandparents and offers transnational global opportunities for the children. Namie is another mother who acts as a bridge between her children and her parents:

I talk to my daughter in Japanese because I want her to be able to communicate in Japanese. You know, my parents cannot speak English, so for my parents and my daughter to communicate with each other, it is important for my daughter to understand Japanese.

Teaching her children Japanese fulfils a double role as a mother and daughter in the international sphere. It forges intergenerational links and fulfils Namie's role as a good parent and good daughter. Regular home visits with her daughter are an important parts of the child's bilingual and bicultural education. As a single person, Namie is less concerned to regularly visit Japan and it was only when she had her daughter that she became fully aware of her responsibilities:

Now my parents have a grand-daughter, so I try to go back at least once a year so that my parents can spend as much time as possible

with their granddaughter. For that reason, I usually stay for one month in Japan when we visit there. If I was still single, I would not go back that much.

Intergenerational transnational connections are grounded in the mother/parent/daughter role. Namie says that she only came to understand this after she became a mother herself. In her study of migrant mothers and children left behind in the Philippines, Parreñas (2005) points out that mothers not only re-establish their mothering, but also over compensate for their absence through 'intensive mothering'. Because of the distance, they practice mothering more. Likewise, it seems that motherhood and daughterhood for Japanese women may similarly involve intensified thought and effort in order to be fulfilled at a distance. The transnational relationships generated by Namie and Yoko are not the same as for all migrants but the projection of a unique way of maintaining the intergenerational connections required by the roles of daughter and mother.

Transnationalism is generated by the experiences of both the migrant families and those of the families and friends they leave behind; in the context of this study it is also gendered since women are its main transnational actors. As Namie observed:

My father does not come here much. In fact, he has been here only once. My brother also helps my father's business and he has his own

family, so he has not visited me yet as taking his whole family members is not easy.

Namie's mother, on the other hand, visits Australia every year for about one month. Visits by mothers also illuminate the gendered aspect of transnationalism and the fact that male family members appear to be less mobile than women. The accounts in this section also demonstrate the ways in which mothers and daughters are able to sustain close relationships despite the distance, in comparison with father and brothers who are less involved in transnational connections. Japanese women's active roles as mothers and daughters link their family members across national borders. Importantly, the close relationship between mothers and daughters underlines the gendered nature of transnational connections as well as its subjective aspects.

Uneven transnationalism

This section focuses on the unevenness and irregularities of transnationalism, its shifting nature over time, and according to the different life circumstances and shifting dynamics of families. This aspect of transnationalism recognises that the dynamics of family relationships are always fluid and changing and that this is not simply a special characteristic of transnational families:

Family relationships are dynamic and fluid, shifting according to life-cycle events (including birth, death and migration) and

perceptions of affection and emotional closeness (Wilding 2006, p. 135).

Changing family dynamics and relationships are dealt with by different individuals in different ways. As family dynamics change, transnationalism also shifts, therefore, we also need to regard transnationalism as being not a fixed state but something that is always in flux and changing according to different conditions. According to Yeoh et al. (2005 p. 308), family connectivity does not diminish in significance, even though it may change in nature and form:

The realm of the 'family' continues to retain its significance in the face of distance, dispersal and translocality even as the desire to go on being a family under such conditions is occasionally ruptured and continually reworked (Yeoh, Huang & Lam 2005, p. 308).

In the unevenness of transnationalism, it is necessary therefore to understand that those individuals and families connected by it are involved in relationships that are fluid and continually changing over the life courses of individuals.

This part of the chapter examines in detail the irregularities and unevenness of transnationalism. It particularly illuminates three factors affecting the way transnationalism works in the lives of Japanese women: disrupted family connections, accessibility to technology, and transnational care. Disrupted family connections can

sever family ties and thus negate transnationalism. Access to technology can have the same effect, depending on people's access to technology and ability to use it. Some participants in this study engage in more intense transnational connections because they have access to technological tools such as the internet. Those participants without such access have less intense and less frequent transnational connections. Finally, the responsibility for providing care for family members at various points in time also affects the nature of transnationalism.

Disrupted family connections

Transnational families facilitate transnational connections that provide mutual support but they also generate tension and challenges that prevent or disrupt connections (Ryan 2008). In her studies of Irish migrant women, Ryan found that women did not receive a great deal of family support if they divorced, and were blamed for bringing shame on family. These divorced women faced disconnection from family members in Ireland. Transnational families are thus not always supportive and understanding, but can be antagonistic and disconnective.

As this section shows, family connections can be disrupted over distance. For instance, Tomomi's marriage to Mark changed her relationship with parents and other family members, and illustrates the flipside of transnationalism:

Regarding my marriage, my family strongly disagreed. My father was born prior to World War II and my mother was in education, so

they are very strict. They were against me coming to Australia, but let me come in the end on the condition of a promise to return to Japan. I did not care much about it anyway. Then, I found out that I had fallen pregnant when I was in Australia, so I called my parents to let them know about that and my intention to marry to Mark. But my parents and my relatives were extremely angry and upset with my marriage. Everyone said, 'No way!' ... The reason why they did not agree with my marriage is that it is an international marriage. They did not think marriage could work out for people who have different cultures, customs and languages considering that it is difficult even for Japanese couples who share the same culture, so it is like, 'How is it possible?' Also, they did not like the idea of being married because of pregnancy... My relatives told me that they would come to Brisbane to take me back to Japan or otherwise cut off our connections. So, I did not contact my family in Japan for three or four months... My parents said that for their generation, it is no way to have a child with blue eyes, of mixed heritage, so I stopped contacting them.

Tomomi severed connections with Japan and her family because of her parents' opposition to her marriage. She felt that she could not stay in touch with them. Transnationalism is only possible when both parties—the migrants and their family in the homeland—are willing to maintain connections. Although many migration studies

point out that the 'home' in the homeland of migrants always looms large in their consciousness, this concept of 'home' has to be facilitated by physical or electronic connection to the people at home. When families sever their connections, the relationship with the homeland is also threatened. For those three or four months, Tomomi lost her home at both an emotional and a material level. As well, her parents lost their daughter. Theories of transnationalism rely on assumptions that the family is a close unit and that the migrants' homeland is eternally present. This is clearly not the case in matters of divorce (Ryan 2008) or opposition to marriage, as occurred in Tomomi's case.

Technological accessibility and ability

Theories of transnationalism, like theories of globalisation, highlight the advance in communications technology as the device that diminishes the actual distance between homeland and host society (Basch, Blanc-Szanton & Schiller 1994; Giddens 1990; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999; Robertson 1992). New technological connections facilitate instant and intensified communication involving family members over great distances (Valentine 2006). Nevertheless, the advantage of technology is not always received by everyone concerned. There are discrepancies in transnational connectivity according to whether migrants and family members have the capacity and the ability to take advantage of the technology. Research into the communication activities of transnational families indicate that not all migrants take advantage of communication technologies. For instance, in her study of family communication across distance, Wilding (2006) found that many parents of migrants were unable to

use computers and the internet. Transnational connection relies on the capacity and willingness of all concerned to participate in such connections (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999). If families cannot afford computers and the cost of connecting to the internet, or if they are unable to use the technology, then transnationalism ceases.

This distinction between people's capacity to engage and use communication technology also relates to geographical location, age and social class (Parrenas 2005). Limited financial resources restrict the frequency of communication and the geographical location of migrants influences the availability of such communication. Moreover, age also has a certain impact on the application of communication technology, as was seen among family members of participants in my study. Many informants expressed the wish that their parents were able to use computer so that they could sustain more frequent communication. Age has implications for the frequency and intensity of transnational communication.

Yoshimi is in her 40s and her parents live in Tokyo; Namie is in her late 20s, and her parents also live in Tokyo. Their experiences of electronic connection to family members in Japan are quite different. Namie is in daily contact with her mother and relies on new internet communication technology:

In the past, I used to use a phone to talk to my mom... Now I talk to her on the net using webcam every day. It's like telephone television... I talk to her everyday... So, I do not feel as if there has

been a long separation when I see her in Japan. You know, I hang up saying 'see you tomorrow' [on the webcam] and catch the plane and she is there at the airport... If I do not talk to her for a few days, she sends an email saying 'are you ok?'... I usually talk to her for one hour daily... My brother's family lives near my parents' home, so when they are visiting my parents on the weekend, I see everyone [through the webcam] and say hi to them. So, I do not feel like it has been a long time since I met them last when I visit them in person.

Despite the actual distance between Australia and Japan, the sense of it is minimised or at least diminished by the 'virtual' connection. It provides a feeling of closeness and intimacy that creates a strong sense of belonging and connection to a family. Communication technology thus plays an important role in transnational families by assisting them to transcend real distance (Wilding 2006) and the internet facilitates the flow of emotions, trust and respect between family members who are located across diverse geographical areas (Valentine 2006).

The instant and intense communication between Namie and her family is only possible when both sides understand and can use internet communications technology. Namie has studied information technology and is familiar with the computer; her mother did not previously know anything about computers but learned how to use webcam and email to stay in touch with Namie. In contrast, Yoshimi's connection to Japan is limited and relies on the telephone:

Contacting home is usually done by phone. I would like to use the internet to communicate with my family in Japan like my friends are doing, but my parents are not interested in computers and they do not have it at home anyway. My sister uses a computer every day at work, so she does not want to use it at home. So, I contact them mostly by phone.

