Female Gender Construction and the Idea of Marriage Migration: Women from Former Soviet Union Countries Married to Japanese Men

Viktoriya Kim
Mission of the Afrasian Research Centre

Today's globalised world has witnessed astonishing political and economic growth in the regions of Asia and Africa. Such progress has been accompanied, however, with a high frequency of various types of conflicts and disputes. The Afrasian Research Centre aims to build on the achievements of its predecessor, the Afrasian Centre for Peace and Development Studies (ACPDS), by applying its great tradition of research towards Asia with the goal of building a new foundation for interdisciplinary research into multicultural societies in the fields of Immigration Studies, International Relations and Communication Theory. In addition, we seek to clarify the processes through which conflicts are resolved, reconciliation is achieved and multicultural societies are established. Building on the expertise and networks that have been accumulated in Ryukoku University in the past (listed below), we will organise research projects to tackle new and emerging issues in the age of globalisation. We aim to disseminate the results of our research internationally, through academic publications and engagement in public discourse.

1. A Tradition of Religious and Cultural Studies
2. Expertise in Participatory Research/ Inter-Civic Relation Studies
3. Expertise in Asian and Africa Studies
4. Expertise in Communication and Education Studies
5. New Approaches to the Understanding of Other Cultures in Japan
6. Domestic and International Networks with Major Research Institutes
Female Gender Construction and the Idea of Marriage Migration: Women from Former Soviet Union Countries Married to Japanese Men

Viktoriya Kim

Working Paper Series
Studies on Multicultural Societies No.20

2013
©2013

Afrasian Research Centre, Ryukoku University
1-5 Yokotani, Seta Oe-cho, Otsu,
Shiga, JAPAN

All rights reserved

ISBN 978-4-904945-23-0

The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Afrasian Research Centre.

The publication of the Working Paper Series is supported by the Project for Strategic Research Base Formation Support at Private Universities with the theme “Research into the Possibilities of Establishing Multicultural Societies in the Asian-Pacific Region: Conflict, Negotiation, and Migration” (from 2011 to 2013), funded by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, and Ryukoku University.
Female Gender Construction and the Idea of Marriage Migration: 
Women from Former Soviet Union Countries Married to Japanese Men

Viktoriya Kim*

Introduction

In the history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics¹ and Russian Federation, there have been about four waves of migration to the West, especially to France and the United States of America. The first such wave was the “white emigration” caused by political issues after the Russian Revolution, from 1917 to 1930. This involved people who were opposed to “red” Soviet politics and relocated to Europe or the Far East. According to Kovalevskiy (1971) cited by Makhovskaya (2005), many of the emigrants were upper-class and intellectuals; in 1926, 11.6 million people left the country. The second wave, the “war emigration,” after World War II, also had political reasons. Those who were afraid to go back to Russia did not return and relocated to other countries. The third wave occurred from the 1970s to the 1980s, composed mainly of a small number of emigrants such as writers, left-wing youths, or celebrities who defected during foreign business trips, and scholars. The final wave began in the late 1980s to the early 1990s, after the fall of the iron curtain, and was called the “sausage migration.”² Migrants of this wave chose to live abroad in order to obtain the comforts and standards of living of the Western world. In addition to these four waves, the fifth wave, transnational migration,³ called the “shuttle/loyal migration” is now being pointed out. Typical of this migration wave is the reliance only on legal methods to travel abroad, and migrants shuttling back and forth between their original country and the place of migration. This is different from previous migrations in that previous migrants typically settled for good in their place of migration. Another characteristic is that in many cases, the migrants’ purpose is to settle down

* Assistant Professor, School of Human Sciences, Osaka University.

¹ Hereinafter – “former Soviet Union (FSU) countries,” that includes such countries as Azerbaijan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Belarus, etc. However, this paper mainly refers to women from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, Russia and Belarus.

² The use of the word “sausage” was because the recession which began in the late 80s forced the people of the Soviet Union to stand in long lines to purchase food, clothing, etc. People who aimed to relocated to foreign countries were called “sausage emigrants” because they sought after a life where food and other goods can be purchased freely.

³ Castles and Miller (2009) explain transnational emigration as follows. With the rapid advancement of technology and transportation methods, relocating people are now able to maintain close relationships with their home countries. Also, people are now able to continuously travel back and forth between or temporarily transfer to two or more areas with economic, social or cultural linkages (Castles and Miller 2009:30).
in the new country through marriage (Makhovskaya 2003). As will be discussed later, the number of “international marriages” of women from former Soviet countries increased dramatically during the fourth and the fifth waves of migration.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss how the ideological transition from “working women” propagated by the Soviet Union government to “housewives” by the Russian government encouraged women to seek a foreign spouse. The changes that have occurred in women’s views regarding marriage and life due to this ideology shift will be analyzed. This paper then aims to discuss the disparity between the ideology propagated by governments and what women experienced in real life. To solve dissatisfactions with both their daily lives and men from their home countries, women from the FSU have turned their eyes to foreign countries, one of which is Japan, seeking to improve their lives either by labor or marriage migration. The following discussion analyses why they go to Japan and get married to Japanese men.

In recent years the number of “international marriages”\textsuperscript{4} between Japanese nationals and foreigners\textsuperscript{5} has been continuously increasing. According to the latest 2011 Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare’s Statistical Database (2012), the number of Japanese-foreigner couples

\textsuperscript{4} While there are a lot of arguments in the naming of international marriages (kokusai kekkon) in Japan, in this paper the term “international marriage” will be utilized.

\textsuperscript{5} Hereinafter – “international marriages”
Figure 2: Number of registered nationals of former Soviet countries in 2011

![Bar chart showing the number of registered nationals from different countries in 2011.](chart)

Source: Created based on “Statistical Table on Registered Aliens” (2012) by the Ministry of Justice

Figure 3: Total number of permanent residents and spouses of Japanese nationals from former Soviet countries in 2011

![Pie chart showing the total number of permanent residents and spouses from different countries.](chart)

Source: Created based on “Statistical Table on Registered Aliens” (2012) by Ministry of Justice
has increased from 4,156 in 1965 to 25,934 in 2011 (see Figure 1). The number of couples with a Japanese husband and a foreign wife has shown particular increase, soaring from 1,067 to 19,022. The most common nationalities of the wives were Chinese (8,104 couples), Filipina (4,290 couples) and South or North Korean (3,098 couples).

