(Re)imagining marriage: Japanese women with non-Japanese husbands in Australia

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Introduction: international marriage under globalisation
This article is about some Japanese women’s experiences in embarking on marriage with a non-Japanese national who holds either Australian citizenship or permanent residence status. In recent years, empirical studies specifically focusing on international marriages involving Japanese women have emerged within Australian studies. This is in line with the steady increase in the numbers of Japanese residents in Australia since the late 1980s, particularly women in their twenties and thirties. Khoo points out that people’s greater international mobility is associated with an increase of the rate of international marriages. Indeed, the number of Japanese female citizens in international marriages who registered their marriage overseas has grown from 1,529 in 1985 to 7,990 in 2013. This phenomenon is a part, and also a result, of globalisation which can be basically understood as the restructuring of the flow of products, information, communication, and people around the world.

Anthony Giddens describes globalisation as “the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. This ‘link’ has been sustained and developed by advanced communication technologies as well as by people armed with such technologies. People even identify themselves with physically distant places to which they are linked through technologies. In the globalised world, therefore, leaving one’s home culture does not simply result in being cut off from it. Rather, someone’s notion of “home” can be reconceptualised as “portable”. While people are always physically bound to a specific space where they carry out social actions, they can also make transnational connections to dispersed places. Here, the concept of ‘local’ needs to be reconsidered. We are not necessarily attached to only one locality under globalisation. Newman argues that “[i]dentity boundary and territory boundary are not necessarily overlapped”. Therefore, people’s lives under globalisation should be analysed within a “pluri-local” framework where individuals’ social actions and realities are structured above and beyond a single place. In this sense, ‘global’ and ‘local’ are not in binary opposition. Global is a sum of numbers of locals.

Marriage is a locally, socio-culturally, and historically constructed system within which individuals develop a significant part of their ideas of traditional, normative, and ‘other’ forms of gender and sexuality. In the context of globalisation where an increasing number of people move between localities, those moving individuals are considered as practising their localised
perceptions of marriage, gender, and sexuality outside their original locality.\(^{(13)}\) With regard to this practice, Mackie and Pendleton argue that “[a]s people move, they take with them their learned ways of doing things: their work habits, their manners, their deportment, their gestures [...] Mobility is an embodied experience”.\(^{(14)}\) When individuals take their learned ways of behaving in marriage beyond the boundaries of their locality, they encounter a different set of manners and a different kind of commonsense, and thus they must negotiate between two or more sets of behaviour and practices in marriage. In the context of international marriages, such negotiation becomes clearly apparent.\(^{(15)}\) For participants in international marriages, negotiation is part of processes of reconstructing and further developing gendered ideologies and identities.\(^{(16)}\)

Below, I will analyse how some Japanese women have brought their understandings of appropriate behaviour in marriage to the international marriage context, and what these practices have meant in shaping their marital lives with a non-Japanese husband. In particular, individuals’ locally-shaped ideas in embarking on marriage will be focused on through looking at how these individuals and their partners negotiated with the women’s parents living in Japan when they decided to formalise their relationships. I will draw upon the interview data from my larger study where I collected narratives of sixteen Japanese migrant women in international marriages in Australia.

I employed oral history interview methods. Oral history focuses on interviewees’ individual ways of “history telling”\(^{(17)}\) through their “own words.”\(^{(18)}\) Oral history narratives thus reflect the interviewees’ subjectivity\(^{(19)}\) and their relationships to socio-historically structured power politics surrounding them and surrounding the research project.\(^{(20)}\) Due to these methodological characteristics, oral history narratives require to be analysed with the backdrop of the socio-historical contexts within which the narratives are situated. In my study, Japan’s socio-political, gendered, and ethnicised contexts of international marriages will be taken into account in the process of analysing the interviews. Below, I will first explore the contexts behind my interview data, by examining images of international marriages circulating in Japanese society — the society where all of my interviewees formed their ideas of marriage.

**Japanese people’s images of international marriages**

Describing how international marriages are perceived in Japanese society, Ishikawa comments that “for most parents, international marriage is a disaster which they wish would not happen to their children”.\(^{(21)}\) As a participant in an international marriage herself, she says of her marriage that “no matter how happy my marriage is, I must have made [my parents] worried and disappointed to some extent by choosing a non-Japanese person as my husband”.\(^{(22)}\) Although Ishikawa’s comment was made more than two decades ago, the narratives of my interviewees
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attest that such a conception of international marriages is still alive as we will see later. In this section, I will look at some representations of international marriage in Japanese society where my interviewees were socialised.