Namie and Yoshimi's experiences show that computers can both enable and disable a sense of family closeness which transcends physical distance, but its use depends on the technological abilities of family members as well as the migrant women themselves. Thus, sustaining family relationships is not an effortless consequence of globalisation and increased accessibility to new forms of communications technology. Those families who lack access and ability continue to struggle to maintain transnational contact (Asis, Huang & Yeoh 2004).

Transnational care

The responsibility to provide care for family members also has an impact on transnationalism. Care makes for deeper and more intense transnational connections and generates closer relationships between Japanese women and family members in Japan.

'Transnational care' has been defined as care across nation-states by people who live outside of their home (Baldassar, Baldock & Wilding 2007, p. 3). Transnational care is, of course, constrained by distance as well as time, health, work and cultural distinctions (Baldassar, Baldock & Wilding 2007). It is argued that transnational care is a significant concern for those whose family members are sick or aged, and may involve the provision of financial as well as emotional and physical support. The need to provide this support changes over the life course of individual family members (Svašek 2008).

Health may create stronger connections between Japanese women and their family members in Japan; however this may work in reverse if they are not able to provide the support required. The subjective consciousness of transnationalism in terms of its 'imagined proximity' generated by transnational connections may be shattered when migrants' parents become physically challenged (Wilding 2006, p. 134). Health problems may make it difficult for both family members left at home and those who migrate to sustain transnational communications. Several participants in this study have aged parents in Japan. Their parents' health requires transnational care, which changes the way in which they are able to sustain connections with their families in Japan. The following section shows how these may strengthen as well as weaken transnational connections and how transnational care is gendered because 'care' is often assumed to be the responsibility of female family members (Viruell-Fuentes 2006).

When Nobuyo's mother was sick, the illness changed the way Nobuyo contacted family members in Japan. Nobuyo said that she did not miss Japan much and has not been back for at least a few years. Throughout the interview, Nobuyo showed little emotional attachment to Japan in comparison with other participants who declared their strong ties to Japan. She did not have a strong desire to visit Japan and had not contacted home intensively prior to her mother becoming sick. Yet, upon her mother's illness, Nobuyo visited Japan to see her mother far more frequently than before. Due to the state of her health, Nobuyo's mother is no longer able to fly, consequently, unless Nobuyo visits her mother in Japan, face-to-face contact between the two will not be possible. In this case, the health of Nobuyo's mother facilitated more frequent and intense connections.

Arisa's concern about her aging mother and aunt left in Japan illustrates the kinds of preliminary thinking that women may have to do because of their gender role as carer:

It is not a condition for my marriage, but you know... Although I have a brother, my mom became alone as she lost her husband. Also, I have an aunt who's been single and career-oriented and to me she is like my mom, too. So if something happens to them, I will go back to Japan to take care of them. If they are sick, it may be cured quickly or last for a long time, but I want to be there and care for them. I asked him [her husband] whether it is OK for me go to Japan

to take care of my mom and aunt when they become sick and he said that is fine. He also said that he would come with me to Japan if that happens. He said that, so I got married. If he had not agreed to that condition, I would not have married him.

While Arisa's mother and aunt have not faced serious health problems, when and if that happens, she will actively involve herself in transnational care in Japan as well intensified connection with other family members in Japan. Here, we see awareness on her part of the need to change transnational connectivity according to different family circumstances. Arisa's awareness of her role as a female family member regarding care reflects how migrant women consciously consider care and concern for others.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that an understanding of how transnationalism works in women's everyday lives sheds important light on our understanding of the process in general. In particular, it argues that for Japanese women, transnationalism involves the three dimensions of subjectivity, intergenerationality and uneven connectivity. These aspects expand existing theoretical understandings, which are often based on the experiences of families in which partners are from the same cultural and national background (Ong 1999) and which frequently fail to take into account the different experiences of women.

Subjective transnationalism challenges the assumption in transnationalism theory that the object of study is the body and corporeal levels of transnational connections. A focus on subjective feelings of connectivity offers more detailed understanding of the consciousness, emotions and feelings that comprise contemporary transnationalism. A consideration of intergenerational transnationalism highlights the point that transnationalism connects individuals across generations and involves gendered relationships. It is illuminated here by the way Japanese women consciously take up their roles as mothers and daughters in order to ensure ongoing transnational relations beyond that of first generation, so that connections between Australia and Japan are sustained in deeper and more ongoing ways. A consideration of the unevenness of transnationalism reminds us that it is a changing and flexible process. It draws our attention to issues of care, health and aging, and how socio-economic position, gender, health, life course and family dynamics are all factors in sustaining the intensity and frequency of transnational connections.

This chapter has shown that transnationalism is not a fixed condition automatically made possible by globalisation when certain mobilities and technological forms of communication are set in motion. Transnationalism is a more complex mesh of connections, mediated by a range of contextual factors operated and maintained to different degrees, in different ways and at different times. It thus involves multiple facets and dimensions influenced by various factors such as emotion, age, gender, health, technological competence and so forth. As argued in this thesis, complex

multiplicity cannot be elucidated by just one set of theoretical approaches, whether from the fields of globalisation, transnationalism or migration and settlement.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis has investigated Japanese women's experiences of international marriage and theorised them in relation to globalisation. It has illustrated the nature of international marriages between Japanese women and Australian men highlighting the significance of transnationalism in the context of contemporary globalisation. This study contributes to the growing body of marriage migration studies which seek to detail issues arising from the specific realities and national contexts of international marriage. In the case study presented here, those issues concern globalisation, hypergamy, *akogare* and practices of transnationalism.

The thesis argues that the particular migration and settlement experiences of Japanese women involve a unique combination of positive and negative factors many of which were not anticipated by the women prior to their migration. The main negative features of their experiences of international marriage are racism, downward career mobility and social isolation. Japanese women's transnational connections reflect their corporal and subjective experiences of shifting mobility and changing identity. This is not to say that Japanese women in international marriages are unhappy with their situation or regret their decisions; instead, it points to their strength and resolve to keep their families together and sustain relationships over distance and space. In this way this study illuminates the complexities, vulnerabilities and shifting nature of

transnationalism. Contrary to popular assumptions in the literature, transnationalism does not automatically occur in the same way for all groups of people when they cross borders and find themselves needing to sustain connections with friends and family back home. Rather, it is affected by a range of factors including gender, socio-economic status, family situation and the historical and social contexts of host and sending nations.

Investigating the experiences of Japanese women required a feminist research perspective since it is this approach that argues that, in order to understand the situation of women, it is important to focus on women's accounts and to present women's viewpoints. Feminist-informed research enabled me to illuminate the details of Japanese women's understandings of international marriage in a way that goes beyond the scope of non-feminist research methodologies. Rich, insightful data grounded in small-scale research is only possible when applying a qualitative research method that allows the detailed narratives of data to be examined. Unstructured interviews allowed the exploration of Japanese women's experiences of international marriage, migration and transnational connections in a way that took account of the differences between their stories. Qualitative research allowed the study to capture the detailed accounts of individual experience and also to interpret such experience in the context of broader social and global structures. Finally, through the use of reflexivity I was able to locate myself as a Japanese man in relation to participants in international marriage discourse, a discourse which positions Japanese men as undesirable outsiders. Furthermore, in responding to my

own emotions and feelings during fieldwork, I was able to enhance my understanding of the nature of the qualitative research process, in which the researcher is not simply the distanced, objective scientist, but a gendered person who is part of the research and who both affects participants and is affected by them in many ways.

There were several key objectives to the thesis. First, I sought to highlight three interrelated social phenomena: international marriage, migration and settlement, and transnationalism, in order to shed light on their interrelationships. There have been other studies with these themes, but none has integrated all three aspects and focused on the Japanese–Australian context. The result of this study demonstrates how these three processes are related and inform one another. Second, my investigation of international marriage and migration sought to offer a novel research perspective—that of a Japanese man using a feminist perspective and to offer new and unique insights into the topic. Studies of international marriage predominantly involve women migrants and have primarily been investigated by female scholars exploring the accounts of other women. Few male scholars, let alone Japanese men, apart from Nitta (Nitta 1988, 1989), have entered the field to examine the realm of international marriage linking. Finally, the study aimed to provide an account of international marriages between developed countries. Migration studies as well as transnationalism research are predominantly focused on the narratives of women from less economically developed societies. While these women comprise the bulk of international marriage migrants, accounts of their counterparts from developed countries are often missing. This study used the case of Japanese women to illuminate

the differences and similarities between their experiences of international marriage and those of other Asian women in such unions.

