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表1

	N	%
全国籍	142,636	100.0
外国籍	70,167	49.2
日本	72,469	50.8
韓国・朝鮮	34,885	24.5
中国	11,959	8.4
フィリピン	2,425	1.7
ブラジル	10,803	7.6
ペルー	2,224	1.6
無国籍・不詳	351	0.3

表2 子どもの国籍別居住割合の高い県

	(%)		
	1番目	2番目	3番目
日本	東京 15.7	大阪 11.5	神奈川 8.5
韓国・朝鮮	大阪 28.6	東京 13.1	兵庫 11.3
中国	東京 20.1	大阪 10.8	神奈川 9.6
フィリピン	東京 18.1	千葉 10.6	神奈川 9.9
ブラジル	愛知 22.4	静岡 15.1	群馬 7.9
ペルー	神奈川 13.2	愛知 11.1	静岡 10.5

表3 子どもの国籍別・年齢別 不就学割合

	7歳～14歳	7歳	8歳	9歳	10歳	11歳	12歳	13歳	14歳
全国籍	0.76	1.93	1.00	0.65	0.49	0.49	0.35	0.36	0.35
外国籍	1.06	3.21	1.56	1.03	0.63	0.65	0.60	0.56	0.50
日本	0.47	1.15	0.62	0.35	0.35	0.32	0.04	0.08	0.11
韓国・朝鮮	0.28	1.26	0.35	0.31	0.09	0.21	0.04	0.04	0.12
中国	0.74	2.78	1.26	0.66	0.31	0.41	0.25	0.19	0.41
フィリピン	2.43	6.23	4.80	1.48	1.54	0.00	1.52	0.85	1.23
ブラジル	3.13	8.04	4.46	2.99	2.06	1.80	2.36	2.16	1.60
ペルー	2.43	4.23	3.63	2.47	1.91	2.32	1.53	1.35	2.10

表4 記述統計

	日本		韓国・朝鮮		中国	
	就学	不就学	就学	不就学	就学	不就学
地域の特徴						
県1	15.7	15.3	28.6	25.8	20.1	26.1
県2	11.5	9.1	13.1	19.6	10.7	11.4
県3	8.5	7.9	11.3	9.3	9.6	6.8
その他の県	64.3	67.7	47.1	45.4	59.6	55.7
世帯の特徴						
外国人世帯員数	1.1	1.1	4.6	4.4	3.5	3.6
同居子ども数	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.2	1.6	1.6
末子年齢	7.4	6.2	8.5	7.0	8.7	7.0
世帯主の配偶状況						
未婚・離別・死別	10.8	12.1	13.1	11.3	5.7	3.4
配偶者あり	89.2	87.9	86.9	88.7	94.3	96.6
世帯主の学歴						
中学以下	22.6	24.7	13.3	16.5	24.3	28.4
高校	47.9	45.3	53.1	41.2	28.3	20.5
短大以上	29.5	30.0	33.7	42.3	47.5	51.1
配偶者の学歴						
中学以下	27.7	31.0	21.0	24.7	28.8	29.8
高校	45.2	43.2	53.5	39.2	29.4	27.4
短大以上	27.1	25.8	25.4	36.1	41.8	42.9
世帯主の就業状況						
非就業者	11.2	14.1	8.5	15.5	14.3	20.5
就業者	88.8	85.9	91.5	84.5	85.7	79.6
配偶者の就業状況						
非就業者	59.2	67.1	61.5	69.1	61.8	68.2
就業者	40.8	32.9	38.5	30.9	38.2	31.8
子どもの年齢	9.8	8.3	10.7	8.6	10.6	8.8
子どもの5年前の常住地						
現住所	57.5	52.4	63.6	53.6	27.7	25.0
県内	33.0	32.4	28.7	32.0	24.9	33.0
他県	6.0	8.5	3.9	3.1	7.6	3.4
国外から転入	3.5	6.8	3.8	11.3	39.9	38.6
N	72,129	340	34,788	97	11,871	88
%	99.5	0.5	99.7	0.3	99.3	0.7

	フィリピン		ブラジル		ペルー	
	就学	不就学	就学	不就学	就学	不就学
地域の特徴						
県1	18.2	13.6	22.5	17.2	13.4	5.6
県2	10.4	18.6	15.0	16.9	11.3	1.9
県3	9.9	10.2	7.9	8.9	10.5	11.1
その他の県	61.4	57.6	54.6	57.1	64.8	81.5
世帯の特徴						
外国人世帯員数	2.7	3.1	4.1	3.9	4.2	4.1
同居子ども数	2.2	2.3	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.1
末子年齢	6.0	4.8	8.1	7.4	7.4	7.3
世帯主の配偶状況						
未婚・離別・死別	10.9	15.3	6.0	7.7	6.5	9.3
配偶者あり	89.1	84.8	94.0	92.3	93.5	90.7
世帯主の学歴						
中学以下	24.2	20.3	32.3	34.6	22.2	37.0
高校	48.7	57.6	44.9	48.8	39.6	46.3
短大以上	27.2	22.0	22.8	16.6	38.3	16.7
配偶者の学歴						
中学以下	27.8	49.2	37.8	45.1	27.6	46.3
高校	42.6	30.5	44.7	44.7	40.2	40.7
短大以上	29.6	20.3	17.4	10.2	32.3	13.0
世帯主の就業状況						
非就業	11.2	6.8	3.7	4.7	5.4	5.6
就業	88.8	93.2	96.3	95.3	94.7	94.4
配偶者の就業状況						
非就業	70.2	84.8	32.6	39.4	39.6	61.1
就業	29.8	15.3	67.4	60.7	60.4	38.9
子どもの年齢	10.2	8.6	10.6	9.4	10.5	9.7
子どもの5年前の常住地						
現住所	27.5	23.7	19.5	13.0	28.9	25.9
県内	27.9	20.3	23.5	16.3	34.1	27.8
他県	4.8	6.8	7.6	7.4	8.9	13.0
国外から転入	39.9	49.2	49.4	63.3	28.2	33.3
N	2,366	59	10,465	338	2,170	54
%	97.6	2.4	96.9	3.1	97.6	2.4