In some countries, the social meaning of the simple term ‘marriage’ may include *de facto* relationships, long-term relationships, and same-sex interdependent relationships, with varied legal implications attached to them. In Japanese society, however, the term marriage (*kekkon*) generally refers to legal marriage. Under the Japanese Civil Code/Minpô, marriage is a legal contract between a male older than eighteen years old and a female older than sixteen years old, effective only on the registration.(23) This registration requires a couple to make a new family register entry (*koseki*) as a family unit in the family registration system.(24) Kinjô points out that the phrase ‘entering a family register (*nyûseki*)’ is often used to mean to ‘get married’ in Japanese society.(25) The legally defined concept of marriage has shaped Japanese people’s conception of marriage with authorised legitimacy.

As all of my interviewees have done, many Japanese participants in international marriages have registered their relationships with the Japanese government. While ‘marriage’ means legal marriage in Japanese context, legally registered international marriages are likely to be recognised as somewhat different, a ‘marked’ form of marriage as mentioned above. One of the leading researchers on international marriages in Japan, Kamoto stressed the endogamous characteristics of marriages between Japanese citizens while arguing that international marriages involving Japanese citizens directly raise “the issue of the boundaries of ‘Japanese’” in socio-cultural and political senses.(26) That is, international marriages are a distinct form of marriage in Japanese society due to its basic nature of involving non-Japanese elements. This distinctiveness is clearly visualised on the legal document of marriage in Japan. As explained above, a couple is required to make a new family register entry in the family registration system in order to legally marry. This system also administers Japanese nationality. Therefore, marrying a Japanese national does not provide a non-national with a family register entry. The non-Japanese spouse will not be recognised as a full member of the register until they obtain Japanese citizenship through naturalisation. As a result, the name of a non-Japanese spouse will appear on the margins of the document of the family register entry.(27) This is a tangible and visible distinctiveness between legal marriages only involving Japanese citizens and legally registered international marriages in Japan, which may affect people’s imagining of international marriages.

Besides the visualised distinctiveness discussed above, socio-cultural and political circumstances in Japan have constructed people’s conception of international marriages as a form of relationships which seem to be outside cultural normality. Although reformed in 1950, the Nationality Law/Kokuseki Hô previously stated that Japanese women marrying non-
Japanese men would lose their Japanese citizenship. This legal regulation disseminated images of Japanese women in international marriages as being separated from Japan, or even “betraying” the country, which may still exist to some extent. Moreover, the Japanese cultural images of ‘traditional’ marriage through which the wife joins her husband’s family while leaving her natal family has been an ideological basis for Japanese people’s imaginary of marriage. Such cultural images may exaggerate people’s imagination of Japanese women’s international marriages as the physical and ideological separation from Japan even in the contemporary era.

It is also necessary to mention Japanese popular discourse on Japanese women in international marriages and its entanglement with the forms of public opinion to which my interviewees were exposed. Perhaps the most famous recent publication in Japan relating to international marriages involving Japanese women is a comic series titled Darin wa Gaikokujin (My Darling is a Foreigner), selling millions of copies and being cinematised in 2010. This series has gained popularity for its positive and colourful depiction of cross-cultural encounters between the Japanese author and her American husband of Hungarian-Italian background. The success of the series indicates that specific images of international marriage, especially those involving men from ‘Western’ backgrounds, have been widely disseminated in Japanese society. Indeed, in the popular discourse there has been a circulation of fantasised images of international marriages suggesting that women can: “be equal with their husbands”; “pursue their beloved career even after marriage”; “obtain globalised perspectives”; and “improve their English language skills” especially if they marry a man of ‘Western,’ Anglophone background. Together with affirmative or even aspirational attitudes towards the English language in Japanese society, the popular discourse has generated a social atmosphere which separates international marriages from marriages between Japanese citizens by attaching cultural and ethnic fantasies, imaginaries, and desires to international marriages. With this social atmosphere in the background, some have been critical of Japanese women who have intimate relationships with ‘White’ men with ‘Western’ backgrounds. Some have even questioned the credibility of the intimacy in such relationships. The popular discourse surrounding Japanese women in international marriages has complexly shaped people’s notions of international marriages. The discourse derives from Japanese people’s cultural imaginaries of, desires for, and criticism for internationalisation and globalisation based on Japan’s position in the international hierarchies of economy, politics, racialised positioning, ethnicities, and languages. Japanese’ conception of international marriages is a product of such a complex power relations at local and global levels.