Issues affecting the research process

As stated earlier, studies of international marriage are commonly conducted by female scholars. Not surprisingly this is because women researchers have understood the importance of, and paid more attention to the lives and experiences of other women. However, my entering the field generated some complications, a major one being that I was an unmarried, male researcher studying married women. When people learned of the nature of my research topic, the first question they tended to ask was ‘are you in an international marriage?’ My negative response to the question often perplexed them; why should someone with no experience of international marriage, or marriage at all, be interested in such a topic? My unmarried status did not therefore give me automatic access to the realm of international marriage research and to some extent presented an invisible barrier to my exploration of the topic. This was sometimes a difficult and uncomfortable position to be in. Although this position challenged me as a researcher, it also enabled me to manage and reconfigure my status as an outsider to the international marriage community. While it may have closed off the investigation of some dimensions of international marriage, such as the interpersonal dynamics of my participants and their partners, it also opened up an opportunity to generate other understandings about particular aspects of women’s experiences. For instance, women in international marriages may not be conscious of the cultural and gendered ideologies informing their behaviour, such as their choice

of marriage partner or taking up a homemaker and caregiver role. From the perspective of a male researcher, the justification of some of their decisions was novel and fresh, and occasionally astonishing. One participant met her partner while they were travelling and married him almost immediately. Migration decisions were also of interest to me because they did not appear to involve a great deal of negotiation about where the couples would reside and some Japanese women did not seem at all concerned about this. It seemed to me that such a decision was a significant life choice and the way such decisions were made was quite unfamiliar. I also became aware of the importance of women's relationships with their mothers and the significance of this in the process of transnationalism - something of which I had no experience or understanding. The thesis is thus also a reflection of my own position as a male in relation to marriage, migration and transnationalism, and as such may have resulted in my highlighting different themes from female scholars.

Much though I found the qualitative research process to be productive, it was also difficult at times, and the interpretation and analysis of data was a source of great concern. I wanted to show and prove the truth of a situation in order to generate broader understandings and generalisations that could be applied to all studies of international marriage. However, qualitative research focuses on a small number of samples in order to produce rich insights, it does not aim to create meta-narratives to provide a final verification of theories. In qualitative data analysis, interpretation is sifted through the researcher's identity, standpoint, subject position and theoretical stance. The researcher thus becomes the key tool of analysis and this forced me into

an ongoing and difficult process of constantly questioning my own interpretations, and interrogating how 'I' was affecting and construing my data and representing the experience of my participants and their conscious and unconscious realities. This allowed the further enrichment of the study and is clearly not the concern of large-scale studies, but while these issues are characteristics of qualitative research and it facilitated the research process, it was not always easy to sustain the openness and involvement demanded by the approach.

Results and findings

It is clear from this research that the assumption that international marriage is simply a matter of romance and love between two individuals who manage to conquer the barriers of culture, language and distance is problematic. International marriage is not just a consequence of romance but is also affected by many other factors. This is not only the case in international marriage—non-international marriage must also be understood as being affected by other matters other than interpersonal attraction, though these are downplayed in our commonsense assumptions about the nature of the institution. In the case of Japanese women, globalisation, *akogare* for the west and the notion of hypergamy are intertwined to sustain a desire for international relationships and international marriage.

Japanese women's global mobility is directed toward the west via travel, study and work, and sets the global stage for them to encounter western men. Many participants' initial contact occurred while they were travelling, studying or working

in Australia, or while their Australian partners were doing the same in Japan. Narrative accounts of global mobility among Japanese women are unprecedented, even for the previous generation of Japanese war brides. The possibility of global romance and marriage is an effect of globalisation.

Akogare involves a longing for the west and a desire for western culture. Mastering English, trips to the English-speaking countries, watching Hollywood movies and listening to western music are common in Japan, and for many Japanese women this generates enhanced *akogare*. Under globalisation, international marriage and migration are achievable for Japanese women. Finally, the thesis identifies the importance of global hypergamy practiced in marriage partner selection and relates it to *akogare*. The racial status of white western men represents upward mobility in the discourse of global hypergamy. Race and the discourse of *akogare* generate admiration for western culture. International marriage thus facilitates global hypergamy and reinforces the perception of Japanese women that marriage to western men is an ideal condition.

However, this study has also revealed the unanticipated realities of migration and settlement. The experiences of racism, downward career mobility and social isolation challenge some migrant Japanese women to reinterpret their expectations of international marriage, migration and settlement. The experience of racialisation—their positioning as Asian women—and racism comes as a surprise to those who believe that Australia is a harmonious, multicultural society. This common image of

Australia circulates in the tourism and international education industry, giving the impression that there is no racial prejudice or discrimination here.

Due to the difficulties of finding work in Australia, some women chose to become full-time homemakers although the reason they had sought the association with the west in the first place was their desire to find a better career than seemed possible in Japan. The experience of racism and of being a full-time homemaker generates social isolation. Yet, many Japanese women manage to negotiate these unanticipated difficulties and organise their new lives in Australia; even the refusal to acknowledge racism can be regarded as a way of managing in a potentially hostile environment. This demonstrates that Japanese women in this thesis draw on internal resources and strength to deal with difficult life issues, this point may be applicable more broadly to all women encountering the challenges of international marriage.

The transnationalism of Japanese women is illustrated by their frequent visits home to Japan, as well as the increased mobility of their family members from Japan. Email, webcam and weblogs are all used to generate transnationalism through the 'virtual' sphere. Beyond conventional understandings of transnationalism, this thesis has argued that the case of Japanese women in international marriages allows us to examine transnationalism from different perspectives. Subjective transnationalism highlights the transnational connections of Japanese women and their family members at an emotional level which, apart from sustaining connections with home, also causes tension and sadness. Such emotions often emerge when family members

are in need because it reminds the women of their absence from the family. Intergenerational transnationalism shows how Japanese women and their children in Australia link up with their parents and grandparents in Japan, and underlines the importance of biculturalism and bilingualism. Bilingual education enables children to maintain connections across space and generations. Finally, this thesis stresses the shifting nature of transnationalism. Transnationalism is not fixed but changes and is reconfigured in relation to matters such as family care, access to technology and family disruptions, and generates unevenness in its practices.

The experiences of Japanese women told here highlight the ways in which they engage in transnationalism successfully to operate and maintain relationships, connections and activities between Australia and Japan. While their activities are located at the micro-level of interpersonal connection, their transnational activities also have a macro-level impact on Australian society as well. What they have accomplished through transnationalism generates further elements of transnationalism to facilitate long-term economic, political and cultural relationships and understandings. Transnationalism connects individuals who are located across great distances by bringing them together physically, virtually and subjectively. Transnationalism, as argued in this study, is a part of the contemporary globalisation that enables migrants to locate themselves in new social spaces, spaces that are located neither entirely in their host society nor in their homeland. This thesis has argued that female marriage migration is the vanguard of a new form of transnationalism that will create a new society and space in-between nation-states.

International marriage affects many aspects of society and is a fascinating research topic. It is not only related to social psychology and domestic social structure, but also affected by and has an impact on international and global social structures. This makes it a complicated topic of investigation because case studies seeking to shed light on the phenomenon are related to local and global contexts. Because the area of study is so broad and stretches across multiple levels, topics and fields, an examination of international marriage can easily lose focus. For instance, international marriage touches upon issues of race, ethnicity, gender, political economy, migration, legal studies and gender studies. However, this likewise means that its study is important to many areas and dimensions of contemporary global society.

Globalisation is a key to understanding Japanese women's international marriage because it is the wider social milieu that enhances mobility, connectivity and global consciousness. Because globalisation is such a key concept in economics, politics and culture, and plays an important role in an individual's life course in relation to romance, decision-making, consciousness and subjectivity, without an understanding of globalisation, we cannot obtain a full picture of international marriage. Studies of globalisation are unbounded in terms of their capacity to provide understanding of the contexts within which people conduct their personal lives and social relations. This is because it combines and blends the social field from country to country, people to people, culture to culture, and imagination to imagination. Without an account of globalisation, it is not possible fully to understand and discuss the nature of contemporary society.

The future of international marriage

International marriage, migration and transnationalism, along with globalisation, all appear to reduce the impact of national boundaries as well as the importance of race, culture, gender and citizenship. These three elements mutually influence one another: international marriage generates migration and migration generates transnationalism. International marriage creates transnational connections at local levels in both host and homeland, and further influences the macro-level social structures of both. Migration further facilitates the circulation of human beings and transnationalism generates connections between nation-states. Under such conditions cultural hybridity or the blending of cultures (Bhabha 2001) will increase and a 'borderless world' will emerge. However, it is important to remark on the possibility of an increase in international marriage, migration and transnationalism generating the opposite conditions. Instead of facilitating the greater blending of culture and tolerance of difference between countries, transnationalism may well increase the sense of violation within cultures and nation-states. Cultures and communities might feel that their values and differences are under threat. Transnationalism may therefore create more tension and antagonism between cultures and nation-states. We also cannot ignore the fact that national borders do exist and are sometimes reinforced, strengthened and protected further when nation-states regard themselves as under threat of 'invasion' by other cultures. Thus, the idea of a borderless and culturally hybrid world led by the vanguard, transnational women, should not be celebrated too hastily.