表5 子どもの就学状況に関する国籍別ロジット分析結果

地域の特徴	日本		韓国・朝鮮		中国		フィリピン		ブラジル		ペルー	
	係数	オッズ比	係数	オッズ比	係数	オッズ比	係数	オッズ比	係数	オッズ比	係数	オッズ比
基準:その他の県	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
県1	0.151	1.16	0.032	1.03	-0.314	0.73	0.101	1.11	0.325 **	1.38	0.940	2.56
県2	0.122	1.13	-0.147	0.86	-0.032	0.97	-0.563	0.57	-0.042	0.96	2.023 **	7.56
県3	0.151	1.16	0.170	1.19	0.241	1.27	-0.056	0.95	-0.057	0.94	0.049	1.05
世帯の特徴	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
外国籍世帯員数	-0.143	0.87	-0.156	0.86	-0.076	0.93	-0.453 ***	0.64	-0.169 *	0.84	0.179	1.20
同居子ども数	0.532 ***	1.70	0.466 **	1.59	0.121	1.13	0.237	1.27	0.473 ***	1.61	-0.389	0.68
末子年齢	0.081 ***	1.08	-0.023	0.98	0.016	1.02	0.038	1.04	0.011	1.01	-0.092 *	0.91
世帯主の配偶状況	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
基準:配偶者あり	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
未婚・離婚・死別	-0.094	0.91	-0.550	0.58	-0.802	0.45	-0.228	0.80	-0.003	1.00	-0.521	0.59
世帯主の学歴	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
基準:中学以下	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
高校	0.059	1.06	0.198	1.22	0.340	1.41	-0.586	0.56	-0.151	0.86	0.084	1.09
短大以上	-0.039	0.96	0.080	1.08	-0.158	0.85	0.146	1.16	0.123	1.13	0.831	2.29
配偶者の学歴	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
基準:中学以下・配偶者無し	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
高校	0.153	1.17	0.572	1.77	0.183	1.20	1.130 ***	3.09	0.295 **	1.34	0.249	1.28
短大以上	0.227	1.25	0.259	1.30	0.595	1.81	0.969 **	2.64	0.720 ***	2.05	0.743	2.10
世帯主の就業状況	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
基準:非就業	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
就業	0.190	1.21	0.503 *	1.65	0.369	1.45	-0.852	0.43	0.054	1.06	-0.241	0.79
配偶者の就業状況	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
基準:非就業・配偶者無し	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
就業	0.196	1.22	0.137	1.15	0.246	1.28	0.828 **	2.29	0.265 **	1.30	0.878 ***	2.41
子どもの年齢	0.339 ***	1.40	0.501 ***	1.65	0.396 ***	1.49	0.326 ***	1.39	0.237 ***	1.27	0.2305 ***	1.26
子どもの5年間の常住地	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
基準:現住所	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
県内	0.082	1.09	-0.118 ***	0.89	-0.279	0.76	0.397	1.49	0.030	1.03	0.195	1.22
他県	-0.183	0.83	0.462	1.59	0.772	2.16	-0.314	0.73	-0.286	0.75	-0.244	0.78
国外から転入	-0.519 **	0.59	-0.480	0.62	0.060	1.06	-0.312	0.73	-0.634 ***	0.53	-0.120	0.89
定数項	0.511	1.67	0.474	1.61	1.177	3.25	1.788 *	5.98	0.669	1.95	1.656	5.24
Likelihood Ratio	4070.161		1217.828		961.538		486.449		2833.391		461.350	
N	72,469		34,885		11,959		2,425		10,803		2,224	

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

(基準:非就学)

Family Formation Behaviors of Couples in International Marriages: A Comparative Analysis of Japan and Taiwan

Hiroshi KOJIMA

Introduction

In Japan, the total number of marriages is tending to decrease although some increase was observed in 2005, but the number of international marriages has continued to increase. As a result, the number of international marriages has reached a level at which the contribution of such marriages to population maintenance and population increase has become significant. In fact, according to the Vital Statistics in 2004, of all marriages registered in Japan, international marriages in which one of the partners in a marriage had foreign nationality accounted for 5.5 percent, and the number of births by couples in international marriages was about 2.2 percent of the total number of births by all couples in which Japanese nationals were included. Furthermore, of a total of 39,511 cases of international marriages in which one of the partners in the marriage was a Japanese national, Japanese men are involved in 30,907 cases, and Japanese women are involved in 8,604 cases. Also together with this great difference in numbers of cases involving Japanese men and Japanese women, the distributions of foreign spouses by nationality has also undergone different changes.