Also, the nationality of foreign spouses of Japanese nationals began to diversify in the late 1980s, with a noted increase seen in marriages between citizens of FSU with Japanese citizens, from 198 couples (Population Census 1995) in 1995 to about 5,000 as of 2011 (Statistical Table on Registered Aliens 2012), as shown in Figures 2 and 3 above. Most of these couples are composed of women from FSU countries and Japanese men, given the proportion of nationals from these countries living in Japan. According to the Statistical Table on Registered Aliens compiled by the Ministry of Justice (2012) the overall number of men from above mentioned countries residing in Japan is 3,335 and the number of women is 7,044; while the number of men from 20 to 54 years old is 2,365 and the number of women in the same age group is 6,100.

Even as the number of women from the FSU has clearly increased in Japan, there are still no studies focusing on them; therefore, this paper aims to present the results of research conducted by the author between 2006 and 2012 on the lives of 45 women married to Japanese men living in urban areas of Japan. The data was collected through questionnaires and interviews, as well as participant observation of women’s gatherings and their Internet network exchanges.

**Ideological Changes in Women’s Status**

First, it is necessary to analyze the sociocultural background of women from FSU countries who are spouses in “international marriages.” Particular focus will be on the social roles of women and how femininity and the female gender were constructed in the Soviet Union and the countries that were formed after its dissolution. The concept of “making gender,” as defined by Ortner (1996) refers to the subjects constructed by, and subjected to, the cultural and historical discourses which they must operate within. On the other hand, we have the agent “enacting,” “resisting,” or “negotiating” with these cultural and historical discourses, and in

---

6 However, this number does not include marriages with women from Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, etc., so the actual number is difficult to grasp.

7 According to the Statistical Table on Registered Aliens compiled by the Ministry of Justice, the number of citizens of former Soviet countries who are married to Japanese (Spouses of Japanese nationals etc., however this status is applicable for spouses of Japanese nationals, those born as the children of Japanese nationals or children adopted by Japanese nationals) was 2,010 in 2011, and the number of permanent residents was 3,313 (Ministry of Justice, 2012).

8 Main focus is on Russia. According to M. Buckley (1997), the geopolitical status of post-Soviet Russia remains hegemonic. Therefore, economic and diplomatic policy changes of Russia are extremely important to former Soviet Union countries.
doing so “making” gender. This “making” may reproduce a certain society or culture, or it may produce something new, although not necessarily what the agents had intended. Thus, while their ideas are constructed by the surrounding environment, individuals (agents) constantly make their choices.

The politics of female gender construction in the Soviet Union greatly influenced women who entered into “international marriages,” especially related to their ideas of women’s roles and relationships with men. Particularly, their own mothers’ negative experiences have influenced these women’s concerns and desires regarding their own marriages. On the other hand, the collapse of the Soviet Union brought different ideas about female roles to the Russian and former Soviet Union societies. It is amidst such a changing situation that young women have created their own habitus9 based on their mothers’ experiences and social ideals.

According to Ortner (1996), studies about how the many forms of discourse — media, literary, medical, religious discourses and so on — “constructs” categories or identities that are incomplete and misleading unless they ask to what degree those discourses successfully impose themselves on real people (and which people) in real time. Similarly, studies about ways in which people can resist, negotiate or appropriate their world’s structure are also inadequate and misleading without careful analysis of the cultural meanings and structural arrangements that construct and constrain their “agency.”10 This paper will therefore analyze the sociocultural gender construction of men and women, as well as the gender construction of women as agents in the then Soviet Union and today’s FSU countries to reveal what factors have triggered labor/marriage migration of women.

**Women’s Gender Construction in the Soviet Union**

Various authors point out to Russian women’s femininity and their “willingness” to become housewives. According to Visson, the dream of many Russian women is to stay at home and be looked after by strong, capable men (Visson 2001:48); women are expected to beautify themselves, as a strategy in winning the competition to attract men’s interest. Holmgren points out that Russian women are often regarded by Western women as “being behind,” in the sense that they agree willingly to the typical female roles of wife, mother and housewife (Holmgren 1995:16).

---

9 Habitus has durable, transposable dispositions, reconciling past influences and current stimulations. “The structures constitutive of a particular social formation produce a habitus wherein the agent’s interests are defined and with them the objective functions and subjective motivations of their practices” (Bourdieu 1977:76). In other words, habitus is a set of dispositions created based on social construction and personal history and reformulated. “Habitus also includes a person’s own knowledge and conceptualisation of the world, which makes a separate contribution to the ‘reality’ of that world” (Mahar 1990:11).

10 Agency is defined as a “socio-culturally mediated capacity to act” (Ahearn, 2001), and “motivated capacity to act” (Hay, 2005).
From 1917 until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, expectations towards women’s social roles, or the politics of female gender construction, changed based on political and economic needs. The female gender construction was continued in the market economy by Russia and former Soviet countries following the same policy. Russian researchers (Barsukova 1998, Makhovskaya 2003, Sarsenov 2004) liken the female gender ideology construction of the Soviet Union and Russia to a “Cinderella” story, where women have to face hardships in the early stages of life to be eventually compensated in the future.

Barsukova (1998) divides the social status changes during the Soviet Union era into three categories, and presents the ideas of female roles accordingly. First, during the 1920s when the Soviet Union was formed, World War I and the Russian Revolution caused a decrease in the male population and the need arose for women to contribute to the production force. Since there was no time or capital to change the labor conditions in order to accommodate the psychological and physical characteristics of women, they were put to work under the same conditions as the men. Thus, the first “Cinderella” role model was a woman operating a tractor. The image of women engaging in traditionally masculine work was popularized as the optimum form of embracing social activities by women and socialist ideals. Women began working in the same manner as men, and traditional views regarding gender-based division of roles (in which men work and women care for the home) in the Soviet Union began to change.