The qualitative research for this thesis provided an opportunity for me to explore my own research interests and later reshape them. The flexibility of qualitative research is important to mention for while it can be difficult and confusing, it assists us to find unexpected elements of research topics and to investigate further into what things mean. In this, it is true research since findings and processes are often unpredictable and unimagined. Unfortunately, this research could only focus on women. Study of men's accounts may show important, interesting distinctions and similarities and further enhance our understanding of international marriage, migration and transnationalism. A feminist perspective is important to show previously invisible aspects of society by illuminating women's accounts. Feminism argues that it provides a more holistic account of conditions because it does not overlook the experience of women; however, comparative accounts might generate more complete understandings of international marriage, which not only include men's experiences but also differentiates between women in relation to culture, race and social class. Indeed, broadening the field of international marriage and marriage migration would elucidate the ways in which gender affects the lives of men and women, and the possibility of understanding the experiences of human beings beyond gender dichotomisation.

A comparative study of what international marriage means for western men and Japanese women who reside in Japan would be an interesting direction for further research in the field. Also of value would be comparative study of transnationalism which looked at migrants who were forced to children and their parents as opposed to those who were able to take their children but. To a large extent this decision is an

economic one, and would enable a consideration of the social class, a dimension which was downplayed in this analysis due a focus on middle-class participants.

The field of international marriage has grown since this research commenced in 2006. At that time, studies of ‘mail order brides’ and interracial marriage comprised the bulk of scholarship and literature in the field. Recently, studies in the field of marriage migration have focused on a broader range of issues and addressed different international marriage contexts. They have raised awareness and highlighted the significance of a field which is becoming significant as a distinct area of research in the social sciences, rather than a supporting component of migration studies, or marriage and family studies.

Finally, although the negative consequences of migration have been detailed in this thesis, Australia manages to accommodate Japanese people relatively easily, particularly in large cities. The Asian population in Australia has affected Australian culture and cuisine. Moreover, the close proximity between Japan and Australia is likely to facilitate the movement of more migrants and workers into Australia. One of the participants in this study who had lived in Europe mentioned that in comparison, living in Australia was much easier for Japanese people because formal and informal Japanese communities, support groups and foundations are widespread. The large number of Japanese students in Australia also means that there are more chances for Australians and Japanese people to encounter one another. All this suggests that Japanese and Australian connections are likely to increase rather than decrease, and

that transnationalism is likely to be extended and deepened in novel and interesting ways.

References

- Adams, J 2004, "'This is not where I belong!' the emotional, ongoing, and collective aspects', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 459-484.
- Aldridge, D 1978, 'Interracial marriages: empirical and theoretical considerations', *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 355-368.
- Ambert, A, Adler, PA, Adler, P & Detzner, D 1995, 'Understanding and evaluating qualitative research', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 57, no. 4, pp. 879-893.
- Anderson, B 1991, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Verso, New York.
- Ang, I 1996, 'The curse of the smile: ambivalence and the 'Asian' woman in Australian multiculturalism', *Feminist Review*, no. 52, pp. 36-49.
- Appadurai, A 1996, *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Arichi, T & Ueki, T 2008, *Nihono kazoku* [Japanese family], Kaichousha, Fukuoka.
- Asis, M, Huang, S & Yeoh, B 2004, 'When the light of the home is abroad: unskilled female migration and the Filipino family', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 198-215.
- Bailey, K 2006, 'Marketing the eikaiwa wonderland: ideology, akogare, and gender alterity in English conversation school advertising in Japan', *Environment and Planning D-Society & Space*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 105-30.

- Bailey, K 2007, 'Akogare, ideology, and 'charisma man' mythology: reflections on ethnographic research in English language schools in Japan', *Gender Place and Culture*, vol. 14, no. 5, pp. 585-608.
- Baldassar, L, Baldock, C & Wilding, R 2007, *Families caring across borders: migration, ageing and transnational caregiving*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.
- Barnett, L 1963, 'Research on international and interracial marriages', *Marriage and Family Living*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 105-107.
- Barot, R & Bird, J 2001, 'Racialization: the genealogy and critique of a concept', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 601-618.
- Bellas, M 1992, 'The effects of marital status and wives' employment on the salaries of faculty men', *Gender & Society*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 609-622.
- Bentley, A 2003, 'Japanese women in Australia from 1890s-1950s: positioning Japanese war brides in the Australian national imaginary', MPhil thesis, University of Sydney.
- Berg, B 2004, *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, 5th edn, Pearson, Boston.
- Bernard, J 1973, *The future of marriage*, Bantam Books, New York.
- Bhabha, H 2001, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London.
- Birbili, M 2000, 'Translating from one language to another', *Social Research Update*, issue 31.

- Blanc-Szanton, C, Basch, L & Schiller, G 1992, *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism reconsidered*, New York Academy of Sciences, New York.
- Blanc-Szanton, C, Basch, L & Schiller, G 1994, *Nations unbound: transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*, Gordon and Breach, Amsterdam.
- Blanc-Szanton, C, Basch, L & Schiller, G 1995, 'From immigrant to transmigrant: theorizing transnational migration', *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 48-63.
- Blau, P 1986, *Exchange and power in social life*, 2nd edn, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- Borjas, G 1989, 'Economic theory and international migration', *The International Migration Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, p. 457-485.
- Borneman, J 2005, 'Marriage today', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 30-33.
- Bothe, A & Andreatta, R 2004, 'Quantitative and qualitative research paradigms: thoughts on the quantity and the creativity of stuttering research', *International Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 167-173.
- Boyd, C 1989, 'Mothers and daughters: a discussion of theory and research', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 291-301.
- Brettell, C & Hollifield, J 2000, *Migration theory: talking across disciplines*, Routledge, New York.

- Bumpass, L & Tsuya, N 2004, *Marriage, work, and family life in comparative perspective : Japan, South Korea, and the United States*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Burgess, C 2004a, 'Maintaining identities: discourses of homogeneity in a rapidly globalizing Japan', *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies*, viewed 20 September 2006 <<http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/Burgess.html>>.
- Burgess, C 2004b, '(Re)constructing identities: international marriage migrants as potential agents of social change in a globalizing Japan', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 223-242.
- Cahill, D 1990, *Intermarriages in international contexts: a study of Filipina women married to Australian, Japanese and Swiss men*, Scalabrini Migration Centre, Quezon City, Philippines.
- Callan, J & Gallois, C 1987, 'Anglo-Australians' and immigrants' attitudes toward language and accent: a review of experimental and survey research', *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 48-69.
- Castles, S 2000, 'International migration at the beginning of the twenty-first century: global trends and issues', *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 52, no. 3, pp. 269-281.
- Castles, S & Miller, M 2003, *The age of migration*, 3rd edn, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

- Chen, Y 2008, 'The significance of cross-border marriage in a low fertility society: evidence from Taiwan', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 331-352.
- Cherlin, A 2004, 'The deinstitutionalization of American marriage', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 66, no. 4, pp. 848-861.
- Clark, J & Legge, J 1997, 'Economics, racism, and attitudes toward immigration in the new Germany', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 4, pp. 901-917.
- Constable, N 2003, *Romance on a global stage: pen pals, virtual ethnography, and 'mail order' marriages*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Constable, N (ed.) 2005, *Cross-border marriage: gender and mobility in transnational Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Cooke, F 1986, *Australian-Filipino marriages in the 1980s: the myth and the reality*, The Center for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, School of Modern Asian Studies, Griffith University, Nathan.
- Correia, H 2003, 'Higher male educational hypergamy: evidence from Portugal', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 303-313.
- Cottrell, AB 1990, 'Cross-national marriage: a review of the literature', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 151-169.
- Crotty, M 1998, *The foundations of social research: meaning and perspective in the research process*, Sage, London.
- Curran, SR, Shafer, S, Donato, KM & Garip, F 2006, 'Mapping gender and migration in sociological scholarship: is it segregation or integration?', *International Migration Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 199-223.

- Day, LH & Icduygu, A 1997, 'The consequences of international migration for the status of women: a Turkish study', *International Migration*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 337-371.
- Delphy, C & Leonard, D 1992, *Familiar exploitation: a new analysis of marriage in contemporary Western Societies*, Polity Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Del Rosario, VO 1994, 'Lifting the smoke screen: dynamics of mail-order bride migration from the Philippines', PhD thesis, Institute of Social Studies (The Hague).
- Denman, J 2008, 'A sociocultural investigation of the diasporic experience of Japanese wives in Japanese-Australian intermarriage families: a South East Queensland case study', Honours thesis, University of Queensland.
- DFAT (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade), Government of Australia, 2008, 'Women - towards equality', Canberra, viewed 10 May 2009 <<http://www.dfat.gov.au/facts/women.html>>.
- DIC (Department of Immigration and Citizenship), Government of Australia, 2009, 'Visas, Immigration and Refugees: Family Members', Canberra, viewed 3 December 2009 <<http://www.immi.gov.au/migrants/partners/partner/820-801/>>.
- DIC (Department of Immigration and Citizenship), Government of Australia, 2009, 'Visas, Immigration and Refugees: Working Holiday', Canberra, viewed 3 December 2009 <<http://www.immi.gov.au/visitors/working-holiday/417/>>.