A look at the distribution by nationality of the foreign spouses of Japanese men shows the following: In the 1960s the greater number were marriages with North Korean and South Korean women (many of whom are considered to have been Korean women with permanent residence in Japan), followed by marriages with women of Chinese nationality (many of whom are considered to have been Chinese women with permanent residence in Japan and Taiwanese women) and women of United States nationality; then starting in the second half of the 1980s, there was a rapid increase in the numbers of marriages with newly arrived women from South East Asian countries such as China, the Philippines and Thailand; in the first half of the 1990s, the number of marriages of Japanese men with North Korean women, the corresponding number for South Korean women, the corresponding number for Chinese women, and the corresponding number for Filipinas were about the same, with each number accounting for 20 to 30 percent of the total number of such international marriages; the number of marriages of Japanese men with Thai women amounted to a little less than 10 percent; subsequently, there were almost no fluctuations in the numbers of marriages involving women of North Korean, South Korean, or Thai nationality; however, there was a gradual increase in the number of marriages with women of Philippine nationality, and the number of marriages with women of Chinese

nationality nearly doubled; so in 2004, marriages with women of Chinese nationality accounted for 38.6 percent, those with women of Philippine nationality amounted to 27.2 percent, North and South Korean nationality 18.5%, and those with women of Thai nationality made up 5.3 percent; marriages with women of South American nationalities (many of whom are considered to have been Brazilians of Japanese descent), which rapidly increased in the 1990s to account for about 5 percent, decreased gradually, to make up only a little more than 1 percent. Judging from the results of the Population Censuses in 1995 and 2000, there are signs, in recent years, of increases in marriages with women from South East Asian countries such as Indonesia and Vietnam as well as in marriages with East European countries like Russia and Romania.

Next, the distribution by nationality of foreign spouses of Japanese women is as follows: In the 1960s, when the number of international marriages involving Japanese women was somewhat less than the corresponding number for Japanese men, the statistics were that marriages with men of United States nationality accounted for about 50 percent, marriages with men of North Korean nationality and South Korean nationality amounted to 30 to 40 percent, and marriages with men of Chinese nationality made up about 5 percent. In the 1970s and 1980s, marriages with men of North Korean nationality and South Korean nationality accounted for about 50 percent, while marriages with men of United States nationality decreased to about 20 percent, and since then have varied at a level below this percentage. Newcomers are considered to have accounted for a large number. Marriages with men of Chinese nationality rapidly increased in the second half of the 1980s, with the result that the percentage of such marriages reached a level of a little more than 10 percent, and at present changes are taking place at this level. The percentage of marriages with men of United Kingdom nationality, which was 3 percent or so in the early part of the 1990s, rose to about 4 percent in recent years. The percentage of marriages with men of Brazilian nationality, which was about 2 percent at the beginning of the 1990s rose to about 3 percent in recent years. In 2004, marriages with men of North Korean nationality and South Korean nationality accounted for 26.7 percent, those with men of United States Nationality 17.4 percent, those with men of Chinese nationality 12.8 percent, those with men of United Kingdom nationality 3.9 percent, and those with men of Brazilian nationality 3.1 percent. In addition to the above, marriages with men of Peruvian nationality and those with men of Philippine nationality each made up 1.4 percent, and those with men of Thai nationality 0.9 percent. Besides, marriages with men of other nationalities amounted to as much as 30-plus percent. Therefore, there is a possibility that in recent years, men of some of the other nationalities made international marriages at certain points in time with Japanese women in larger numbers than did Peruvian, Philippine, and Thai men. Judging from the results of Population Censuses, it seems certain that in the second half of the 1990s, men of Pakistani nationality and Iranian nationality married Japanese women in larger numbers than did men of Peruvian nationality, Philippine nationality, and Thai nationality. There is a possibility that men of Indonesian nationality and Bangladeshi nationality also married Japanese women in

about equal numbers to men of Pakistani nationality and Iranian nationality¹⁾. Furthermore, there are signs that marriages between Japanese women and men from African countries such as Nigeria and Ghana is on the increase.