During World War II, while the men were at war, it was the women who were the main domestic production force. Also, since many men were lost in the war, the ideology of women conducting masculine work continued. Labor shortages resulted in a stronger presence of women’s labor, and Soviet Union women, as comrades-in-arms to the men, became national symbols; similarly to the 1920s, women began to replace men in various fields on a daily basis. Such social activities and careers of women shifted their values to considering themselves “equal to men”; family relationships also began to change.

The Soviet government adopted policies to support those women so that they could work in an equal capacity to men. One specific example is the “working mother” model introduced in the 1930s, which resulted in women working full-time, rearing children with help from public agencies, families and relatives, while still doing the housework. Such changes caused the fall of the traditional patriarchal family. Although women’s roles in the home did not change, they became less dependent on husbands from the economic point of view (Temkina and Rotkirkh 2002).

In the 1960s, the “working women” began to give way to a new “Cinderella” model – a woman in the sciences field, as pointed out by Barsukova (1998). Scientific and technological development in 1960s led to the need for a female model that not only worked in the same manner as men but also competed equally in the fields of science and technology. The
promotion of such female models resulted in many women aspiring to attend universities. According to Aivazova (1998), in the mid-1960s 59% of women were graduates of universities and vocational schools, and in 1981, women accounted for 52% of the student body in universities and 56% in vocational schools. At the same time, Baskakova (2003) claims that in the years 1959-1989, the education level of women caught up with that of men. Such changes are shown in Table 1.

If at first women worked side by side with men and later started to succeed in fields of science and technology, Barsukova (1998) argues that with the increased competition with the capitalist world in the 1970s, fields requiring “traditional” female abilities emerged. These fields required not female knowledge and abilities, but skills; therefore, as Barsukova (1998) mentions, the new “Cinderella” was a textile worker. Instead of women with intellectual ambitions in the 1960s, women who could engage in mechanical tasks with concentration and speed were in demand. Thus, the mothers and grandmothers of the women who are now in “international marriages” were brought up under this ideology. In the next part, the focus will be on how this has influenced the gender construction of women who grew up after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

**Changes in Russia and the Following Gender Construction**

The democratization process that started in the late 1980s and the revival of warm diplomatic and economic links with capitalist countries – especially Europe and the United States of America – resulted in various domestic changes in the Soviet Union. The collapse was a heavy blow to the industrial sector; with the reduction in the number of jobs for men, the “working women” became an obstructive factor to society. This required a new ideal of women to replace “working women.”

---

**Table 1: Education level of men and women 15 years or older**

(Per 1000 male/female population, 1959, 1989, 1994, 2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>University graduates M</th>
<th>University graduates F</th>
<th>University withdrawers M</th>
<th>University withdrawers F</th>
<th>Vocational school graduates M</th>
<th>Vocational school graduates F</th>
<th>High school graduates M</th>
<th>High school graduates F</th>
<th>Middle school graduates M</th>
<th>Middle school graduates F</th>
<th>Elementary school graduates M</th>
<th>Elementary school graduates F</th>
<th>No elementary school education M</th>
<th>No elementary school education F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Baskakova (2003)
According to Barsukova (1998), the media provided the following two ideals for women: the female entrepreneur or “business woman” and the “housewife.” The “business woman” ideal was difficult to realize, since it required funding, connections and enormous efforts; and it required success in business. Moreover, the “business woman” ideal did not appeal to Russian women. This was because the aforementioned historical background had already given women legal status equal to men, as well as equal working opportunities; the feminist philosophy of independence did not spread as planned. On the other hand, the ideal of “housewife” was more closely connected with the notion of femininity as promulgated in the media. As Temkina and Rotkirkh (2002) observe, there was an idea of “feminine woman” that had been widely used in Soviet Union movies and literary works since 1970s; the heroines were women who fall in love, experience hardships, and sacrifice themselves. This meant that Soviet Union women simultaneously valued gender equality and femininity. And “from the late 1980s, on the one hand, the ‘Western lifestyle’ of working husbands and housewives was accepted as ideal among the Soviet Union people. Such a lifestyle connected with Soviet values regarding family, home, stability and nostalgia for ‘real men.’ On the other hand, the images of gender equality and feminism, the results of women’s liberation during the Soviet era, began to have negative connotations” (Temkina and Rotkirkh 2002). Consequently it became difficult to popularize the “business woman” ideal to women being in such an ambivalent position. 

Thus, the ideal of “housewife,” or “new Russian wife” became popular. “New Russians” are the generation of Russians that has emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union, mainly belonging to the wealthier classes. Due to the difficulties involved in becoming a female entrepreneur, many women actually had no choice but to hope for a marriage with a wealthy man. As pointed out by Sarsenov (2004), in all societies where men own much of the resources, women use men, especially through marriage, to succeed. The model of a “business woman” was then supplanted by that of a wife to those new Russians; it was supposed that any woman has a chance of achieving this ideal since it requires not professional talents but talents “unique to women.” In addition, unlike the former “Cinderella” models, this model allegedly provides numerous benefits simply by marrying someone. The media has promoted such images, providing “advices” on how to marry a rich man.

However, through the changes that occurred from the birth of the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation, marriage with a wealthy man became nearly impossible and it became difficult even to find a “decent” man due to a continuous shortage of men. In the past wars, such as the Russian Revolution, the World Wars, and the conflict in Afghanistan claimed millions of lives, especially men. From the 1990s onward, the political and economic changes in Russia led to unhealthy habits among men, such as smoking, excessive consumption of alcohol, drug addiction and involvement with crime, which also reduced the male populace (Andreyev 2003, Baskakova 2005). Adding to this problem is the spike in the number of suicides: according to Starikov (2001) the overall suicide rate in Russia jumped from already high 33,261 suicides in
1986 to 40,143 in 1991 (26.9 suicides per 100,000 people). According to Predimore et.al. (Figure 4) it is clear that male mortality rate from alcohol has tripled, homicide rate quintupled, and suicide rate doubled from 1950s to 2000s. The gender ratio of suicides was three to four men to one woman; many of those who committed suicide were “new Russians” and middle-class men; and the ages of suicide victim men ranged from 30 to 59 (Starikov 2001).

