

Cross-border Marriage and Immigrant Integration in Japan



Hirohisa Takenoshita (Keio University)

Sin Yi Cheung (Cardiff University)



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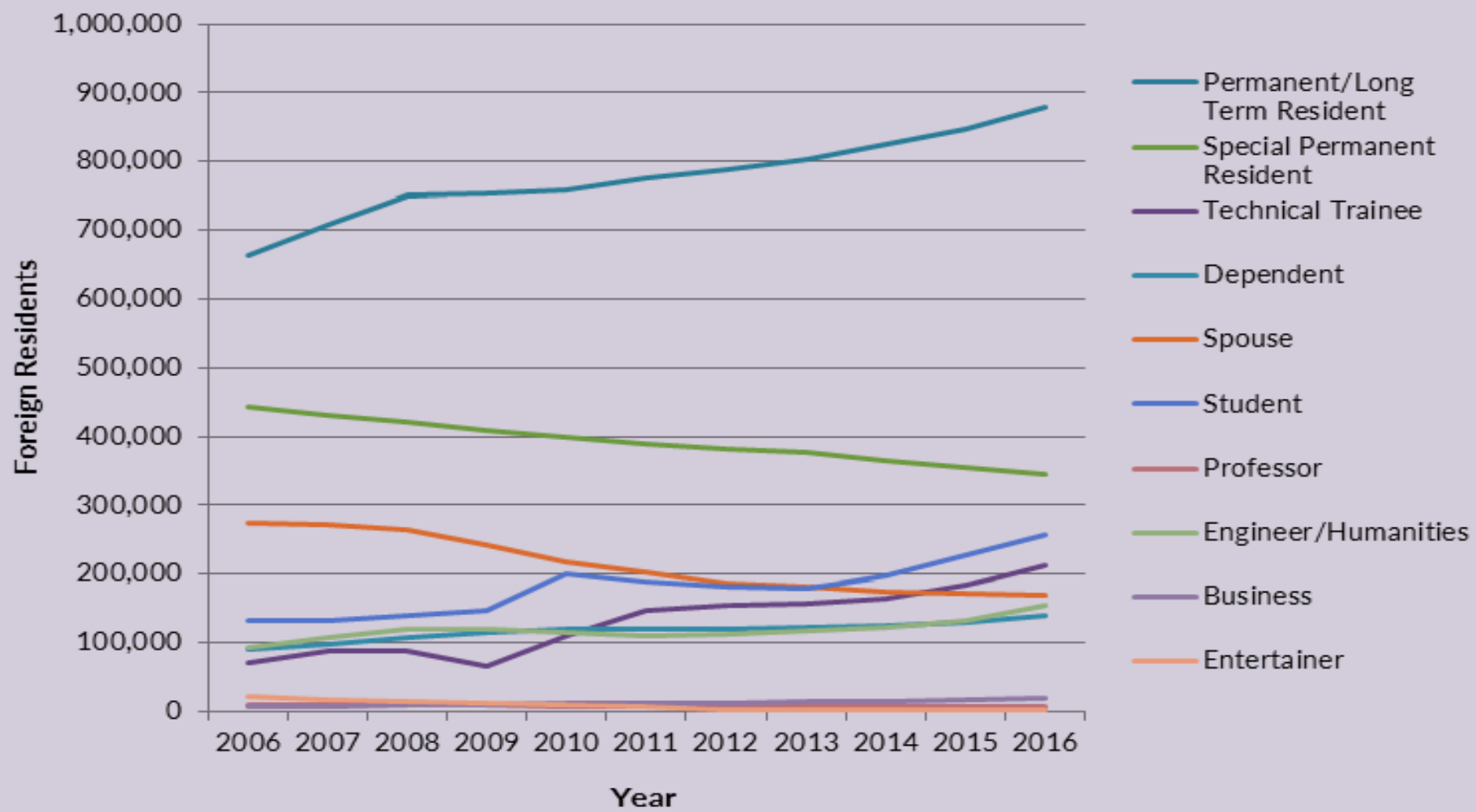
International Marriage Migration

- ❑ Marriage mobility – marriage always involves moving: moving out and moving in, it could be down the street from your parents, the next town, but sometimes it could mean crossing national borders
- ❑ Cross-border marriages account for approx. 16% of marriages in the EU and 11-39% of marriages in several East Asian countries, e.g. Hong Kong, Singapore, S Korea, Japan and Taiwan (IOM 2015)
- ❑ Many/no agreed term: Cross-border marriage/union, transnational marriage/couple, mixed-couple, inter-married couple, bi-national relationships, etc.