- Ehara, Y 2005, '*Jenda ishiki no henyou to kekkon kaihi*', in Y Meguro & H Nishioka (eds), *Syoushika no jenda bunseki* [Gender analysis of declining birthrate], Keiso Shobou, Tokyo.
- Eichenbaum, L & Orbach, S 1985, *Understanding women*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Elwood, SA & Martin, D. G 2000, '"Placing" interviews: location and scales of power in qualitative research', *The Professional Geographer*, vol. 52, no. 4, pp. 649-657.
- Enari, T 2000, *Hanayome no Amerika : saigetsu no fukei, 1978-1998*, Shueisha, Tokyo.
- Endo, M 1989, *Cherry Parker no atsui fuyu* [war bride: a long way to Australia], Shinchosha, Tokyo.
- Essed, P 1990, *Everyday racism: reports from women of two cultures*, Hunter House, Alameda, California.
- Faier, L 2007, 'Filipina migrants in rural Japan and their professions of love', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 148-162.
- Falicov, C 2005, 'Emotional transnationalism and family identities', *Family Process*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 399-406.
- Flyvbjerg, B 2006, 'Five misunderstandings about case-study research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 219-45.
- Foner, N 1998, 'Benefits and burdens: immigrant women and work in New York City', *Gender Issues*, vol. 16, no. 4, p. 5-24.
- Fortune, G 2006, 'Mr Jones' wives': war brides, marriage, immigration and identity formation', *Womens History Review*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 587-599.

- Franklin, S 1996, *The sociology of gender*, Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, , Vermont, US.
- Freidenberg, J, Imperiale, G & Skovron, ML 1988, 'Migrant careers and well-being of women', *International Migration Review*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 208-225.
- Fu, VK 2001, 'Racial intermarriage pairings', *Demography*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 147-159.
- Fu, XN 2008, 'Interracial marriage and family socio-economic well-being: equal status exchange or caste status exchange?', *Social Science Journal*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 132-155.
- Fujimura-Fanselow, K & Kameda, A 1995, *Japanese women: new feminist perspectives on the past, present, and future*, Feminist Press at the City University of New York, New York.
- Fujita, Y 2004, 'Young Japanese 'cultural migrants' and the construction of their imagined west', *Communication and Culture*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 23-37.
- Furstenberg, F. F, Jr 2001, 'The fading dream: prospects for marriage in the inner-city', in E Anderson & DS Massey (eds), *Problem of the century : racial stratification in the United States*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Garcia, DR 2006, 'Mixed marriages and transnational families in the intercultural context: a case study of African-Spanish couples in Catalonia', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 403-433.
- Gelles, R 1995, *Contemporary families: a sociological view*, SAGE Publication, London.

- Ghosh, B 2000, *Managing migration: time for a new international regime?*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Giddens, A 1984, *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*, Polity, Cambridge.
- Giddens, A 1990, *The consequences of modernity*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
- Gilbert, N 2008, *Researching social life*, 3rd edn, Sage, Los Angeles, California.
- Gilding, M 1997, *Australian families: a comparative perspective*, Addison Wesley Longman, Melbourne.
- Gillis, J 2004, 'Marriages of the mind', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 66, no. 4, pp. 988-991.
- Glenn, E 1986, *Issei, Nisei, war bride: three generations of Japanese American women in domestic service*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Goffman, E 1990, *The presentation of self in everyday life*, Doubleday, New York.
- Gray, D 2004, *Doing research in the real world*, Sage, London.
- Gulati, L 1997, 'Asian women in international migration with special reference to domestic work and entertainment', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 32, no. 47, pp. 3029-3035.
- Habu, T 2000, 'The irony of globalization: the experience of Japanese women in British higher education', *Higher Education*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 43-66.
- Hage, G 2000, *White nation: fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society*, Routledge, New York.

- Harding, SG 1987, *Feminism and methodology: social science issues*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.
- Hartman, M & Stinner, W 1982, 'International migration and labor-force participation of married-women', *Population and Environment*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 123-136.
- Harvey, D 1989, *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Head, J 2004, 'Japanese women', BBC Online News, viewed May 18 2009 <
<http://www.jref.com/forum/showthread.php?t=12186>>.
- Healey, J 2003, *Racism in Australia*, Spinney Press, Rozelle, AU.
- Heaton, TB & Albrecht, SL 1996, 'The changing pattern of interracial marriage', *Social Biology*, vol. 43, no. 3-4, pp. 203-217.
- Hendry, J 2003, *Understanding Japanese society*, 3rd edn, Routledge Curzon, London.
- Herod, A 1993, 'Gender issues in the use of interviewing as a research method', *The Professional Geographer*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 305-317.
- Hirai, A 2008, *Nihono kazoku to life course* [Japanese family and life course], Mineruba Shobou, Kyoto.
- Ho, C 1993, 'The internationalization of kinship and the feminization of caribbean migration: the case of Afro-Trinidadian immigrants in Los-Angeles', *Human Organization*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 32-40.
- Hollinsworth, D 2006, *Race and racism in Australia*, 3rd edn, Thomson/Social Science Press, Melbourne.

- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P & Avila, E 1997, "'I'm here, but I'm there": the meanings of Latina transnational motherhood', *Gender & Society*, vol. 11, no. 5, pp. 548-571.
- Hyman, H 1954, *Interviewing in social research*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Ichimoto, T 2004, 'Ambivalent 'selves' in transition: a case study of Japanese women studying in Australian universities', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 247-269.
- Ichimoto, T 2005, 'Recrafting 'selves': identity transformation among Japanese women students studying in Australian universities', PhD thesis, University of Queensland.
- Imamura, A 1988, 'The loss that has no name: social womanhood of foreign wives', *Gender and Society*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 291-307.
- Izuhara, M & Shibata, H 2001, 'Migration and old age: Japanese women growing older in British society', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 571-586.
- Jupp, J 1995, 'From White Australia to part of Asia: recent shifts in Australian immigration policy towards the region', *International Migration Review*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 207-228.
- Kalmijn, M, Graaf, P & Janssen, J 2003, 'Intermarriage and the risk of divorce in the Netherlands: the effects of differences in religion and in nationality, 1974-94', *Population Studies*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 71-85.

- Kamler, B & Threadgold, T 2003, 'Translating difference: questions of representation in cross-cultural research encounters', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 137-151.
- Kamoto, I 2001, *Kokusai kekkon no tanjo: bunmeikoku Nihon e no michi* [The emergence of kokusai kekkon: on becoming a civilized nation], Shinyosha, Tokyo.
- Kamoto, I 2008, *kokusai Kekkonnron: gendai hen* [international marriage theory: contemporary version], Houristu Bunkasha, Kyoto.
- Kanbara, F, Sugii, J & Takeda, M 2009, *Gendai kazoku* [The Contemporary family], Mineruba Shobou, Kyoto.
- Kearney, M 1995, 'The local and the global: the anthropology of globalization and transnationalism', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 24, pp. 547-565.
- Kelsky, K 1994, 'Intimate ideologies: transnational theory and Japan's yellow cabs', *Public Culture*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 465-478.
- Kelsky, K 1999, 'Gender, modernity, and eroticized internationalism in Japan', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 229-255.
- Kelsky, K 2001a, 'Who sleeps with whom, or how (not) to want the west in Japan', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 418-435.
- Kelsky, K 2001b, *Women on the verge: Japanese women, Western dreams*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.
- Kim, C 1972, 'Casework with Japanese and Korean wives of Americans', *Social Casework*, vol. 53, pp. 273-279.
- Kimmel, S 2000, *The gendered society*, Oxford University Press, New York.

- Kinoshita, K, Hosaka, E & Sono, Y 2008, *Kazoku shakaigaku* [Sociology of family], Kyushu Daigaku Shuttspan, Fukuoka.
- Kitano, H, Yeung, WT, Chai, L & Hatanaka, H 1984, 'Asian-American interracial marriage', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 179-190.
- Kivisto, P 2001, 'Theorizing transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 549-577.
- Kobayashi, A 2002, 'Migration as a negotiation of gender: recent Japanese immigrant women in Canada', in LR Hirabayashi, A Kikumura-Yano & JA Hirabayashi (eds), *New worlds, new lives: globalization and people of Japanese descent in the Americas and from Latin America in Japan*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
- Kobayashi, Y 2007, 'Japanese working women and English study abroad', *World Englishes*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 62-71.
- Konishi, T 1998, *Taishukan's genius Japanese-English dictionary*, Taishukan, Tokyo.
- Kurland, M 1953, 'Romantic love and economic consideration: a cultural comparison', *Journal of Educational Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 72-79.
- Labov, J & Labov G 2002, 'Gender differentials in intermarriage among sixteen race and ethnic groups', *Sociological Forum*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 621-646.
- Lan, PC 2003, '"They have more money but I speak better English!": transnational encounters between Filipina domestics and Taiwanese employers', *Identities-Global Studies in Culture and Power*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 133-161.
- Lauser, A 2008, 'Philippine women on the move: marriage across borders', *International Migration*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 85-110.