Another problem in realizing the “housewife” ideal was economic instability that weakened the economic strengths of men. According to Tribuna (2006), families in the Soviet Union needed both spouses to work to support their families. However, with the economic changes following the collapse of the Soviet Union, unemployment surged; the media and government propaganda began to present ideas of patriarchy and housewives in a positive light (Ashwin and Bowers 1997, Tribuna 2006). However, the salary of men remained at the same level as during the Soviet era; in other words, men could only bring home half the money required to maintain a family. Despite working hard, many men could not support their family with just their salary nor could fulfill their “role” as patriarch.

As a result, just as in the Soviet era, the women in Russia had no choice but to work and support their families in order to survive. Currently, men account for 51% and women for 49%
of all laborers (Baskakova 2005). And since the gender-based division of domestic labor roles in Russia has remained “traditional” despite the women’s education level (Table 1) and employment rate, women are working twice as much as men: “women spend 30.3 hours on housework per week, whereas men spend 14” (Baskakova 2005).

Overall, due to various economic and political issues, Russian men have no self-confidence, give up on life, drink excessive amounts of alcohol and die young (Tribuna 2007), and Russian women still strive to balance work and home roles. As a result, it became difficult for women to find men they would consider marrying, much less those that could enable them to be “housewives.” This in turn has led to a high divorce rate: from 1992 to 2009, in Russia, there have been 60 to 80 divorces for every 100 marriages\(^\text{11}\) (Sta-t 2009). According to data, 80% of such divorces are initiated by women (Makhovskaya 2003, Komsomolskaya Pravda Pravda 2008). The reasons are alcohol/drug addiction (51%), housing issues (in many cases, issues caused by living with parents of one of the spouses) (41%), spousal issues (infidelity, violence etc.) (31%), and economic situation (29%)\(^\text{12}\) (Sta-t 2009).

If making women willing to go back to being housewives succeeded at the ideological level in Russia, at the social level, the path to such transition was not well prepared. Therefore, in order to realize the “goal” of becoming a housewife, Russian women began to seek new solutions abroad.

\(^{11}\) Number of marriages/divorces in Russia presented by Sta-t (October 28, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Divorces</th>
<th>Number of marriages per 1,000 people</th>
<th>Number of divorces per 1,000 people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>897,327</td>
<td>627,703</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1,001,589</td>
<td>763,493</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1,019,762</td>
<td>853,647</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1,091,778</td>
<td>798,824</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>979,667</td>
<td>635,835</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1,066,366</td>
<td>604,942</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1,113,562</td>
<td>640,837</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,262,500</td>
<td>685,910</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1,179,007</td>
<td>703,412</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{12}\) Reasons and statistics of divorces in Russia presented by Sta-t (October 28, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for divorce</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol/drug addiction</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing issues (living with parents-in-law, etc.)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spousal issues (infidelity, violence, etc.)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic situation</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having no children</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-distance</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical ailments</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dreaming of “America” and “Foreign Husbands”

If the end of the Soviet Union created many domestic difficulties for FSU countries’ citizens – such as foreign debt and unemployment – it also deepened international relations with Western countries, creating new choices to move (Simons 2001). According to Denisenko (2002), the number of migrants from Russia in 1990 was 36 times that in 1986. Since then, the number of migrants remained stable at 100,000-110,000 per year. Between 1989 and 1999, 1,040,000 people migrated from Russia to other countries. Migration types include family relocation (mainly to the U.S., Canada, Australia etc.), repatriation (mainly to Germany and Israel), and labor/marriage migration.

Here the focus is on labor/marriage migration. While disintegrating family relations due to unemployment and psychological stress put women of these FSU countries in a vulnerable position, the new socioeconomic and diplomatic relations situation caused changes not only in gender relations but also led to labor/marriage migration becoming a possible solution for those women. The words of women from a FSU country cited by Makhovskaya (2003) reveal why women choose to marry foreign men. They claim that women with children were unable to obtain a secure lifestyle due to war, poverty, lack of rights, unemployment and bad relationships within their families. The economic demise of post-Soviet Russia gave rise to women who could withstand and survive various difficult situations. It is said that Russian women in such situations believe that they can only rely on other women when they face problems, since they cannot rely on men for survival. Gall and Kligman (2000) portray the status of socialist states’ men as the conflict between brave martyrs and child-like adults. In other words, the hegemony of a clear “manly figure” in society was not constructed; meanwhile, the private home life was the realm of women. This created an asymmetry between men and women, and women became discontented with the situation. Russian women who grew up surrounded by independent women began deliberating labor and marriage abroad with foreign men from a male-dominant society, in order to escape from the socioeconomic situation of their home countries.

The largest number of “international marriages” is with American citizens. There are no official statistics on women who migrate to foreign countries for the purposes of work or marriage, but according to Itogi (2002), the number of Russian women who married American men between 1992 and 2002 reached 75,000. Anashkina et. al. (2003) say that 60% of women who migrate for marriage are younger than 30 years old, 30% are between 30 and 40, and 7% are younger than 20 years old. Many of these women are ethnic Russians, and as for education level, more than half are university graduates.

Based on the above, women choose not only to work in foreign countries, but also to enter into “international marriages” when they are unsatisfied with gender relations in their own
countries, and are seeking ways to escape economic instability and difficulties in living. However, economic disparities among countries are not always the main reason for labor/marriage migration. Based on research on Filipino women marriage migrants, Constable (2005) says:

Women do not simply marry up because of material logics… other sorts of desires also come into play. Some women count love among the factors that motivate them to marry… Other women actively seek to marry farther afield not to find a husband in more desirable locations or because they prefer to live abroad but because of local constraints on their marriage opportunities. Some women are less marriageable locally because they are considered too old, too educated, divorced, or too experienced by local standards to be considered good wives (Constable 2005:11-12).