Marriage migration in Japan

- ❑ Marriage migration used to make up 25% of permanent migration flows to Japan until 2006 when it started to decline (OECD 2012).
- ❑ Japanese men typically marry women from China, Korea and the Philippines while Japanese women tend to marry white men
- ❑ Definition and measurement: official statistics only include international marriage registered in Japan.
 - In 2013, 72% of these marriages involve a foreign bride and 28% non-Japanese groom
 - Figures do not include marriages registered outside Japan, or changed visa status/categories once married.

Figure 2. Immigration to Japan by Visa Status, 2006-16



Source: Japanese Ministry of Justice, "Foreign Residents by Visa Status, Nationality, and Region [Kokuseki, Chiiki betsu Zairyū Shikaku (Zairyūmokuteki) betsu Zairyū Gaikokujin]," various years, accessed March 9, 2017, available online.

Cross-border marriage and Integration

- ❑ Evidence thus far is mixed and inconsistent.
- ❑ Cross-border marriage leads to both positive and negative outcomes.
- ❑ Intermarriage premium and cross-border marriage facilitates economic assimilation (Furtado and Song 2015; Meng and Gregory 2005).
- ❑ Status exchange theory (Davis 1941; Kalmijn and Van Tubergen 2010): immigrants may experience downward mobility – trading educational credentials via marriage with natives. (Wang & Chang, 2002 on Taiwan; Lee, Seol, & Cho, 2006 on S Korea)
- ❑ Cross-border marriages are subject to more frequent marital conflicts than endogamous couples (Choi and Cheung 2017)
- ❑ The role of cross-border marriage depends on dimension of integration.

Aims of Study

- We aim to explore how cross-border marriage facilitate/hinder immigrant integration.
- By focusing on the role of marriage with natives in shaping integration outcomes:
- We use two different dimensions of integration: financial strain and marital conflict.
- We observe relative poverty and anxiety about marital life.

Hypotheses

- ❑ H1a: Immigrants with a Japanese spouse are less likely to be in relative poverty than immigrants who marry other immigrants. (Intermarriage premium and economic assimilation)
- ❑ H1b: Immigrants with a Japanese spouse are more likely to be in poverty than immigrants with an immigrant spouse. (Status exchange theory)
- ❑ H2a: Immigrants with a Japanese spouse have less anxiety about spousal relations than immigrants with an immigrant spouse.
- ❑ H2b: Immigrants with a Japanese spouse have greater anxiety about spousal relations than immigrants with an immigrant spouse.

Data

- The 2009 Survey of immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture
- Many measures of integration outcomes and socioeconomic as well as demographic conditions
 - In this region, there are many firms producing motor vehicle and electronic appliances, generating demand for skilled and unskilled workers.
 - Samples were chosen from a list of foreign registration records.
 - The Shizuoka govt received 2,185 responses, making a response rate of 25.1%.
 - Samples in this study were restricted to married couples (N=924).
 - Weights were used to minimise the discrepancy b/w samples and population.
 - Comparisons were made b/w intermarried couples and endogamous couples.

Measurement

Integration Outcomes:

1. Poverty (equivalized below 50% median household income)
2. Anxiety of relations with a spouse (yes/no)

A key independent variable:

- ▣ Marriage type: Marriage with Japanese and marriage with immigrants

Other control variables:

Demographic: gender, age

Socioeconomic: educational attainment of husband and wife, employment status of husband and wife, occupation of husband

Origins and post-migration predictors: length of years in Japan, Japanese language fluency, country of origin (nationality)

Descriptive statistics of variables in multivariate analyses

	Mean		
Dependent outcomes		Country of Origin	
Relative poverty (Poor=1)	0.303	Brazil (Reference category)	0.656
Anxiety of relation between husband and wife	0.112	China	0.097
Independent variables		Philippine	0.123
Marriage type (Intermarriage=1)	1.239	Peru	0.060
Gender (Female=1)	0.524	South Korea	0.028
Age	40.894	Indonesia	0.015
Years since migration	12.145	Vietnam	0.021
Japanese fluency	9.741		

Descriptive stats (cont.)