- Lawson, V 1995, 'The politics of difference: examining the quantitative/qualitative dualism in post-structuralist feminist research', *The Professional Geographer*, vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 449-457.
- Lazar, MM 2004, *Feminist critical discourse analysis: gender, power and ideology in discourse*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Lengermann, MP & Niebrugge-Brantley, J 2008, 'Contemporary feminist theory', in G Ritzer (ed.), *Sociological theory*, 7th edn, McGraw, Boston.
- Levitt, P & Waters, MC 2002, *The changing face of home: the transnational lives of the second generation*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Ma, K 1996, *The modern Madame Butterfly: fantasy and reality in Japanese cross-cultural relationships*, Charles E. Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont.
- Mahler, SJ & Pessar, PR 2001, 'Gendered geographies of power: analyzing gender across transnational spaces', *Identities-Global Studies in Culture and Power*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 441-459.
- Mahler, SJ & Pessar, PR 2006, 'Gender matters: ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies', *International Migration Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 27-63.
- Maley, B 2001, *Family and marriage in Australia*, Centre for Independent Studies, St Leonards.
- Marx, K 1977, *A contribution to the critique of political economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow.
- Matsuo, H 2005, *Kokusai rikon* [international divorce], Shueisha, Tokyo.

- Matthews, J 2002, 'An ambiguous juncture: racism and the formation of Asian femininity', *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 17, no. 38, pp. 207-219.
- May, T 2001, *Social research: issues, methods and process*, 3rd edn, Open University, Buckingham.
- Maykut, PS & Morehouse, R 1994, *Beginning qualitative research: a philosophic and practical guide*, Falmer Press, Washington, D.C.
- Maynard, M 1998, 'Feminist knowledge and the knowledge of feminist epistemology theory, methodolgy and method', in T May & M Williams (eds), *Knowing the social world*, Open University, Backingham.
- McDonald, GW 1981, 'Structural exchange and marital interaction', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 825-839.
- McKeganey, N & Bloor, M 1991, 'Spotting the invisible man: the influence of male gender on fieldwork relations', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 195-210.
- Meguro, Y 2007, *Kazoku shakaigaku no paradime* [The Paradigm of sociology of family], Keisoushobou, Tokyo.
- Merriam, SB 1998, *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*, 2nd edn, Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco.
- Merton, RK 1941, 'Intercultural marriage and social structure: facts and theory', *Psychiatry*, vol. 4, p. 361-374.
- Merton, RK 1968, *Social theory and social structure*, The Free Press, New York.
- Minichiello, V, Aroni, R & Hays, TN 2008, *In-depth interviewing: principles, techniques, analysis*, 3rd edn, Pearson Education Australia, Sydney.

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2007, *kaigai zairyu houjin chousa toukei* [Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas], viewed May 17 2009 <<http://www.mofa.go.jp/Mofaj/toko/tokei/hojin/08/pdfs/1.pdf>>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2008, *Japan-Australia Relations*, viewed May 17 2009 <<http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/australia/index.html>>.
- Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare 2006, *Nihonno kokusai kekkon toukei* (*Statistics on Japanese International Marriage*), viewed May 17 2009, <<http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/jinkou/suii07/marr2.html>>.
- Mishler, EG 1986, *Research interviewing: context and narrative*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Mohanadoss, T 1995, 'Hypergamy and its inherent contradictions', *Anthropos*, vol. 90, no. 4-6, pp. 558-563.
- Montgomery, D 2001, 'Racism, immigrants, and political reform', *Journal of American History*, vol. 87, no. 4, pp. 1253-1274.
- Murray, CI & Kimura, N 2003, 'The multiplicity of paths to couple formation in Japan', in RR Hamon & BB Ingoldsby (eds), *Couple formation across cultures*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Nagata, Y 1996, *Unwanted aliens: Japanese internment in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.
- Nakamatsu, T 2002, 'Marriage, migration and the international marriage business in Japan', Ph D thesis, Murdoch University.

- Nakamatsu, T 2005, 'Faces of "Asian brides": gender, race, and class in the representations of immigrant women in Japan', *Womens Studies International Forum*, vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 405-417.
- Nemoto, K 2008, 'Postponed marriage: exploring women's views of matrimony and work in Japan', *Gender & Society*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 219-237.
- Neuman, W. L 2003, *Social research method: qualitative and quantitative approaches*, 5th edn, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- Newman, D. M & Grauerholz, E 2002, *Sociology of families*, 2nd edn, Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Nitta, F 1988, 'Kokusai kekkon: trends in intercultural marriage in Japan', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 12, pp. 205-232.
- Nitta, F 1989, *The Japanese father, American mother, and their children: bicultural socialization experiences in Japan*, Akashi Shoten, Tokyo.
- O'Leary, Z 2005, *The essential guide to doing research*, Vistaar Publications, New Delhi.
- Oakley, A & Mitchell, J 1998, *Who's afraid of feminism?: seeing through the backlash*, Penguin, London.
- Ong, A 1999, *Flexible citizenship: the cultural logics of transnationality*, Duke University Press, Durham.
- Ono, H & Piper, N 2004, 'Japanese women studying abroad, the case of the United States', *Womens Studies International Forum*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 101-118.
- Onwuegbuzie, AJ & Leech, NL 2005, 'On becoming a pragmatic researcher: the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies',

International Journal of Social Research Methodology, vol. 8, no. 5, pp. 375-387.

Palriwala, R, & Uberoi, P 2008, *Marriage, migration and gender: women and migration in Asia*, Sage, New Delhi.

Papastergiadis, N 2000, *The turbulence of migration: globalization, deterritorialization, and hybridity*, Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, Malden.

Park, CB 2008, 'Women and international migration: background of the feminization of migration and its implications', *Asian Women*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 1-16.

Park, K 2008, "'I can provide for my children": Korean immigrant women's changing perspectives on work outside the home', *Gender Issues*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 26-42.

Parrenas, R 2001, 'Mothering from a distance: emotions, gender, and intergenerational relations in Filipino transnational families', *Feminist Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 361-390.

Parrenas, R 2005, 'Long distance intimacy: class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families', *Global Networks*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 317-336.

Parsons, T 1968, *The structure of social action: a study in social theory with special reference to a group of recent European writers*, The Free Press, New York.

Pedraza, S 1991, 'Women and migration: the social-consequences of gender', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 17, pp. 303-325.

- Pellegrino, ED 2008, 'Commentary on "of more than one mind"', *Journal of Clinical Ethics*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 22-23.
- Peña, ED 2007, 'Lost in translation: methodological considerations in cross-cultural research', *Child Development*, vol. 78, no. 4, pp. 1255-1264.
- Penny, J & Khoo, SE 1996, *Intermarriage: a study of migration and integration*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- Pessar, PR & Mahler, S. J 2003, 'Transnational migration: bringing gender in', *International Migration Review*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 812-846.
- Piper, N 1997, 'International marriage in Japan: 'race' and 'gender' perspectives', *Gender, Place and Culture*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 321-338.
- Piper, N & Roces, M 2003, *Wife or worker?: Asian women and migration*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham.
- Plummer, K 2003, *Intimate citizenship: private decisions and public dialogues*, University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Porter, M 1994, 'Second-hand ethnography': some problems in analysing a feminist Project', in A Bryman & R Burgess (eds), *Analysing Qualitative Data*, Routledge, London.
- Portes, A 2001, 'Introduction: the debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism', vol. 3, pp. 181-194.
- Portes, A 2003, 'Conclusion: theoretical convergencies and empirical evidence in the study of immigrant transnationalism', *International Migration Review*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 874-892.

- Portes, A, Guarnizo, LE & Landolt, P 1999, 'The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 217-237.
- Punch, K 2003, *Introduction to social research: quantitative and qualitative approaches*, Sage, London.
- Qian, ZC 1997, 'Breaking the racial barriers: variations in interracial marriage between 1980 and 1990', *Demography*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 263-276.
- Rebbun, LA 2007, 'The strange marriage of love and interest: economic change and emotional intimacy in Northeast Brazil, private and public', in M Padilla (ed.), *Love and globalization: transformations of intimacy in the contemporary world*, Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville.
- Rebick, M & Takenaka, A 2006, *The changing Japanese family*, Routledge, New York.
- Retherford, RD, Ogawa, N & Matsukura, R 2001, 'Late marriage and less marriage in Japan', *Population and Development Review*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 65-102.
- Robertson, R 1992, *Globalization: social theory and global culture*, Sage, London.
- Romano, D 1988, *Intercultural marriage: promises and pitfalls*, Intercultural Press, Yarmouth, Maine.
- Ryan, L 2008, 'Navigating the emotional terrain of families "here" and "there": women, migration and the management of emotions', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 299 - 313.
- Saenz, R, Hwang, SS & Aguirre, BE 1994, 'In search of Asian War Brides', *Demography*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 549-559.

- Said, E 2003, *Orientalism*, Penguin, London.
- Sarantakos, S 1996, *Modern families: an Australian text*, Palgrave Macmillan, South Melbourne.
- Saroca, N 1997, 'Filipino women, sexual politics, and the gendered racist discourse of the mail order bride', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 89-103.
- Schiffrin, D 1996, 'Narrative as self-portrait: sociolinguistic constructions of identity', *Language in Society*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 167-203.
- Schiller, NG & Fouron, GE 2001, *Georges woke up laughing: long-distance nationalism and the search for home*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.
- Schnepp, GJ & Yui, AM 1995, 'Cultural and marital adjustment of Japanese war brides', *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 48-50.
- Scholte, JA 2005, *Globalization: a critical introduction*, 2nd edn, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Sekiguchi, Y, Fukutou, S, Nagashima, J, Hayakawa, N & Asano, T 2009, *Kazoku to kekkon no rekishi* [The history of family and marriage], Shinwasha, Tokyo.
- Shepherd, G 1991, "'Nihonjinron': challenge to academia", *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 187-192.
- Shinmura, I 1998, *Kojien dictionary*, 5th edn, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.
- Silvey, R 2006, 'Geographies of gender and migration: spatializing social difference', *International Migration Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 64-81.
- Beauvoir, S 1970 *The second sex*, New English Library, London.