There have been locally constructed and circulated images of international marriages of Japanese women in Japanese society. As participants in Japanese society, all of my interviewees
have been exposed to the cultural context surrounding international marriages. Below, I will explore how the locally structured images have affected the experiences of some individuals in embarking on marriage with a non-Japanese partner.

**Women's experiences in entering international marriages**

As discussed above, international marriages involving Japanese women have been situated within a specific social context in which such marriages have been recognised as ‘marked’, being outside Japanese normative conception of marriage. This is the backdrop to my interviewees' accounts of their experiences in making marital decisions. When they became serious about their relationship with their partner, or when they decided on marriage, they also decided to disclose their intimate partner’s non-Japanese background to their parents. This was when many of the women faced confusion, opposition, or even rejection from their parents. For example, Sumiko, a twenty-eight-year-old professional artist, met her English-speaking, Anglo Saxon Australian husband in Japan.\(^{38}\) She recalled her experience of disclosing about him to her parents as follows.

I talked to my parents about my partner when we passed about the six months mark since we met. I didn’t talk about him to them until then. As I thought, they were upset. Especially my father said, like, ‘I will never accept it’ to my mother. He didn’t say it directly to me though [...] My mother was very concerned and confused because of him. She said that, although my father didn’t say anything like that to me... he said, like, ‘I definitely reject [Sumiko’s partner], I don’t accept him, how could [she choose] a foreigner’”.\(^{39}\)

From Sumiko’s account, her parents’, especially her father’s confusion and opposition to the fact that the partner of their daughter was a non-Japanese person can be seen. Mika, a thirty-six-year-old former childcare worker accounted a similar experience. She met her husband of an English-speaking, Anglo Saxon Australian background in Europe when both of them were studying there. She remembered that her father showed his opposition by saying that “I didn’t say ‘yes’ when you said you went to a foreign country, in order to give you away to a guy with blue eyes”,\(^{40}\) while her mother rather acted as a mediator between Mika and the father. Many of the women encountered stronger confusion and opposition from their fathers than their mothers. Hanako, a forty-year-old full-time domestic caretaker, also said that she first talked with her mother about her English-speaking, Anglo Saxon Australian partner when she met him and developed a close relationship in Japan. Hanako said that she had predicted that her father would oppose her relationship with a non-Japanese man. It was her mother, however, who dismissed her association with the partner by saying “don’t tell me such a thing”.\(^{41}\) She
described her parents’ reaction to her partner as confusion: “they were like, ‘this can’t be happening’ because of [his] racial difference, above all”. (42)

When these women recalled their parents’ negative reactions to their non-Japanese partners, however, they tended not to express a feeling of confrontation or being rejected. Instead, they often showed their understanding of their parents’ confusion, opposition, or rejection. This surfaced in Kana’s analysis of her parents’ reaction. Kana was a thirty-six-year-old who had met her English-speaking, Anglo Saxon Australian husband when she had a busy working life in Japan.

I remember that their reaction was both confusion and anger. They were confused, and then angry as a reaction to their own confusion, I guess. They were angry, rather than crying, because they were very concerned...When I was in Japan, persons I was developing intimacy with were...of course, Japanese. Well, (pause) for example, my ex was a public servant, and had a stable life to some extent, you know what I mean? I was with guys like that, all the time I was in Japan [...] I was always with safe and acceptable guys. So, this is why...[my parents were], like, ‘why are you engaging in such absurd behaviour’... (43)

Kana’s narrative signifies that she could understand the reason for her parents’ reaction, because she knew that her non-Japanese partner was not ‘safe and acceptable’ at all according to her parents’ images of usual marriage. Many of my interviewees explicitly or implicitly revealed that they had been aware that they were about to step over a boundary into Japanese socio-cultural images of ‘marked’ marriage when they decided on an international marriage. Some also expressed their own confusion on developing relationships with non-Japanese partners. For example, Hanako mentioned that she felt hesitation in being close to her husband-to-be at first.