These points regarding Filipino women also apply to the situation with the women from FSU countries as discussed above. In addition to the choice of working abroad, marriage with foreign men implies the possibility of exercising a woman’s agency; “in a way, international marriages present success in international feminism” (Simons 2001:143).

“International Marriage” as an Escape from Gender Norms

Based on preceding research, this section will reveal how women targeted by this research explain their wish to marry foreign men instead of men from their own countries. There are several common trends to the comments of these women. One is discontent towards men from their own countries in terms of their attitude toward women. For example, Antonina (late 30s), participant of the study:

**Viktoriya Kim:** What do you think of men in your country?
**Antonina:** You know, I think they are unreliable.
**VK:** In what sense?
**Antonina:** In terms of family.
**VK:** Do you mean that they do not support the family?
**Antonina:** Let’s say, if I lived with him [a Russian man]\(^{13}\) for 15 years, there could be a possibility that he would leave me for a younger, prettier woman. Also, they take little responsibility for their children. Before marriage, I didn’t know how Japanese men felt about responsibility for their children, and I thought it depended on the person. But I think our people [people from the same country] have this characteristic [of not taking responsibility for their children]; this is why now there

\(^{13}\)Author’s comments shown with [ ].
are books being published on how to marry foreign men. If I were living in Russia, I would definitely buy that book. Because I had a goal, I definitely wanted to get married [to a foreigner], I don’t even know why. And it is not only because I didn’t want to live in Russia. However, you know, if I met some good guy that I fell in love with, I would marry him… But I didn’t.

From Antonina’s interview it is clear that she is not interested in Russian men not because of the economic insecurity or instability of life, but mostly because of the men’s attitude toward women that makes her feel not protected once she gets married and have children. Similarly, Oksana (late 30s), another participant, was married to a Russian man for eight years, but got divorced because she was not satisfied with her husband’s attitude [including domestic violence] towards her, economic instability, and his absence in terms of child rearing: “he was absent as a father and as a husband.” In addition, in her interview Oksana mentioned that her parents have also divorced, as had her sister (who later migrated to Portugal to work). Oksana says, “I thought of going abroad, but I didn’t know how… It [the opportunity to work abroad] came along by chance.”

Polina (early 20s) says:

I wouldn’t say everybody, but of those I’ve seen, there were no Russian men that were very suitable [for a husband]. Most were alcohol or drug addicts, and didn’t work. If they worked, they didn’t give what they earned to their wives [didn’t support the family], and didn’t help with housework. They were always hanging out with friends, or drinking beer. They said they loved their children, but didn’t take care of them. They didn’t look good either. (…) I don’t want to offend anyone, but I didn’t like them.

Overall, based on the interviews with women, it became clear that most of them did not have a good impression of men in their home countries. Moreover, those who had a chance to marry ended up with divorce; moreover, as in Oksana’s case, most of the women who participated in the study were brought up in divorced families or in the families where men were absent due to bad family relationships, alcohol addiction and other issues.

These women are also discontented with economic insecurity and men’s unwillingness to support their families. In the case of Mariya (early 30s), her decision to work abroad and subsequent marriage migration was rooted in the economic relationship with her partner, since she felt that she was the only one in their relationship that should earn all the money without help from men. When she first traveled to Japan to work as an entertainer, she said to her partner at the time, a Ukrainian man, “I will come back with money, so please wait for me. Let’s start some sort of business together,” and left for Japan. This man had spent time in prison.
since the age of 17, had a low education level, few skills, and was unemployed. When Mariya finished her first contract in Japan and came home, her partner was not working, and not even trying to seek employment; he was simply waiting for her money. When she found this out, she left him.

Another reason why women left their country was the fact that they had to balance work and housework. For example, Margarita (early 30s), who said she wanted to marry only foreign men, says:

> There was no future for me in Russia, and I didn’t want to live there, same with Russian men. I didn’t want to marry a Russian man, I don’t really know why. I’ve had Russian boyfriends, but I never wanted to marry them. It had nothing to do with money; it was their attitude toward women. I would have to do what they want, and they would have affairs like as it is normal. They would give me little money for living expenses, and I would be the one who has to worry about earning the rest of the money, and how the family is going to live. And at the same time they would lead a luxurious lifestyle with their money.

Other answers included “many men have affairs,” “they don’t take responsibility for the family,” and “I don’t have anyone to rely on.” These comments reveal that women are unsatisfied with gender/family norms in Russia. Especially emphasized by the research participants was the way female’s gender is constructed and men’s attitude toward family.

Some women also mention about imbalance of male and female population, especially emphasizing such social problems as alcohol/drug addiction, which leads to women being required to constantly compete with other women to find and keep a good husband. Marina (late 20s) explains that:

> I don’t think Russian men are particularly bad... There are some very good men. But many become alcoholics or don’t do anything, and just complain about life. There are not many [men] who are good, young, smart and handsome. On the other hand, there are many smart and pretty Russian women, so the competition is fierce. If a woman finds a good man, she must fight against other women her entire life to keep him. In the end, there are wonderful men in Russia, but I’ve never met one.

Aware of the difficulties with finding an appropriate partner, another participant, Maiya (early 30s), even joined an international match-making agency, hoping to marry an American or a Canadian man. This was because “the number of men in the world is far greater than that in Russia, so it’s better to look for one in the world.”
Thus, these women criticized the gender norms and since they found such a lifestyle unsatisfactory, they chose the strategy of marrying foreign men in order to escape their current situation.

**Labor/Marriage Migration Due to Economic Instability**

Economic difficulties and social changes increased the incidence of women working abroad. Unemployment, increased crime, breakup of surrounding families, and alcohol/drug addiction intensified the anxiety of women with children, causing a sharp increase in labor migration. Darya (early 30s), who moved to Japan, says:

> Of course, this was not an easy decision. First, when I was left alone with my two-year-old child [after her husband died], I began thinking about his [the child’s] future. Everything about this life, or rather, the surrounding environment, (...) a second marriage didn’t even cross my mind. All I thought about was how I’m going to raise my child in this environment, to make him a commendable person in society. I’m alone, and he will grow and go to school soon. I will probably not have the money to send him to an elite school, so he would have to go to a public school close to our house. Those schools were a mess (some sort of criminal groups, drugs etc.). I had never thought about those things, but once I started, and kept thinking, I began to fear for my child’s future.