Thus in the case of Japan, demographic integration with other Asian countries through international marriages is in progress. In Taiwan and South Korea, where fertility decline is further advanced than in Japan in recent years, international marriages (including marriages with spouses from mainland China in the case of Taiwan) are made in greater numbers than in Japan. Thus in the whole of East Asia, not only economic integration but also demographic integration is progressing steadily²⁾. Furthermore, as well as in East Asian countries in some of the other low fertility countries international marriages are on the increase as measures to deal with the tendency to marry later and to give birth later. Advanced examples of this are seen in Taiwan, followed by South Korea. In 2004, the ratio of international marriages to the total number of marriages was 23.4 percent in Taiwan and 11.4 percent in South Korea. In Taiwan in 2003, this percentage was 31.9 percent, which was higher than the later percentage. Also, in 2004, in Taiwan, the ratio of births by couples in international marriages to the total number of births amounted to 13.3 percent. In 1998 already, when statistics were available in Taiwan, the number of international marriages accounted for 15.7 percent of the total number of marriages, and the number of births of children of international marriages made up 5.1 percent of the total number of births. Thus it is possible to infer that relatively great contributions to population maintenance and population reproduction continue to be made. In East Asian and South Asian countries including China and India, a sex ratio imbalance in the marriageable age population is beginning to occur as a result of imbalance in sex ratios at birth that has continued since the beginning of the 1980s, and therefore, the marriage squeeze for men is expected to persist in the future in Asian countries³⁾. Rapid increases in international marriages in Taiwan and South Korea may point to the fact that those countries are taking countermeasures in advance.

Rapid increases in international marriages and the subsequent social integration of foreign female spouses and their children became a social problem in Taiwan. As a consequence, the Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan) conducted "A Survey of Living Status of Foreign and Mainland Chinese Spouses" in 2003 with respect to all spouses of foreign nationalities and all spouses from Mainland China, of which there were about 300,000⁴⁾. Also the Ministry of Health and Society of the Republic of Korea carried out a sampling survey in 2005 of about one thousand foreign female spouses⁵⁾. Judging from the report made by the Minister for Women and Families at a meeting of the IOM (International Organization for Migration)⁶⁾, it seems as expected,

¹⁾ Kojima (2006 a).

²⁾ Kojima (2006 c).

³⁾ Hudson and den Boer (2004).

⁴⁾ Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan) (2004).

⁵⁾ Seol (2005).

⁶⁾ Yang (2006).

that the background of this move is the fact that the adaptation of foreign female spouses is becoming a social problem. In Japan, however the adaptation of foreign female spouses became a problem earlier than in the two countries above, but it seems that remedies were left to local autonomous bodies and NGOs. As a result, most of the surveys made with respect to couples in international marriages and their children (including children by previous marriages) are small-scale studies conducted by people such as individual researchers and local autonomous bodies⁷⁾. So Population Censuses are in fact the only nationwide surveys in Japan in which at least a certain number of couples in international marriages are included as subjects.

The purpose of this study is to clarify the determinants of family formation for couples in international marriages, to supplement insufficient information on family formation by couples in international marriages in Japan where there is a rapid increase in international marriages and children of these marriages, and to generate ideas for family policies and multicultural coexistence in Japan. For this purpose, comparative analyses will be made of marriages and birth behavior using micro-data from the Population Census of 2000 and of "A Survey of Living Status of Foreign and Mainland Chinese Spouses" conducted in Taiwan in 2003. However, there are almost no prior studies on international marriages accompanying cross-border migration at the time of marriages, which are often observed in East Asian countries. Also, micro-data information available to be used is limited. Therefore, a rough analysis framework will be presented, but no assumptions will be made. The results of preliminary analysis based on multivariable analysis using available independent variables that can be compared will be shown. In what follows, the analysis framework will be shown first. Following this, some empirical studies centering on East Asian countries will be presented. Explanations will be given of data and the analysis method. Next, items such as distributions by age group will be shown with respect to the dependent variables to be analyzed. Then the results of multivariable analysis will be shown. This study is an extension of the present writer's study of international marriages and cross-border population migration, as well as his comparative study of marriages and births in East Asian countries⁸⁾.

Analysis framework

In Japan as in Taiwan, the number of empirical studies on mixed marriage births, carried out by population researchers is still small. So, in what follows, the analysis framework for international marriages and migrant births will be explained first, and then empirical studies by population researchers will be presented.

⁷⁾ Nakamatsu (2002), Yamagata Prefecture (2003), for example.

⁸⁾ For example, Kojima (1989, 1992 a, 1992 b, 1996, 2005 c) and Kojima (2006 a) were published in the former category; and Kojima (2004, 2006 a, 2006 b) and Kojima (2006 b) were published in the latter category.

(1) Analysis framework

In the past, the present writer ⁹⁾ described an analysis framework that was built by modifying slightly an analysis framework built by Johnson ¹⁰⁾ who modified a model built by Bumpass ¹¹⁾ analyzing intermarriage between religions. In the analysis framework shown, it is specified that frequencies of international marriages depend on items such as population sizes, population structures, geographical distances, economic differences, cultural differences, frequencies of mutual interaction, endogamy norms, immigration control laws, nationality laws, and marriage laws. In what follows, explanations will be given mainly on the basis of instances in Japan. From the point of view of population sizes and structures, if there are to be marriages with foreigners residing in Japan, it is natural for there to be increases in international marriages with foreigners from countries with large populations of unmarried men and women at marriageable ages (South Koreans, Chinese, and Brazilians). Also, if the population structure is particularly imbalanced by sex (women are a majority in the case of Philippine people and Thais, and men are a majority in the case of Islamic people), there will naturally be increases in marriages with Japanese people of the opposite sex. For foreigners not residing in Japan, the larger the population of a country is (China for example), or the greater increase in the younger generation of a country (the Philippines for example), the easier it is to send out spouses for international marriages.