Basically, I, although I know it is very rude to say this, and I guess I can be excused to say this because I am in this position [in an international marriage], well...I had thought in the past that Japanese women with non-Japanese boyfriends were fools [...] There actually were girls chasing after non-Japanese teachers at the English language school [in Japan where I studied English]. I looked at them and thought that they were really foolish...So, in terms of my rational mind...like, just I couldn’t believe [the fact that I was developing a relationship with a non-Japanese man]. (44)

Such feelings of confusion and hesitation were shared by several women although their reasons varied. In their narratives, however, they commonly described that they recognised that they were about to cross a boundary between social, or their own, understandings of ‘normative’
and ‘marked’ marriages when they decided on international marriages. This self-recognition is one of the reasons why they tended to recollect their experiences of being rejected by their parents in a sympathetic tone. Their stories reflect what international marriages mean in their Japanese families and in society as a whole, where they have formed their perceptions of normative, acceptable forms of marriage.

Despite some parents’ rather negative reactions to their non-Japanese partners, all my interviewees ended up receiving affirmation and support for their marriages from their parents. The most noticeable trigger for the parents to accept their daughters’ decisions, or more precisely, their non-Japanese sons-in-law, was the couple’s confirmation that their relationships were compatible with the parents’ ideologies of marriage. That is, my interviewees and their partners formalised their relationships in ways that the women’s parents were comfortable with.

While not many of the husbands could speak Japanese, some of them decided to declare their relationships in the Japanese language in front of their partner’s parents. Yasuko’s English-speaking, Anglo Saxon Australian husband could not use the Japanese language except for a few simple words. Yasuko, a thirty-year-old former early childhood educator, met her husband in Australia. When they decided to marry, the husband tried to demonstrate his seriousness to Yasuko’s parents by writing a script in Japanese and reading it aloud in a formal setting.

We travelled to see them [in Japan] first. My husband insisted that he would formally meet and greet [my parents]. He prepared a letter. You know, ‘I would like your permission to marry your daughter’ kind of thing. I guess my parents thought it would be fine because he took formal steps. I mean, they wouldn’t have liked it if he didn’t look serious about it, but he made a formal visit…and what do you call it? Like, he’d dressed up in a suit and prepared a letter in Japanese.\(^{(45)}\)

This tactic of communicating with their partner’s parents in the Japanese language as a formal step before marriage was employed by many of the husbands, regardless of their Japanese language skills. Yoshiko’s husband was also from an English-speaking Anglo Saxon Australian background and not fluent in Japanese although he had lived in Japan for a while. After they moved between Australia and Japan several times, they decided to marry and made a formal occasion to talk with Yoshiko’s father.

Well, it was in Japanese. When we were going to get married, he did it in Japanese (laughs). You know, like, ‘please give your daughter to me’ [ojī san o kudasai, meaning please let me marry your daughter] (laughs).\(^{(46)}\)

As Yasuko’s and Yoshiko’s accounts suggest, their husbands not only used the Japanese language. They also positioned themselves as the suitor who asked the bride’s parents’ permission for marriage to their daughter, rather than simply reporting their marital decisions.
This positioning of a groom is not culturally specific to Japan. It is, however, each husband’s strategic usage of formulaic Japanese phrases that clearly position the relationship between the husband and his future father-in-law in a culturally sensitive way. Also considering the Japanese socio-cultural notions of marriage in which a husband takes his wife into his family as mentioned above, the husband’s positioning in relation to his future in-laws can be said to be culturally appropriate, polite, and also effective. The husbands’ acts functioned for their partner’s parents as an indicator of their faithful attitudes toward their marriages in accordance with Japanese culture. Indeed, all the parents who had a formal meeting with their daughter’s non-Japanese partner accepted the marriage and showed affirmation to the husband, according to the interviewees.

The husbands’ acts were sometimes initiated by the women. For example, Chika’s non-English-speaking, East Asian husband was fluent in Japanese but not quite familiar with the Japanese socio-cultural context of marriage. Chika, a thirty-three-year-old mother with a small child, met her husband in Australia. She advised him how to behave as a groom in Japanese terms when the couple decided on marriage and travelled to Japan to meet her parents.

It was, like, I told him that’s what he should say, and I think he probably said something like he would like permission to marry or something along those lines. (47)

The women’s initiatives worked to connect their husbands and their parents even when they were physically dispersed. For example, Sachiko’s marriage with an English-speaking, Anglo Saxon Australian husband has received understanding and support from her parents despite the fact that he had not yet met Sachiko’s parents at the time of our interview. A thirty-two-year-old engaged in domestic tasks full-time, Sachiko first came to Australia as an international student studying the English language, and met her partner while studying.