There are also women who sought to work abroad so as to support their families, to improve their own economic status and to enroll in universities. For example, Vera (early 20s), who came to Japan as an entertainer, made the following comment regarding her earned money:

> Some people bought apartments and cars, and some worked to earn living expenses. The money I earned during my first contract, I gave to my mother, and with it she repaid her debt. We also bought clothes for her and me. (...) I didn’t use much of the money earned during my second contract, but deposited it in a bank to receive interest.

Mariya explains her motive to come to Japan for work as follows. She could find no steady job in Ukraine; she also wanted to leave Ukraine to learn new things, so she decided to go to Japan. However, from the second trip, she said she came to Japan to earn money. Her life became a routine of earning money in Japan, spending it in Ukraine, and after running out, going back to Japan to earn more. In this manner, Mariya bought an apartment, furniture, two cars and supported her family. Also, Nina (early 20s) says:

> I borrowed money from an acquaintance to pay for the first year tuition of
university, and to buy a suitcase and clothes to go to Japan. So, while I worked as a hostess [entertainer], I sent money to my family and repaid my debt. After returning home, I was able to pay all my tuition and renew the electrical appliances at home.

In addition, Nina dreamed of being a model; to realize this dream, she had no choice but to go abroad as an entertainer and look for modeling work there:

I had always wanted to be a model, and was registered with a modeling agency. But many women from this agency were going to Japan not as models but as hostesses, so I thought I’d go to Japan as a hostess first and then appeal to some Japanese modeling agencies.

Those women who worked as entertainers often responded that they “gave/sent money to parents to repay debts,” “helped parents to buy their house,” or “bought an apartment for myself.” In other words, many used the money to support their family or to establish a good future life for themselves.

Other women, from even more impoverished backgrounds, became sex workers to try to improve their lives. “Since life back in my village was so poor, becoming a sex worker was not much different from continuing to live in my village” (Dilya, early 30s). Life for Dilya in her village was desperately poor, with no possibility of escape from poverty as long as she lived there.

The experiences of these women reveal just how many problems and difficulties they faced, and also how their experiences were very far from the idea of “Cinderella.” “Cinderella” was passive, facing various difficult situations but never taking action; instead, she endured and waited to be rescued. Although preceding studies assume that there is no agency in women from former Soviet countries, the women from the FSU interviewed in this research were actively trying to improve their life situation using their own resources to succeed. Below is the analysis of comments by participating women to discuss on the how they managed to improve their situation.

**Measures to Meet Foreign Men**

The advancement of women into the fields of science and technology during the 1960s remained popular among Soviet women even after the policy change in the 1970s, and continued in Russia, even when university ceased being free in the late 1990s. Among such women, it seemed that many female students in the foreign language departments aspired to marry foreign men.
For example, Karina (early 30s) graduated from a French language school and was a student in the French department and dreamed of marrying a French man. Similarly, Nina studied in the German department and had the possibility of studying abroad in Germany; in her mind, she thought about marrying a German man. Marina, Nigora (early 30s) and Valeriya (late 20s) are all specialized in Japanese language and accordingly thought about marrying Japanese men. The relatives of Yaroslavna (early 20s) moved to Germany to live there, so when she thought about her future, she envisioned herself living in Germany. However, when she began studying in the Japanese department, people around her predicted that she would marry a Japanese man even though she had no intention to.

Aside from being foreign language students, another way to meet foreign men was through their work at offices of foreign corporations or by engaging in international work. For example, Valeriya, after graduating from a Japanese department, taught Japanese and worked as a Japanese-Russian interpreter. The man who would later be her husband worked at a consulate, and when he became ill, Valeriya worked as his interpreter at the hospital. While Maiya was a graduate school student, she worked as a guide. She met her husband while giving tours to Japanese tourists. Olesya (early 20s) could speak English, so she was providing information about Ukraine to her future Japanese husband via the Internet, which landed her a job as a guide, which was how she would eventually meet her husband. Karina taught Russian to her future Japanese husband.

Also, as with Olesya, the Internet played a major role for some women in meeting their husbands; some actively searched for foreign men. In the case of Elena (late 20s), she was interested in Japan and wanted to improve her English, so she found a Japanese man through a dating agency. Yaroslavna was also looking for someone, not as a partner or a husband, but simply to communicate with in Japanese. Using Skype to find language partners, she eventually met her future husband among them. In the case of Marina, she had kept up a long-term communication by email with a Japanese male friend who lived in Australia. This friend introduced Marina, via email, to her husband-to-be.

Again, it is clear that while these women accepted the government model of “housewives,” in order to realize this ideal, they actively utilized their resources (cultural capital: linguistic abilities) to effectively improve their lives. In other words, these women exercised their agency.

“International Marriages” as a Solution

Since the formation of the Soviet Union, the female gender had been exploited to accommodate political, economic and social situations. Although gender equality was propagandized, women had to balance home and work. However, economic difficulties arising in post-Soviet
countries necessitated “housewives” instead of “working women.” As a result, women from former Soviet countries born between 1970s and the 1980s were brought up based on this principle, and the “housewife” route became the “ideal” lifestyle for women. For these women, marriage became a method of overcoming difficulties in living.