Also when traditional values regarding marriage are a factor, there can be imbalance in population sex ratios by attribute for single Japanese men and women at marriageable ages. For example, when values indicate that the educational background of a husband should be equal to or higher than that of the wife, it is possible that women with high academic achievement and men with low educational achievement will fall into a marriage squeeze. The population of unmarried Japanese men and women at marriageable ages may not be fully matched because of role models dictated by traditional values. It is possible that men who have a “traditional” sense of the division of roles by sex and women who have a “modern” sense of the division of roles by sex will fall into a marriage squeeze. As a result of such a squeeze, it is possible that marriages with foreigners of the opposite sexes who are presumed to have attributes compatible with Japanese men or women as applicable, will be promoted.

In the case of marriage candidates residing in foreign countries, it is naturally easier for people of Asian countries to come to Japan, since those countries are close to Japan in terms of distance. Also, the larger the difference in economy between a given country and Japan, the greater potential economic advantage will be gained by prospective spouses in that country getting married to Japanese people. Widening of economic disparity among countries created the background for a rapid increase in international marriages involving

⁹⁾ Kijima (1992 a).

¹⁰⁾ Johnson (1980).

¹¹⁾ Bumpass (1970).

newcomers to Japan in the wake of the yen's appreciation and the bubble economy in the later 1980s. Also, a relatively large number of international marriages with United States citizens that occurred prior to this is partly due to the large economic difference between Japan and the United States. On the contrary, however, there is a possibility that opportunities for people from Europe and North America to get married to Japanese nationals will increase. The reasoning is as follows: Economic disparity between Japan and those countries is small; it is easy for such people to legally enter and stay in Japan; such people can easily bear travel expenses to Japan; and therefore, they have more opportunities for interaction with Japanese people.

It also seems that there are many instances of international marriages with South Koreans and Chinese. This is because generally speaking, it is easier to form marriages if cultural differences are smaller. In a different sense, cultural differences are small in the case of people from Europe and North America. Men and women having North Korean, South Korean, or Chinese nationality and residing in Japan are, from childhood, frequently interacting with Japanese men and women (including naturalized nationals). This fact may be one of the main causes for large numbers of international marriages. Also, due to reasons such as the appreciation of the yen that occurred from the mid-1980s onward, there were increases in opportunities for Japanese people of marriageable age to go to foreign countries for purposes such as business, study, and travel, with the result that the frequency of interaction increased. This fact may also be one of the causes for increases in international marriages. Frequencies of interactions arise if unmarried men and women at marriageable ages move around by themselves. Also, such interactions are increased through the intermediation of people such as marriage agencies, relatives, and friends. In fact, in countries from which female workers are sent out, such as the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia, there seem to be agencies that introduce marriage candidates through almost the same channels. In addition, the following situations are also believed to cause an increase in international marriages: where there are increases in opportunities for ordinary Japanese people to be in contact with foreigners in Japan and abroad; where the possibility of intermediation rises with increases in cases of people like relatives and friends making international marriages; where the endogamy norm, which mandates that marriages be made between Japanese nationals only, is relaxed; and where there have been increases in opportunities to get acquainted with foreigners either directly or through intermediaries. In particular marriages with people like Brazilians of Japanese descent may be seen as pseudo-endogamous.

As a matter of policy, present-day Japan does not systematically accept unskilled foreign workers, with the exception of foreigners of Japanese descent and relatives of Japanese nationals. Implementation of the amended Immigration Control and Refugee-Recognition Act in 1990 caused foreigners of Japanese descent to increase rapidly. It seems certain that this fact led to increases in international marriages involving South American men and women. Furthermore, about this time, Japan suspended Mutual Visa Waiver Agreements with Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Iran. So

it seems likely that some of the unmarried men at marriageable age who had come from those countries and had been residing in Japan had an incentive to get married to Japanese women, thereby continuing to work in Japan. On the other hand, large numbers of young women have been accepted on entertainment visas from countries including the Philippines. This is also one of the reasons why marriages of Filipinas with Japanese men increased. Also, it is difficult for people such as unskilled workers who are not descendants of Japanese nationals to acquire Japanese nationality by any method other than marrying Japanese nationals. Therefore, there is also a possibility that in some cases, the incentive to acquire Japanese nationality by international marriage is enhanced. From the mid-1990s onward, there were increases in trainees and technical interns. There is a possibility that this is one of the reasons for increases in international marriages with Indonesians and Chinese. The “Program for Inviting 100,000-Foreign Student to Japan” announced in 1983 was implemented and it seems likely that the feasibility of international marriages with foreigners including Chinese and South Koreans increased. Also, apart from the policies of the central government, in Japan, in some of the rural districts where in the second half of the 1980s men lacked marriage partners, the relevant local bodies and related organs took the initiative to promote international marriages with population reproduction as one of its purposes¹²⁾.