- Skachkova, P 2007, 'Academic careers of immigrant women professors in the US', *Higher Education*, vol. 53, no. 6, pp. 697-738.
- Skrbis, Z 2008, 'Transnational families: theorising migration, emotions and belonging', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 231- 246.
- Smith, MP & Guarnizo, L 1998, *Transnationalism from below*, Comparative urban and community research, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- Spybey, T 1996, *Globalization and world society*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Stake, RE 1995, *The art of case study research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Stake, RE 2003, 'Case Studies', in NK Denzin & YS Lincoln (eds), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*, 2nd edn, Sage, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Steel, L & Kidd, W 2001, *The Family*, Palgrave, New York.
- Stoeltje, B. J, Fox, C & Olbrys, S 1999, 'The self in fieldwork', *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 112 no. 444, pp. 158-182.
- Storrs, D 2000, 'Like a bamboo: representation of a Japanese war bride', *Frontiers*, vol. 21, no. 1/2, pp. 194-224.
- Strong, B, DeVault, C & Cohen, TF 2008, *The marriage and family experience: intimate relationships in a changing society*, 10th edn, Thomson/Wadsworth Publishing, Belmont, California.
- Suzuki, N 2000, 'Between two shores: transnational projects and Filipina wives in/from Japan', *Womens Studies International Forum*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 431-444.

- Suzuki, N 2003, 'Transgressing "victims": reading narratives of "Filipina brides" in Japan', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 399-420.
- Suzuki, N 2005, 'Tripartite desire: Filipina-Japanese marriages and fantasies of transnational traversal', in N Constable (ed), *Cross-border marriages: gender and mobility in transnational Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Suzuki, N 2007, 'Marrying a marilyn of the tropics: manhood and nationhood in Filipina-Japanese marriages', *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 80, no. 2, pp. 427-454.
- Svašek, M 2008, 'Who cares? families and feelings in movement', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 213-230.
- Takahashi, K 2006, 'Language desire: a critical ethnography of Japanese women learning English in Australia', Ph D thesis, University of Sydney.
- Takeyasu, H 1997, *Kindaika to kazoku: Chiiki shakai* [Modernisation and family, community], Ochanomizu Shobou, Tokyo.
- Tamura, K 2001, *Michi's memories: the story of a Japanese war bride*, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Tellis, W 1997, 'Results of a case study on information technology at a university', *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 3, no. 4.
- Temple, B 1997, 'Watch your tongue: issues in translation and cross-cultural research', *Sociology*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 607-618.

- Temple, B 2005, 'Nice and tidy: translation and representation', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 10, no. 2, viewed on 17 May 2009, <<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/10/2/temple.html>>.
- Temple, B & Edwards, R 2002, 'Interpreters/translators and cross-language research: reflexivity and border crossings', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 1-12.
- Temple, B & Young, A 2004, 'Qualitative research and translation dilemmas', *Qualitative Research*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 161-178.
- Thai, HC 2008, *For better or for worse: Vietnamese international marriages in the new global economy*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- Tokita, A 2001, 'Crossing cultural boundaries in the context of marriage: Australian-Japanese marriages and the profession of Japanese studies', in Inaga S and Richard, K (eds), *Crossing cultural borders: Towards an ethics of intercultural communication*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto..
- Toyota, M 2008, 'Editorial introduction: international marriage, rights and the state in East and Southeast Asia', *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1-7.
- Ueno, C & Nobuta, S 2004, *Kekkon teikoku onna no wakaremichi*, [The crossroad of marriageable aged women], Kodansha, Tokyo.
- Valentine, G 2006, 'Globalizing Intimacy: the role of information and communication technologies in maintaining and creating relationships', *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 1 & 2, p. 365-394.

- Vertovec, S 1999, 'Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 447-462.
- Vertovec, S & Posey, DA 2003, *Globalization, globalism, environment, and environmentalism: consciousness of connections*, Oxford University Press, Oxford..
- Viruell-Fuentes, EA 2006, "'My heart is always there": the transnational practices of first-generation Mexican immigrant and second-generation Mexican American women', *Identities: Global Studies in Cultures and Power*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 335-362.
- Waldinger, R & Fitzgerald, D 2004, 'Transnationalism in question', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 109, no. 5, pp. 1177-1195.
- Waters, M 1995, *Globalization*, Routledge, New York.
- Weber, M 1981, *General economic history*, Transaction Books, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- Wharton, A 2005, *The sociology of gender: an introduction to theory and research*, Blackwell. Oxford, UK.
- Whitehead, BD & Popenoe, D 2003, *The state of our unions [web resource]: the social health of marriage in America*, National Marriage Project, Rutgers University, Piscataway, NJ, viewed May 17, 2009, <<http://marriage.rutgers.edu/Publications/SOOU/TEXTSOOU2006.htm>>
- Wilding, R 2006, "'Virtual' intimacies? families communicating across transnational contexts', *Global Networks*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 125-142.

- Willis, K 2006, 'Analysing qualitative data', in M Walter (ed.), *Social research methods: an Australian perspective*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Winant, H 2000, 'Race and race theory', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 26, pp. 169-185.
- Wise, A 2005, 'Hope and belonging in a multicultural suburb', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 26, no. (1/2), pp. 171-186.
- Wolf, L 2002, 'There's no place like "home": emotional transnationalism and the struggle of second-generation Filipinos', in P Levitt & M Waters (eds), *The changing face of home: the transnational lives of the second generation*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Wood, V 1991, *War brides: they followed their hearts to New Zealand*, Random Century, Auckland.
- Yea, S 2008, 'Married to the military: Filipinas negotiating transnational families', *International Migration*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 111-44.
- Yeoh, BSA, Huang, S & Lam, T 2005, 'Transnationalizing the 'Asian' family: imaginaries, intimacies and strategic intents', *Global Networks*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 307-135.
- Yeoh, B & Khoo, L. M 1998, 'Home, work and community: skilled international migration and expatriate women in Singapore', *International Migration*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 159-186.
- Yin, R 2003, *Case study research: design and methods*, 3rd edn, Sage, Thousand Oaks, California.

- Yoshizumi, K 1995, 'Marriage and family: past and present', in K Fujimura-Fanselow & A Kameda (eds), *Japanese women: new feminist perspectives on the past, present, and future*, Feminist Press at the City University of New York, New York.
- Yuan, C 1983, *Awakening conscience: racism in Australia*, Lung Men Press, Hong Kong.

Appendix I

List of participants

No.	Name	Age	Occupation	education	Relation- ship (years)	child	partner
1.	Akiko	30s	housewife	Bachelors degree	3	1	Eric
2.	Arisa	40s	Tour coordinator	Bachelors degree	13	0	Steven
3.	Namie	20s	Interpreter	Some college education	5	1	John
4.	Nobuyo	40s	teacher	Masters degree	7	0	Tim
5.	Sakura	30s	Part-time travel agent	Bachelors degree	14	1	David
6.	Tomomi	30s	housewife	Bachelors degree	3	1	Mark
7.	Umeko	80s	Non- employed	High school diploma	28	1	Gary
8.	Yoko	20s	cafe attendant	Some college education	2	0	Jerry
9.	Yoshimi	40s	housewife	Bachelors degree	8	1	Shane

Appendix II

Research Project Information Sheet

Project Title: International Marriage

Ethics approval number:

Researcher: Atsushi Takeda

Contact telephone number: 07 5430 1259

Email address: a_t019@students.usc.edu.au

Supervisors: Dr. Julie Matthews, Dr. Lucinda Aberdeen, Dr. Donna Weeks

Faculty and Name of the university: Arts and Social Science, University of the Sunshine Coast

This research project is a study toward meeting PhD degree requirement. The purpose of the research is to investigate the lived experience of international marriage couples between Australian and Japanese and their family. The research involves a questionnaire and interviewing and/or autobiography. Both the researcher and the supervisors have research experiences.

I would like to request your participation in this research project.

Participation is voluntary and that a choice not to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which the participant might otherwise be entitled, and that the participant may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the need to provide an explanation. This research process has two stages. First, a questionnaire will be provided for you to answer. After answering questionnaire, you may choose both/either to be interviewed or write your own autobiography. Participants in this project are expected both/either to be

interviewed for approximately 60 minutes both/either in English or Japanese and/or write your own autobiography which is also both/either in English and Japanese and are entitled to choose either language on their preference.

Confidentiality of information or personal records identifying the participant, or others about whom information might be sought from the participant, will be maintained. Any information provided during the research will be used only for the purposes of this research project. There will not involve any incentive or reward for participating in this research.

You are able to take your time to think about whether you wish to participate in this study. If after having some time to think about it you decide you would like to participate, please contact the Chief Investigator at the telephone number/e-mail address given above.