When we decided to marry, well...I told my husband about things like Japanese customs [...] I told him that it is traditional manners to say the line ‘I would like permission to marry’ [in Japanese], which I think was unnecessary. But I did it for the sake of it. So I told him to say ‘I would like permission to marry’ [in Japanese] over the phone [to my parents]. (48)

Particularly in cases where the women initiated their husband’s performance of their gender role according to Japanese socio-cultural understandings of marriage, they directly mediated between their parents and their husbands by encouraging their husbands to enact Japanese gender ideologies of marriage. At the same time, these women mediated between their husbands and their own cultural understandings of marriage in this enactment. This can be seen in Mika’s process of deciding on formalising her marriage. For Mika, marryng her non-Japanese partner
meant physically leaving Japan and thus abandoning her duties as the only daughter in her family:

[I repeatedly told my husband that] if there is a Japanese girl brought up in an ordinary Japanese family and if she’s the only daughter...doing unusual stuff, especially going overseas, I would be considered a really bad daughter...when measured against the common, traditional values. I’d been telling him that since before we got married [...] how significant it would be to leave my own parents and all my relatives back in my country.\(^{(49)}\)

As Mika’s narrative clearly shows, she acted as a catalyst for what she understood as gender and marriage in the initial stage of their intimate relationship. As a result, she stated that “my husband has a profound understanding of his role [in marriage in Japanese terms]”.\(^{(50)}\) At first, her parents, especially her father showed a strong rejection of their daughter’s non-Japanese boyfriend. After her partner’s attempts to build a good relationship with them from overseas, Mika explained, her father’s opposition has gradually softened. When the couple decided to legally register their relationship,

[s]o we met and, yes, introduced and greeted each other (laughs). My husband can’t speak Japanese at all. So he memorised what was written on a piece of paper. And as he was making a huge effort to say it in Japanese, somehow my dad got emotional as well (laughs). Both of them got emotional, my husband and dad...

(Researcher) (laughs) What kind of things did he say?
Oh, you know, it’s just really, well...typical, well...approval line, you know. ‘I would like to have her as my wife’ kind of thing. I mean, ‘your daughter as my wife’.\(^{(51)}\)

Mika narrated her process of connecting her parents and her non-Japanese partner despite the parents’ initial rejection of him, through mediating between her non-Japanese partner and her own understandings of gender and marriage. She helped her partner to enact what a marital partner of a Japanese woman should be according to her perceptions of gender. By doing so, she confirmed with her parents as well as with herself that her international marriage should not be ‘marked’ as different, despite the cultural, ‘racialised’, ethnicised, and linguistic differences her partner carried. Through enacting Japanese gender relations, therefore, Mika expanded the images of marriage possessed by her parents, possibly renewed her husband’s understandings of gender roles and marriage, and shaped her recognition of her self as the Japanese wife of a non-Japanese husband.

The Japanese women quoted above have negotiated with their Japanese parents in terms of conceptions of ‘marked’ and ‘normative’ marriages through symbolic acts of gender roles in
marriage performed with their husbands. In doing so, the husbands’, and the women’s localised perceptions of gender and marriage have also been reconfigured. Due to the possibility of expanding gender ideologies, the women and their husbands’ performance of gender roles can be considered as one variety of what Judith Butler calls “parodic proliferation” of gender. In uncovering the “imitative structure” and “contingency” of gender, she suggests that gender identity might be reconceived as a personal/cultural history of received meanings subject to a set of imitative practices which refer laterally to other imitations.

Applying this argument to the women’s experiences of initiating gendered performances, what they have done can be thought of as making a new contribution to the ‘personal/cultural history of received meanings’ of gender in the context of marriage through their husbands’ non-Japanese bodies. As Butler states, the parodic act itself does not challenge hegemonic structures. Because the acts of my interviewees and their husbands were conducted with reference to and within the preexisting gendered normativity, it did not necessarily reshape the conceptions of marriages in Japan. Indeed, all the actors of the performance of Japanese gender—the interviewees, their husbands, and also their parents—seem to have played their roles following ‘socio-culturally structured essence of attribution’ (rashisa) which symbolises people’s social categories. According to Ohashi and Ohashi, the ‘essence of attribution/rashisa’ represents images and categorisations of people along with dominant social norms and models. That is, my interviewees and their husbands have enacted the ‘essence/rashisa’ of the bride and the groom in Japanese terms. Through this act, it becomes possible to communicate each other within a tacitly understood framework of meanings. This framework is, however, mere imaginary of social normalcy vaguely referred by each individual [rather than being a static structure]. Gaps and commonalities in individuals’ understandings of the ‘essence of attribution/rashisa’ become apparent when concrete attribution emerges.