However, not many men in FSU countries could provide solutions to these women through marriage; national policy provided the goals of “marriage” and “becoming a housewife” to women but no means to achieve these goals. Women therefore began to seek on their own a society that would meet their needs and allow reproduction of the “housewife” ideal through the institution of marriage. Also, in the case of former Soviet countries and their women, the interaction between nation and individual was not limited by the boundaries of a country, but functioned on a global scale. This meant that, in addition to domestic choices, women could potentially find a husband in the global marriage market. Women began to seek new solutions and turned their eyes toward foreign countries in order to realize them. What made international marriage and work emigration possible were the improved diplomatic relations among former Soviet countries and other countries, and the liberalization of migration. Against this backdrop, women were able to utilize their available resources, especially foreign language education and the popularization of the Internet, to seek new lifestyles. This shows that a globalized relationship between social structure and individuals does not always comprise domination by the social structure and subjugation of the individual; globalization creates new choices for individuals, and generates possibilities for them to exercise their agency.
References


Population Census. 1995. Otto no kokuseki (42 kubun), tsuma no kokuseki (42 kubun) betsu fûfu sù – zenkoku [Number of Spouses Divided by Nationality of Husband (42 categories), Nationality of Wife (42 categories) – Country Overall], Gaikokujin ni kansuru tokubetsu shûkei kekka Vol.9, 370-371.


Simons, Lisa Anne. 2001. Marriage, Migration, and Markets: International Matchmaking and International Feminism, PhD, Faculty of the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver.


Working Paper Series

Peace and Development Studies (Phase 1)

No.1 (2005)

No.2 (2005)
K. Palanisami, *Sustainable Management of Tank Irrigation Systems in South India*

No.3 (2006)
Nobuko Nagasaki, *Satyagraha as a Non-violent Means of Conflict Resolution*

No.4 (2006)
Yoshio Kawamura and Zhan Jin, *WTO/FTA and the Issues of Regional Disparity*

No.5 (2006)
Shin’ichi Takeuchi, *Political Liberalization or Armed Conflicts? Political Changes in Post-Cold War Africa*

No.6 (2006)
Daniel C. Bach, *Regional Governance and State Reconstruction in Africa*

No.7 (2006)
Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Ethnicity and the State in Africa*

No.8 (2006)
Kazuo Takahashi, *The Kurdish Situation in Iraq*

No.9 (2006)
Kaoru Sugihara, *East Asia, Middle East and the World Economy: Further Notes on the Oil Triangle*

No.10 (2006)
Kosuke Shimizu, *Discourses of Leadership and Japanese Political Economy: Three Phallus-centrists*

No.11 (2006)
Nao Sato, *The Composition and Job Structure of Female-Headed Households: A Case Study of a Rural Village in Siemreap Province, Cambodia*

No.12 (2006)
Takuya Misu, *The United States and the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)*

No.13 (2006)
Om Prakash, *Asia and the Rise of the Early Modern World Economy*

No.14 (2006)
Takehiko Ochiai, *Regional Security in Africa*

No.15 (2006)
Masahisa Kawabata, *An Overview of the Debate on the African State*

No.16 (2006)
Kazuo Takahashi, *The Middle East, the Middle Kingdom and Japan*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Tomoya Suzuki</td>
<td>Macroeconomic Impacts of Terrorism: Evidence from Indonesia in the Post-Suharto Era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kenichi Matsui</td>
<td>International Energy Regime: Role of Knowledge and Energy and Climate Change Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kazuo Takahashi</td>
<td>Not the Most Popular Decision: Japan’s Ground Self Defense Force Goes to Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Shinya Ishizaka</td>
<td>Leader-Follower Relations in the Foot Marches in Gandhian Environmental Movements in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Yoshio Kawamura</td>
<td>Participatory Community Development and a Role of Social Statistical Analysis: Case of the JICA-Indonesia Project—Takalar Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Takashi Inoguchi</td>
<td>The Place of the United States in the Triangle of Japan, China and India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>(forthcoming)</td>
<td>Kosuke Shimizu</td>
<td>Asian Regionalism and Japan’s Unforgettable Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>François Debrix</td>
<td>The Hegemony of Tabloid Geopolitics: How America and the West Cannot Think International Relations beyond Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Imposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Naomi Hosoda</td>
<td>The Social Process of Migration from the Eastern Visayas to Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Chizuko Sato</td>
<td>Forced Removals, Land Struggles and Restoration of Land in South Africa: A Case of Roosboom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Hiroyuki Torigoe</td>
<td>Land Ownership for the Preservation of Environment and Livelihood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kokki Goto (Edited, Annotated, and with an Introduction by Motoko Shimagami)</td>
<td>Iriai Forests Have Sustained the Livelihood and Autonomy of Villagers: Experience of Commons in Ishimushiro Hamlet in Northeastern Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kazuo Kobayashi</td>
<td>The “Invention of Tradition” in Java under the Japanese Occupation: The Tonarigumi System and Gotong Royon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No.32 (2007)
Benedict Anderson, *Useful or Useless Relics: Today’s Strange Monarchies*

No.33 (2008)
Pauline Kent, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: The Use of Radical Comparisons to Enhance Mutual Understanding*

No.34 (2008)
Naomi Hosoda, *Towards a Cultural Interpretation of Migration in the Philippines: Focusing on Value-Rationality and Capitalism*

No.35 (2008)
Anan Ganjanapan, *Multiplicity of Community Forestry as Knowledge Space in the Northern Thai Highlands*

No.36 (2008)
Shinji Suzuki, *The Increasing Enclosure of Mangrove Wetlands: Towards Resource Management in Development Frontiers*

No.37 (2008)
Akiko Watanabe, *Migration and Mosques: The Evolution and Transformation of Muslim Communities in Manila, the Philippines*

No.38 (2009)
Acharawan Isarangkura Na Ayuthaya and Senjo Nakai, *The Emergence and Development of Interfaith Cooperation: A Case Study of the Theravada Buddhist Advocacy for People Living with HIV/AIDS (PWA) in Upper Northern Thailand*

No.39 (2009)
Jeremy Rappleye, *Decline of the Tokyo Technocrats in Educational Policy Formation? Exploring the Loss of Ministry Autonomy and Recent Policy Trends with Reference to ‘Globalisation’ and Educational Transfer*

No.40 (2009)

No.41 (2009)
Takehiko Ochiai, *Personal Rule in Nigeria*

No.42 (2009)
Toru Sagawa, *Why Do People “Renounce War”?: The War Experience of the Daasanach of the Conflict-ridden Region of Northeast Africa*