If you have any complaints about the way this research project is being conducted you can either raise them with the Chief Investigator or, if you prefer an independent person, contact the Chairperson of the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of the Sunshine Coast: (c/- The Academic Administration Officer, Teaching and Research Services, University of the Sunshine Coast, Maroochydore DC 4558; telephone (07) 5459 4574; facsimile (07) 5459 4727; e-mail humanethics@usc.edu.au)

University of the Sunshine Coast is appreciated of your participation in this research project.

Appendix III

Participants Selection Criteria

Following criteria will be considered in selecting participants:

1. Individuals/couples are/were involved in international marriage/de facto relationship between Australian and Japanese.
2. Their marriage or de facto relationship is/was at least over one year or longer.
3. Candidates must be over 18 years of age or older.
4. Japanese partners must have grown up in Japan.

Appendix IV

Consent to Participate in Research

Title of the research project: International Marriage

The purpose of this research is to investigate the lived experience of international marriage couples between Australian and Japanese who reside in Australia. Data collection will involve a questionnaire and either/both interviewing or writing autobiography with the population of interest stated above.

I understand that;

- Participation in this research is voluntary;
- I do not have to participate in this research if I do not want to;
- I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons or explanation for withdrawing;
- If I do choose to withdraw from the research study at any time, any information received from me or pertaining to me that was obtained during the research will not be used; and
- I will not be penalised or treated less favourably or lose any benefit if I do withdraw from the study.

I understand that the research project conducted by Atsushi Takeda is a part of his PhD degree requirement and that the research involves (1) and (2) by my preference.

(1) Answering a short questionnaire

(2) Participating an approximate 60-minute interview which will be tape recorded and/or writing my own autobiography

I understand that the purpose of the research is to investigate the lived experiences of international couples between Australian and Japanese and their family.

I understand that all information obtained from me or pertaining to me will be kept strictly confidential to the research team and that there will be no means of identifying me personally as a research participant in any publication, presentation or other means arising from this research.

I understand the contents of 'Research Project Information Sheet' for the research project titled 'International Marriage' and this 'Consent to Participate in Research' form. I agree to participate in the 'International Marriage' research project and give my consent freely. I understand that the study/project will be carried out as described on the Research Project Information Sheet, a copy of which I have kept. I realise that whether or not I decide to participate is my decision and will not affect myself in any adverse way. I also realise that I can withdraw from the study/project at any time and that I do not have to give any reasons for withdrawing. Any questions I had about this research project and my participation in it have been answered to my satisfaction.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Project title: International Marriage

.....

Name of Participant

.....

Signature of Participant

.....

Date

.....

Signature of Researcher

.....

Date

Appendix V

Privacy Record

Name of the researcher: Atsushi Takeda

Telephone number: 07 5430 1259

E-mail address: a_t019@student.usc.edu.au

Title of research project: International Marriage

Record with personal information are kept: YES

The nature of the records of personal information that will be kept by the researcher or the supervisors are the name, sex, date and place of birth, number of children, level of formal education, occupation and contact details of the participants and tape recordings of the interviews with them.

The purpose for which each type of record is kept is for obtaining and analysing data for the research project and for future related projects.

The classes of individuals about whom records are kept will be the potential research participants.

The period for which each type of record is kept for seven years in line with public records legislation.

The persons who are entitled to have access to personal information contained in the records are the researcher, the supervisor, the transcribers (if necessary) restricted to time required for transcription and the research participants from whom the information is collected.

Persons wishing to obtain access to this information will require proof of their identity.

Appendix VI

Research Project Information Sheet (Japanese version)

研究計画情報書

計画の名前：国際結婚

倫理確認番号：

研究者：武田淳

電話連絡番号：07 5430 1259

電子メール住所：a_t019@students.usc.edu.au

指導教官：Dr. Julie Matthews, Dr. Lucinda Aberdeen, Dr. Donna Weeks

学部と大学名：芸術・社会科学学部、サンシャインコースト大学

この研究プロジェクトは博士課程後期のためのものです。
研究の趣旨はオーストラリア人と日本人における国際結婚者とその家族の生活体験を調査することで、この研究の調査方法にはアンケート用紙とインタビューまたは/（と）自伝を書くことが含まれています。

この研究に参加していただけることをお願いします。

参加は任意でありまた不参加に関してペナルティーや利益の損失などはありません。そしてこの研究への参加を中止することはいつでも可能でまたその辞退に関して参加者は参加辞退の理由などを説明する必要はありません。

この研究には2つの過程があります。最初にアンケート用紙が配られます。アンケート終了後にはインタビューと/（もしくは）自伝を書くことをお願いします。この研究では約60分間の英語もしくは日本語でのインタビューが予定されています。もしくはご自身の自伝を英語か日本語でかいていただきます。日本語か英語の選択は参加者の自由です。

参加者の個人情報や秘密は厳密に保護されます。この研究で集められたすべての個人情報はこの研究のみにつかわれます。またこの研究の参加による報奨金などは一切ありません。

この研究の参加に関して十分考慮した後に、参加を希望される方は下記の電話番号/電子メールで研究者主任までご連絡ください。

もしこの研究の進め方に関して苦情があれば研究者主任に連絡するか、またはサンシャインコースト大学の人間研究倫理委員会の主任にご連絡ください。

サンシャインコースト大学はあなたのこの研究に参加していただけるのを大変感謝いたします。

Appendix VII

Consent to Participate in Research (Japanese version)

研究参加同意書

研究題名：国際結婚

この研究の趣旨はオーストラリア人と日本人における国際結婚者とその家族の生活体験を調査することで、この研究の調査方法にはアンケート用紙とインタビューまたは/（と）自伝を書くことが含まれています。

私は下記の記述を理解します：

- この研究への参加は任意のものである；
- 私はこの研究への参加の義務はありません；
- 私はこの研究への参加辞退がいつでもすることができまたその辞退に関して私は参加辞退の理由などを説明する必要はありません；
- 私が研究参加を辞退したときには、この研究で集められた私の個人情報やその他の情報は使用されることなく；また
- 私が研究参加を辞退しても私の立場が不利になることはなく、また利益などの損失をすることもありません。

私はこの研究が武田淳氏の博士課程の一部でありこの研究方法が（１）と（２）を含むことを合意します。

- （１） アンケート用紙の記入
- （２） 約60分間の録音されるインタビューへの参加と/または私の自伝を書くこと

私はこの研究の趣旨がオーストラリア人と日本人における国際結婚者とその家族の生活体験を調査することである事を理解します。

私はこの研究で収集された私の個人情報や私に直接関係がある情報が研究チームによって厳密に保存され、またこの研究における出版、発表、また他の手段の中で私と確認できることを無いことを理解します。

私は‘国際結婚’という研究の‘研究計画情報書’と‘研究の参加同意’書の内容に合意します。私はこの‘国際結婚’研究に参加することに同意し、また私は自由に同意をあたえます。私はこの研究が私の所持する‘研究情報書’に説明されたように実行されることを認識します。私はこの研究に参加するがどうかは私の決断でありまた私に対し有害な影響を与えないことを理解します。私はまたこの研究への参加を辞退することはいつでも可能でまたその辞退に関して私は参加辞退の理由などを

説明する必要があることを合意しています。この研究と私の参加に関して抱いていたすべての疑問は回答されました。

研究参加同意書

研究題名：国際結婚

参加者名：

参加者署名：

日付：

研究者署名：

日付：

Appendix VIII

Questionnaire

Please fill in the blank with your information or please circle an appropriate answer. If you do not wish to answer or understand the question, please leave it as blank.

Part I—Contact Information

Your name _____

Postal Address _____

Telephone number _____

Convenient Hours _____

Fax Number _____

E-mail Address _____

Part II Background Information

1. Sex (a) Female (b) Male
2. Age (a) under 20 (b) 21 to 30 (c) 31 to 40 (d) 41 to 50 (e) 51 to 60
(f) 61 to 70 (g) 71 to 80 (h) over 80
3. What is your occupation?
4. What is your highest level of educational qualification?
5. Do you have any children? If yes, how many children do you have?
6. When/Where did you meet your partner?
7. When did you migrate to Australia?
8. How long have you been married or having de facto relationship with your partner?/
How long was your relationship with your partner?
9. What language do/did you use to communicate with your family?
10. How often do you go back to Japan every year on average?
11. Do you intend to live in Australia permanently?

Appendix XI

Interview Questions

Part I Pre-migration

1. How did you meet your partner?
2. Had you even thought you would marry non-Japanese nationals?
3. How was your friends and family's reaction to your marriage?

Part II Post-migration

1. How was your migration experience to Australia?
2. How did your life change?
3. How is your relation to your partner's family and friends?
4. What is the difficulty you encounter?

Part III Impact of marriage

1. How do you perceive yourself? (For instance, do you feel more Japanese or less? Is your identity changed from woman to Japanese woman or Asian woman?)
2. How do you communicate with your partner? In English or Japanese?
3. Do you have children? If so, how do you communicate with your children? Do you want your children to speak Japanese?
4. How often do you visit Japan?
5. How often do you contact your family in Japan?
6. Are there any impacts on your family or friends due to your marriage?
7. Do you plan to live in Australia permanently?