In the case of Taiwan, there are many female caregivers and house workers coming from countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia. Besides, Taiwanese people share their culture with Chinese people in mainland China and in Southeast Asian countries. This may promote international marriages. In Taiwan, there has been an imbalance in sex ratios at birth since the 1980s, and the percentage of students who go on to higher education has rapidly increased in recent years, with this percentage being at the same level for men and women. There is a possibility that this has caused men with a low educational background, in particular, to suffer a marriage squeeze, resulting in international marriages being promoted. Also, in the case of Taiwan, business enterprises expanded into mainland China and Vietnam in keeping with economic development. This fact seems to have led to the following: marriages between Taiwanese men and women from mainland China and Vietnam were promoted; the resulting couples served as intermediaries or opened marriage agency businesses; and as a result, increases in international marriages of relatives and people in such couples' home districts were accelerated. As is the case in Japan, the background of such a situation seems to be that the need (norm) for the birth of heirs and for nursing care of old parents overrides the endogamy norm. In the case of Taiwan as well, public policy restricts unskilled workers' entry into the country. It seems, therefore, that some foreign women believe that international marriages provide opportunities for working and remitting funds to their home countries¹³⁾. In Taiwan, however, annual

¹²⁾ Watanabe (2002), Nakamatsu (2002), for example

¹³⁾ Wang and Chang (2002).

quantitative limitations have been imposed, for political reasons, on marriages with women from Mainland China. It seems that the decrease in the number of marriages with women from mainland China in 2004 and the reduction in the number of marriages with women from Southeast Asian countries in 2005 are influenced by limitations imposed by the government¹⁴⁾.

On the other hand, for an analysis framework of international migrants' fertility, there are many cases where, as formerly presented by the present writer¹⁵⁾, an analysis framework is used applying the hypotheses on migrants' fertility put forward by Goldstein and Goldstein¹⁶⁾. They proposed four hypotheses for the purpose of explaining fertility differences between migrants and non-migrants. These are broadly classified depending on whether disparity is considered to have existed prior to migration ("selection hypothesis") or whether disparity is considered to have occurred after migration in response to the fertility norm of the destination ("socialization hypothesis" and "adaptation hypothesis"). Furthermore, in the case of the "interruption hypothesis," the migration process itself is considered to bring about disparity. In the "selection hypothesis," it is assumed that migrants tend to have specific attributes, which pertain to birth awareness and behavior, different from those of non-migrants. The socialization (assimilation) hypothesis is that if migrants live at the destination for a long period of time (several generations), fertility assimilates with the level at the destination. On the contrary, in the case of the adaptation hypothesis, changes in the fertility level (approximation to the level at the destination) are considered to occur in a short period of time (several years).

In the case of international marriages in East Asian countries, there are many instances where foreign female spouses have economic motivations. In this regard, the analysis framework of Rumbaed and Weeks¹⁷⁾ refers to refugees' fertility level variations in the context of compressed fertility conversion accompanying migration from high fertility countries to low fertility countries. Therefore, there is a possibility that this analysis framework is more compatible. In their framework, fertility is not only directly determined by background factors such as social background, marital history, and migration history, but also determined by economic adaptation and cultural adaptation that are prescribed by the numbers of years of stay. They suggest that the effects of cultural adaptation are exerted on a short-term basis, and that there is a possibility that the following items will have greater effects: reflection of fertility trends in such female spouses' home countries; efforts to improve socioeconomic statuses; and increases in availability of birth adjustment. In fact, in both Japan and Taiwan, there is a possibility that the fertility of female spouses from Southeast Asian countries is relatively high. Furthermore, it is reported that Taiwanese male spouses want their heirs be born as soon as possible, and that on the contrary, Vietnamese female spouses try to delay childbirth by contraception and try to work as long as possible, thereby making remittances to their

¹⁴⁾ Chen (2005).

¹⁵⁾ Kojima (1992 b).

¹⁶⁾ Goldstein and Goldstein (1983).

home countries¹⁸⁾. It is unknown whether there are similar trends in the case of international marriages in Japan. Also, according to the website of the Bureau of Health Promotion, Department of Health, the Executive Yuan, Republic of China (Taiwan), assistance in terms of family planning is provided to foreign female spouses in international marriages.

(2) Empirical studies

In Japan, there are some studies written by population researchers around 1990¹⁹⁾, but the contents are limited to those for ordinary readers due to the following reasons: no progress was made in the accumulation of macro-data on the Vital Statistics or the Population Censuses; and no very detailed collected results were announced. Subsequent studies by the present writer centered on the presentation of literature in advanced countries²⁰⁾. Hara et al. performed estimation and analysis of trends using long-term detailed macro-data²¹⁾. Since then macro-data have been accumulated but no similar studies seem to have been made. Furthermore, since mid-1990, sociologists' studies of international marriages have been on the increase. It is true that they touch on demographic aspects, but their principal objective is the analysis of various sociological aspects²²⁾. Also, there are a series of studies made by Piper and carried by academic journals regarding population²³⁾. However, these are studies made with regard to female population migration from the viewpoint of feminists, and no detailed analysis of demographic data was carried out. As regards analysis using small-scale micro-data, there are some studies made early on with respect to international marriages between Japanese men and Filipinas²⁴⁾. The following studies and investigations centered on aspects other than population: Cahill's study²⁵⁾ performed from the Philippines at a relatively early stage; investigations by CFO (Commission on Filipinos Overseas)²⁶⁾; and some studies, other than the above, carried out by Japan. In this regard, CFO investigation results show that the average age of Filipinas who made a marriage migration to Japan was 25, and that the average age of the Japanese spouses was 34, the age gap being about nine years²⁷⁾. Also, Kuwayama shows in a diagram that in Yamagata Prefecture, the first childbirth interval (defined as the interval between marriage and first childbirth) is significantly short in the case of South Korean female spouses and that this interval is relatively short

¹⁷⁾ Rambaut and Weeks (1986).