No.43 (2009)
Aysun Uyar, *Political Configuration of Thailand’s Free Trade Agreements within the Framework of Southeast Asian Regional Economic Cooperation*

No.44 (2009)
Kosuke Shimizu, *Nishida Kitaro and Japan’s Interwar Foreign Policy: War Involvement and Culturalist Political Discourse*

No.45 (2009)
No.46 (2009)
Motoko Shimagami, *An Iriai Interchange Linking Japan and Indonesia: An Experiment in Practical Collaborative Research leading toward Community-Based Forest Management*

No.47 (2009)
Nakamura Hisashi, *Social Development and Conflict Resolution; as Seen by an Unorthodox Economist*

No.48 (2009)
Tomoko Matsui, *The Narrative Strategies and Multilayered Realities of Returnee Workers: A Case Study of Thai Returnee Workers from Japan*

No.49 (2009)
Yoshio Kawamura, *Framework on Socio-economic Mechanism of Emigration in the Pre-war Japan*

No.50 (2009)
Yoshio Kawamura, *Socioeconomic Factor Structure of Japanese Emigrant Communities: A Statistical Case Study at Inukami County, Shiga Prefecture, in the Meiji Era*

No.51 (2009)
David Blake Willis, *A Nation at Risk, A Nation in Need of Dialogue: Citizenship, Denizenship, and Beyond in Japanese Education*

No.52 (2009)
Shinya Ishizaka, *Non-violent Means of Conflict Resolution in the Chipko (Forest Protection) Movement in India*

No.53 (2009)
Shinji Suzuki, *Illegal Logging in Southeast Asia*

No.54 (2009)
Fuping Li, *The Current Issues and Development Process of Poverty in China*

No.55 (2009)
Shin’ichi Takeuchi, *Conflict and Land Tenure in Rwanda*

No.56 (2009)
Katsumi Ishizuka, *The Impact of UN Peace-building Efforts on the Justice System of Timor-Leste: Western versus Traditional Cultures*

No.57 (2009)
Kazuo Funahashi, *Changes in Income among Peasants in Northeast Thailand: Poverty Reduction Seen Through a Panel Analysis*

No.58 (2009)
Kazue Demachi, *Japanese Foreign Assistance to Africa: Aid and Trade*

No.59 (2009)
Akio Nishiura, *Determinants of South African Outward Direct Investment in Africa*

No.60 (2009)
Ryosuke Sato, *Discontinuity of International Law with the ‘National Reconciliation’ Process — An analysis of the transitional ‘amnesty’ mechanism of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa —*
No.61  (2009)
Kazuya Masuda, *The Reconstitution of Adat in a Dual Level Land Conflict: A case study of a village community under forest development schemes in Sumatra, Indonesia*

No.62  (2009)
Kyoko Cross, *Harmonizing Local with Global Justice: Emergence of a Hybrid Institutional Mechanism for Reconciliation in East Timor*

No.63  (2009)
Tomoaki Ueda, *Institution and Ideal in Indian Nationalist Thoughts: G K. Gokhale in Comparison with M. K. Gandhi*

No.64  (2010)
William Bradley, *Educational Policy in 21st Century Japan: Neoliberalism and Beyond?*

No.65  (2010)
Kosuke Shimizu, *Structural Violence and Human Security*

No.66  (2010)
Misa Shojiya, *Democratization in Divided Society – Outcomes and Issues in International Assistance —*

---

**Studies on Multicultural Societies (Phase 2)**

No.1  (2012)

No.2  (2012)
Rieko Karatani, *Unravelling the Security and Insecurity of Female Overseas Domestic Workers: ‘Global Householding’ and ‘Global De-Householding’ Examined*

No.3  (2012)
Katsumi Ishizuka, *Japan’s Policy towards the War on Terror in Afghanistan*

No.4  (2012)
Soo im Lee, *Japanese Learners’ Underlying Beliefs Affecting Foreign Language Learners’ Motivation: New Perspectives of Affective Factors Mechanism*

No.5  (2012)
Kelvin Chi-Kin Cheung, *Historicizing Taiwan’s Democracy: Recovering the Identity Politics Behind the New Civic Nation in Taiwan*

No.6  (2012)
Yoshio Kawamura, *Characteristics of Agricultural Production Structures Determined by Capital Inputs and Productivities in Contemporary China: Based on 2010 Annual Statistical Data at the Provincial Level*
No.7 (2012)

No.8 (2012)
Soo im Lee, Diversity of Zainichi Koreans and Their Ties to Japan and Korea

No.9 (2012)
Joo-Kyung Park, TESOL Training for Empowerment: The Case of Migrant Women in Korea

No.10 (2013)
Josuke Ikeda, When Global Ethics Fails: A Meta-Ethical Inquiry into Distant Rescue

No.11 (2012)
Chizuko Sato, International Migration of Nurses and Human Resources for Health Policy: The Case of South Africa

No.12 (2013)
Akihiro Asakawa, Why Boat People Are Not Welcome: Australia’s Refugee Policy in the Context of Immigration Management

No.13 (2013)
Hirofumi Wakita, Quality Assurance of English Language Teachers: A Missing Paradigm in Teacher Education

No.14 (2013)
Takeshi Mita, The View of Okinawa and Yaeyama on China

No.15 (2013)
Satofumi Kawamura, Introduction to “Nishida Problem”: Nishida Kitarō’s Political Philosophy and Governmentality

No.16 (2013)
Takumi Honda, A Critical Analysis of Multiculturalism from Japanese American Studies

No.17 (2013)
Shiro Sato, Nuclear Ethics as Normative and Cultural Restraints in International Politics

No.18 (2013)
Eriko Aoki, Ancestors and Visions: Reemergence of Traditional Religion in a Catholic Village in Flores, Eastern Indonesia

No.19 (2013)
William Bradley, Is There a Post-Multiculturalism?

No.20 (2013)
Viktoriya Kim, Female Gender Construction and the Idea of Marriage Migration: Women from Former Soviet Union Countries Married to Japanese Men