	Mean		Mean
Education of husband		Employment status of husband	
Compulsory	0.205	Regular employment	0.316
Secondary	0.430	Non-regular employment	0.389
Lower tertiary	0.129	Self-employment	0.063
University	0.237	Unemployed	0.205
Education of wife		Inactive	0.026
Compulsory	0.181	Employment status of wife	
Secondary	0.483	Regular employment	0.125
Lower tertiary	0.118	Non-regular employment	0.456
University	0.218	Self-employment	0.040
Occupation of a husband	0.089	Unemployed	0.243
(Professional/Manager=1)		Inactive	0.136

Logistic regression predicting the effect of marriage type on poverty

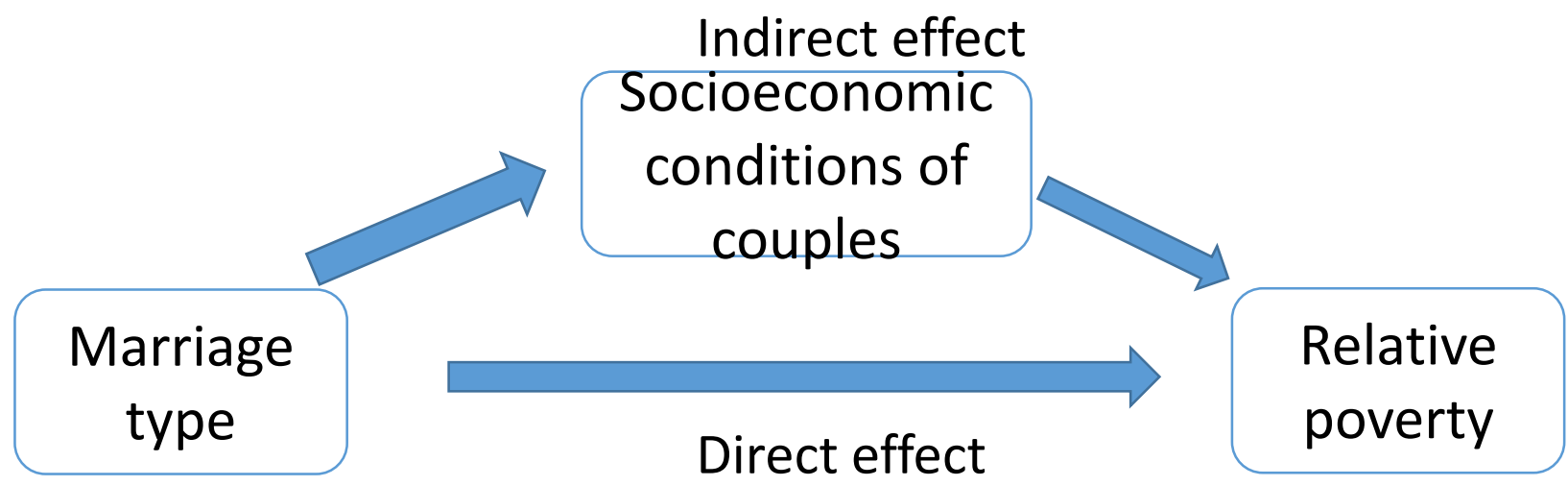
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Coef.	s.e.				
Marriage type	-0.600*	0.243	-0.581*	0.259	-0.321	0.268
Country of origin	x		x		x	
Gender	x		x		x	
Age	x		x		x	
Years since migration			x		x	
Japanese fluency			x		x	
Education of a husband			x		x	
Education of a wife			x		x	
Employment of a husband					x	
Employment of a wife					x	
Occupation of a husband					x	
Pseudo R2	0.035		0.064		0.094	
X2	48.67**		73.07**		97.39**	

+ p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 x indicates that this variable is included in a model.