¹⁸⁾ Wang and Chang (2002).

¹⁹⁾ Kojima (1989), Ito (1990 – 1991), for example.

²⁰⁾ Kojima (1992 a, 1992 b).

²¹⁾ Nara et al. (1994) and Hara (1996).

²²⁾ Recently published studies include Takeshita (2000, 2004), Nakamatsu (2002), and Satake and Dahnoi (2006), for example.

²³⁾ Piper (2003), for example.

²⁴⁾ See review by Kojima (1996).

²⁵⁾ Cahill (1990).

²⁶⁾ Commission on Filipinos Overseas (1993).

²⁷⁾ Commission on Filipinos Overseas (1993).

in the case of Filipina spouses²⁸). This may be due to the character of the locality where importance is attached to births of heirs. Among the above studies, it is almost impossible to find a study comprising multivariate analysis of micro-data, except in a series of writings by Takeshita and Shi²⁹). In these writings, however, no demographic aspects are analyzed. In this area, in a recent writing of Takeshita, detailed analysis is made of couples in international marriages between Taiwanese men residing in Taiwan and Japanese women³⁰). However, no demographic aspects are dealt with.

In Taiwan, there was a pioneering study by a demographer regarding female spouses from Mainland China³¹). However, people surveyed were limited to a small number. Subsequently, a report³²) was published on the above-mentioned overall survey titled "A Survey of Living Status of Foreign and Mainland Chinese Spouses", which was conducted on couples in international marriages by the Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan). In addition to the above, a nationwide sampling survey titled "A Survey of Learning and Living Intention of Foreign Spouses' Primary School Children" was carried out by the Department of Statistics, Ministry of Education, Republic of China (Taiwan) with respect to elementary school students born to couples in international marriages, and some demographic attributes are shown in the report³³). In recent years there have been rapid increases in empirical studies on adaptation of foreign female spouses in international marriages and their children, where masters' theses and academic papers, in particular, serve as the primary means of publication. So, the present writer studied documents including bulletins and summaries of convention reports of the Taiwan Demographic Society and the Taiwan Sociological Society. However, he was unable to find any empirical analysis of micro-data for the survey by the Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan), except that Chen touched partially on this³⁴). Nevertheless, there are serial demographic studies, including that of Tsay³⁵) as well as that of Yang and Liu³⁶), in which attempts are made to explain increases in international marriages in relation to international migration and marriage squeezes where macro-data from sources like censuses were used. Furthermore, Wang and Yu conducted formally-oriented demographic analysis of the fertility of couples in international marriages using macro-data from sources such as vital statistics of population³⁷). Wang points out that

²⁸) Kuwayama (1995).

²⁹) Takeshita (2000), Shi (1999), for example.

³⁰) Takeshita (2004).

³¹) Tu and Li (1997 a, 1997 b).

³²) Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan) (2004).

³³) Department of Statistics, Ministry of Education, Republic of China (Taiwan) (2005).

³⁴) Chen (2005).

³⁵) Tsay (2004).

³⁶) Yang and Liu (2005).

³⁷) Wang and Yu (2006).

the fertility of Vietnamese women is high³⁸). However, there is a possibility that this fertility is not necessarily higher than that of married Taiwanese women. In addition to the above, there are some empirical studies based on surveys conducted in the home countries of foreign female spouses, such as Vietnam and mainland China³⁹). However, those studies do not focus on demographic aspects. In addition, Ito also presents the results of surveys conducted by the Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan)⁴⁰).

In Europe and North America, there are many multivariate analyses on family formation behavior by immigrant couples and intermarriages between races and religions. However, it was impossible to find multivariate analysis regarding family formation behavior by couples in international marriages. Also, granted that there are marriages with persons residing in foreign countries, international marriages are concluded primarily between second generation immigrants and partners in the parents' home countries. Therefore, such marriages are significantly different in nature from international marriages which are found in Southeast Asian countries. Moreover, the numbers of mail-order bride cases, which correspond to what are found in Southeast Asian countries, do not seem to be so large as to warrant demographic studies. In Australia, however, instances of international marriages that are similar in nature to those in Japan and Taiwan seem to be present in frequencies such as to attract the interest of demographers⁴¹). Analysis regarding maternity health including artificial abortion is conducted in the report of the above-mentioned survey by the Ministry of Health and Society of South Korea⁴²). This analysis, however, is not multivariate analysis. Furthermore, in the report of the survey conducted by the Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan), which is analyzed in this study, it is true that relevant numbers are totaled according to spouses' sexes and ages with respect to distributions of marriage continuation periods and of total numbers of children born, but no such totaling is performed with regard to distributions of couples' age gaps or of children's ages.