In representing the essence of the groom in the Japanese context in front of the Japanese parents, my interviewees’ husbands’ non-Japanese bodies created a definite gap within images of normative marriage possessed by the women’s parents. This gap caused a questioning of the very meaning of gender ideologies of marriage, and let the parents re-imagine the fundamental meanings of marriage and married couples. Therefore, the couple’s enactment of Japanese gender has pushed the women’s parents’ ideological boundaries. Here, the couples’ strategic acts of structured gender roles suggest “the potential interruption and reversal of regulatory regimes” in individuals’ agency which surfaces from their active involvement with socio-historically structured power politics.
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Conclusion

In this article, I have analysed the experiences of some Japanese women in international marriages concerning their ways of formalising their marital relationships with their parents. The stories of these individuals revealed one of the ways in which they have taken their locally shaped Japanese ideas of gender in marriage to their international marriages. The individuals have strategically enacted what they have learned as culturally normative gender roles in marriage in Japan through their non-Japanese husbands in negotiating with their parents who initially negatively responded to their association with the partners. Through their enactments, these women have redrawn the boundaries which define their parents’ images of what marriage should be. In doing so, they also mediated between gender ideologies in marriage possessed by their husbands and themselves, and developed their own identities as women in international marriages. Such women’s strategic acts of bringing Japanese local gender ideologies into their international marriages, therefore, indicate the possibility of subverting structured power politics in the context of globalisation under which different localities are connected and synergised each other.

In her study of international marriages between women from North East Thailand and men from the Western countries, Tosakul depicts how some Thai women have been exposed to “Western cultural thinking and practices”, particularly to Western ideologies of gender and sexuality, through their husbands.58 Such exposure has let these Thai women reconstruct their own gender ideas.59 In my study, my interviewees also recounted their encounters with Australian or non-Japanese ways of thinking and practices which made them further develop their Japanese, localised gender identities.60 At the same time, my interviewees’ narratives shed light on an aspect of their international marriages where they brought localised identities with them to their cross-cultural encounters and exposed their non-Japanese husbands to Japanese local culture of marriage. This study thus suggests the multi-layered and multi-directional nature of power politics within international marriage relationships.

NOTES:


(21) S. Ishikawa, Kokusai kekkon: Chikyū kazoku zukuri [International Marriages: Making Global Families], The Simul Press, 1992: 190. Translations from Japanese are mine unless stated otherwise. In cases where Japanese authors provide their own English translation of their work’s title, I respect their own preference.

(22) Ishikawa, Kokusai kekkon. 39.

(23) Civil Code/Minpō, promulgated 1896, effective 1898, revised 1947: Article 731; 739.

(24) Civil Code/Minpō: Article 739; the Family Registration Law/ Koseki Hō, promulgated 1871, effective 1872, revised 1947: Article 74.


(31) Oguri, S. Darin wa Gaikokujin [My darling is a foreigner], Media Fakutori, 2002.

(32) Ue, K. Darin wa Gaikokujin [My darling is a foreigner] (Motion Picture), Tōhō, 2010.

(33) Tsukagoshi, E. Kokusai kekkon ichinen sei [Year one in international marriage], Shufū no tomo sha, 2011: 16; also Ozawa, H. and M. Shirakawa, ‘Unmei no hito’ wa umi no mukō ni ita: shiawase o tsukamu kokusai kekkon no susume [‘Mr. Right’ was overseas: in praise of international marriages to achieve happiness], Nikkei BP Sha, 2004.


(38) All names of interviewees are pseudonyms, and their profiles describe the interviewees at the time of their interviews.

(39) Sumiko, 16th December, 2009.

(40) Mika, 24th June 2008.

(41) Hanako, 29th July 2008.

(42) Hanako, 29th July 2008.

(43) Kana, 9th July 2008.

(44) Hanako, 29th July 2008.

(45) Yasuko, 13th June, 2008.

(46) Yoshiko, 16th June, 2008.


(49) Mika, 24th June 2008.

(50) Mika, 24th June 2008.

(51) Mika, 24th June 2008.


(53) Butler, Gender Trouble, 176.

(54) Butler, Gender Trouble, 176–7.


(56) Ōhashi, J. and Y. Ōhashi, “‘Rashisa’ no goyouron teki kōsatsu”, 2013: 56.

(57) Butler, Gender Trouble, xxvi.