The coefficients estimated in Model 3

	Coef.	s.e.		Coef.	s.e.
Country of origin (Ref: Brazil)			Education of a wife (Reference: Compulsory)		
China	0.525	0.360	Secondary	-0.342	0.224
Philippine	0.539+	0.310	Lower tertiary	-0.446	0.309
Peru	1.571**	0.268	University	-0.688*	0.277
South Korea	0.166	0.487	Employment status of a husband		
Indonesia	0.834*	0.378	(Reference: Regular employment)		
Vietnam	0.889**	0.293	Non-regular employment	0.675**	0.241
Gender	0.340+	0.182	Self-employment	0.457	0.412
Age	-0.005	0.009	Unemployed	1.015**	0.269
Years since migration	0.001	0.016	Inactive	1.687**	0.531
Japanese fluency	-0.011	0.020	Employment status of a wife		
Education of a husband (Reference: Compulsory)			(Reference: Regular employment)		
Secondary	-0.317	0.219	Non-regular employment	0.244	0.288
Lower tertiary	-0.226	0.298	Self-employment	0.344	0.541
University	-0.750**	0.263	Unemployed	0.402	0.306
Occupational status	-0.228	0.330	Inactive	-0.042	0.347
of a husband			Constant	-1.007**	0.575

Decomposing the direct and indirect effects of marriage type through KHB (Karlson, Holms and Breen) method



	Coef.	s.e.
Total effect	-0.578*	0.263
Direct effect	-0.321	0.268
Indirect effect	-0.257**	0.083
The share of indirect effect to total effect	44.4%	

Marriage type on anxiety about spousal relations

(logistic regression and propensity score matching - Model 4)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Marriage	0.852*	0.347	0.979*	0.379	1.183**	0.397	0.175**	0.049
Country of origin	x		x		x		x	
Gender	x		x		x		x	
Age	x		x		x		x	
Years since migration			x		x		x	
Japanese fluency			x		x		x	
Education of a husband			x		x		x	
Education of a wife			x		x		x	
Employment of a husband					x		x	
Employment of a wife					x		x	
Occupation of a husband					x		x	
Poverty					x		x	
Pseudo R2	0.040		0.057		0.103			
X2	22.98**		30.17*		53.15**			

The coefficients estimated by Model 4

	Coef.	s.e.		Coef.	s.e.
Country of origin (Ref: Brazil)			Education of wife		
China	-0.463	0.572	(Reference: Compulsory)		
Philippine	-0.314	0.449	Secondary	0.754+	0.404
Peru	-0.773	0.528	Lower tertiary	0.123	0.523
South Korea	-0.350	0.608	University	0.626	0.438
Indonesia	0.354	0.551	Employment status of husband		
Vietnam	-0.589	0.598	(Reference: Regular employment)		
Gender	0.423	0.278	Non-regular employment	0.873 *	0.351
Age	0.040 **	0.014	Self-employment	1.137 *	0.489
Years since migration	0.009	0.026	Unemployed	0.759+	0.427
Japanese fluency	-0.020	0.029	Inactive	-1.597	1.086
Education of husband (Reference: Compulsory)			Employment status of wife		
Secondary	-0.159	0.317	(Reference: Regular employment)		
Lower tertiary	-0.688	0.503	Non-regular employment	0.392	0.484
University	-0.097	0.371	Self-employment	0.953	0.661
Occupational status	-0.044	0.520	Unemployed	0.433	0.528
of a husband			Inactive	0.394	0.551
Poverty	0.624 *	0.274	Constant	-5.681 **	1.003

Summary of Findings

- ❑ There is significant advantage of intermarriage in alleviating poverty.
- ❑ This is largely because Japanese men who marry female immigrants are more likely to be in regular employment.
- ❑ Meanwhile, immigrants who marry Japanese tend to have a greater anxiety about relations with spouse.
- ❑ It implies that marital conflict might be more likely to occur among intermarried couples.

The two sides of cross-border marriage and immigrant integration

- ❑ Cross-border marriage only indirectly linked with economic integration (measured at household level)
- ❑ Key driver is employment of native spouse: indicative of the exclusionary nature of the Japanese primary labour market
- ❑ The 'dark side' /cost of cross-border marriage – higher levels of marital conflict
- ❑ Implication on immigrant spouse's mental well-being, raising concerns about inadequate emotional support for this hidden group in the literature dominated by economic and labour migration

Limitations and Next Steps

- ❑ Shizuoka Immigrant Survey not a nationally representative samples: e.g. highly skilled immigrant men from the US who marry Japanese women
- ❑ Lack of comparison group in sample: native Japanese endogamous couples
- ❑ Solution – Census? SSM Survey?
- ❑ Next Steps: comparative analysis using UK data and standardised measures as far as possible