Data and analysis method

(1) Data

The following data were used in this study: individual sheets for members of ordinary households, including foreigners, from the Population Census in 2000, for which approval was given for use for other than intended purposes; and individual sheets from the above-mentioned "A Survey of Living Status of Foreign and Mainland Chinese Spouses"

³⁸) Wang (2005).

³⁹) Wang and Chang (320029, Han (2005), and Hong (2005), for example.

⁴⁰) Ito (2005).

⁴¹) Khoo (2003).

⁴²) Seol (2006).

conducted in 2003, for which special approval was given for use. For details of the data, refer to the report on the Population Census in 2000 and “A Survey of Living Status of Foreign and Mainland Chinese Spouses”⁴³⁾. In this regard, the latter report will be presented to some extent. The implementation entity was the Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan). The subjects of the survey were all Taiwanese’s spouses who had foreign nationalities or who came from mainland China (287,059 persons, out of whom valid sheets were applicable to 240,837 persons). Survey items included couples’ basic information, marriages, births, status of children, status of residence, economic status, needs for health care, and needs for care services. The appointed survey date was October 16, 2003. Thus the overall survey in Taiwan contains detailed information on family formation. The present writer conducted some analyses on this⁴⁴⁾. The Population Census did not intend to collect information on marriages and births. So when attempts were made to conduct comparative analysis it turned out that considerable restrictions were present on the analysis method and on dependent variables subjected to analysis as stated below.

(2) Analysis method

In this analysis, the following couples in international marriages, who have great impact on population reproduction in Japan and Taiwan, will be taken as the subjects of analysis: couples in international marriages between Japanese men and foreign women; and couples in international marriages between Taiwanese men and foreign women. Furthermore, for the purpose of clarifying marriage and birth behavior of relatively recent couples in international marriages, the results of comparative analysis regarding family formation behavior and relevant determinants among the following entities will be shown: couples consisting of foreign women aged under 35 and Japanese men (about 75,000 cases); and couples consisting of foreign women aged under 35 and Taiwanese men (about 126,000 cases). Furthermore, in the case of Japan, there is no information on marriages or history of births and so any child living together with a couple will be treated as a child born. It is possible that such a child is a stepchild but since the age of the foreign female concerned is less than 35, it is considered that there is almost no influence of any related family. The oldest child among the children living together will be regarded as the first child, from whose age the age at first birth will be calculated. The age thus calculated will be regarded as a proxy variable for the marriage age.

Cross table analysis and multivariate analysis will be used by way of analysis methods. As regards techniques for multivariate analysis, due to limitations on Population Census data, it is impossible to use techniques for survival analysis including proportional hazard models. Therefore, multiple regression analysis (SAS / REG procedure) and multinomial logit analysis (SAS / CATMOD procedure) will be used and caution is necessary in

⁴³⁾ Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China (Taiwan) (2004).

⁴⁴⁾ Kojima (2005 c).

interpreting the results of multiple regression analysis. Furthermore, with respect to dependent variables, Table 1 shows averages and distributions. In this regard the following items will be taken as the subjects of comparative analysis: the age at first birth of the wife as a proxy variable for the marriage age (which is obtained by subtracting the first child's age from her age) and the corresponding age of the husband (which is obtained by subtracting the first child's age from his age); the age gap (which is obtained by subtracting the wife's age from the husband's age); the total number of children born; the distribution of all children born (one child, two children, or three children vs. no child); sex distribution for the first to third children (male children vs. female children). Table 4 shows the frequency distributions of independent variables. A two-year groups range of wives' ages (vs. ages under 25) and a five-year groups range of husbands' ages (vs. ages under 30) will be used as demographic attributes. The wife's home country (the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea, Brazil, or any other country vs. China in the case of Japan; the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, or any other country vs. mainland China in the case of Taiwan), the wife's place of residence five years ago (or four years ago in the case of Taiwan) (foreign country vs. Japan), characteristics of present place of residence (DID vs. other in the case of Japan, city under direct control of the central government vs. other in the case of Taiwan), and whether the couple is living together with or apart from the husband's parents (living together vs. living apart) are used as geographic attributes. The couple's academic backgrounds (secondary, tertiary vs. primary or below), the couple's work status (no work or the like, non-regular work or the like vs. regular work), and the couple's occupation (engaged in agriculture, forestry, or fisheries, engaged in blue-collar work vs. other) are used as socioeconomic attributes. Furthermore, multiple regression analysis will be applied to the childbirth ages, the age gap, and the total number of children born, which come under the category of dependent variables. However, since the age gap is the difference between the husband's age and the wife's age, it is impossible to simultaneously input the husband's age and the wife's age as independent variables. Therefore, the results pertaining to separate models into which their ages are input separately will be shown.

Analysis results

(1) Cross table analysis

First, what follows is not shown in the form of a table. A study of distributions by nationality of married foreign wives living together with their husbands shows the following: In the case of Japan, those from the Philippines account for about one third, which is the highest proportion, followed by the corresponding ratios of those from China (including regions like Taiwan), North and South Korea, Thailand, Brazil, the United