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Marriages in Japan between Thai and Japanese: A Living Strategy for Thai Women

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Abstract: This research focused specifically on international marriages between Thai and Japanese. The aim is to investigate how Thai women maintain their families in both countries and prevent cultural conflict that may cause an adverse effect on the domestic sphere in the future.

The research was conducted using informal interviews (1–2 hours per person) with a representative group of 28 women living in Tokyo, Osaka, and Hokkaido.

The results suggested that most women came from the northern region of Thailand. Some of the marriages resulted from friends' introductions to Japanese men, whereas others resulted from encounters at work or school. Respondents reported that the most important reasons to come to Japan was the guarantee of a stable life being supported by their husbands and the opportunity to get a job with good income. Another reason was that their social status would be raised in comparison to that in Thailand by showing their successful life to their cousins.

Respondents explained issues about their life in Japan such as family pressure, bullying of their children, and a large generation gap with their husband. All of these problems were worse as they lacked close confidants to share their problems with and language ability to make clear communication to their husband and the other members in the family; typically the family in Japan comprises of a father, a mother, and children. In addition, the relationships with neighbors usually are not close. They said that they release their troubles by either calling their cousins in Thailand or joining the Thai Cyber Society to share their feelings, to ease their mind, and to receive information. Moreover, they have thought about going back to Thailand when they no longer need to stay in Japan.

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1. Introduction

In Thai society, family systems have changed due to increased mobility within the population. This is especially so in Thai marriages. Thai are better educated and through the exchange of cultural information through tourism and the media as well as other means, Thais have more and more opportunities to meet foreigners which sometimes resulting in cross-culture marriages.

Caring for the elderly is still an obligation of the daughter in the Thai family and such a practice is particularly prevalent in rural agricultural society. The son usually moves away to establish a new family when he is married, to which he devotes most of his time. In other words, the obligation of the daughter consists of taking care of either household or agricultural work until she marries and leaves her family.

In Thai society, Thai women are typically expected to help with family work (mostly agriculture and small business). After the industrial revolution in 1982, demand for women's labor increased. This led to a movement of labor from agricultural society to industrial society. Although women acquired higher income through their entrance into the workforce, it was not enough to upgrade their economic and social status to the next level.

With the government's campaign on exporting labor abroad due to increased worldwide competition and its consequent launch a few years later, the opportunity was created for an exponential increase in income that most Thais had been dreaming of. Besides the regular method of using the government channel to go abroad, there are several other indirect ways, both legal and illegal. Marriage to a foreigner is one popular method due to the fact that it provides a legal status for residence in the destination country. In recent years, many Thai women have married foreigners, especially Japanese men, moved abroad and many of them have changed their national status. It is interesting to note how they cope with their life in such a new environment, the process of how they met their spouse and finally decided on marriage, how the obligation to their family in Thailand is fulfilled, and how they feel about the change in their increased social and economic status after marriage.

This research focuses specifically on international marriages between Thais and Japanese. The aim of this study is to investigate how Thai women maintain their family status in both countries and prevent cultural conflict that may have an adverse effect on the domestic sphere in the future.

2. Research Methodology

This study aims at finding and comparing differences in the way of life of Thai people who live in Japan in each of the important parts of Japan. Of the 1,715 Thai-Japanese couple¹⁾ who live in Japan, it was found that 1) Tokyo has the largest number of Thai people in Japan. 2) Osaka is the second biggest economic area in Japan. 3) Hokkaido is one of the important areas, though only a few Thais live here. So, in this study Tokyo, Osaka and Hokkaido were selected for research. In the future I will compare the results with Ibaraki⁷⁾, which has the second largest Thai population, and which has previously been investigated by researchers.

The present research focuses on Thai women who married Japanese men and are currently living in large cities in Japan, including Tokyo (12 respondents), Osaka (11 respondents) and Hokkaido (5 respondents). Twenty-eight women were taken as subjects using the Snowball Sampling method in which each respondent was interviewed for about 1-2 hours. Briefly, the interview topics were as follows: 1) General background of the subject's life before coming to Japan and afterward (e.g., age, number of children, educational and latest occupation in Thailand, occupation in Japan). 2) How the subject got to know her husband (e.g., how they met the

partner and its influence on the relationship, period of meeting and seeing, occupation and education of Japanese husband). 3) Life in Japan (e.g., family relationship, daily troubles and obstacles, future planning). The interviews were conducted at Thai restaurants, Thai massage parlors and Thai temples in Tokyo and Osaka.

3. Data Collection and Results

3.1 Subjects' Data (See Document I, II)

3.1.1 Background before coming to Japan and after marriage

From the results of the interviews, summarized in Document I, most of the subjects (11 subjects) came from Thailand's Northern region (See fig I) and all of them are from the lower

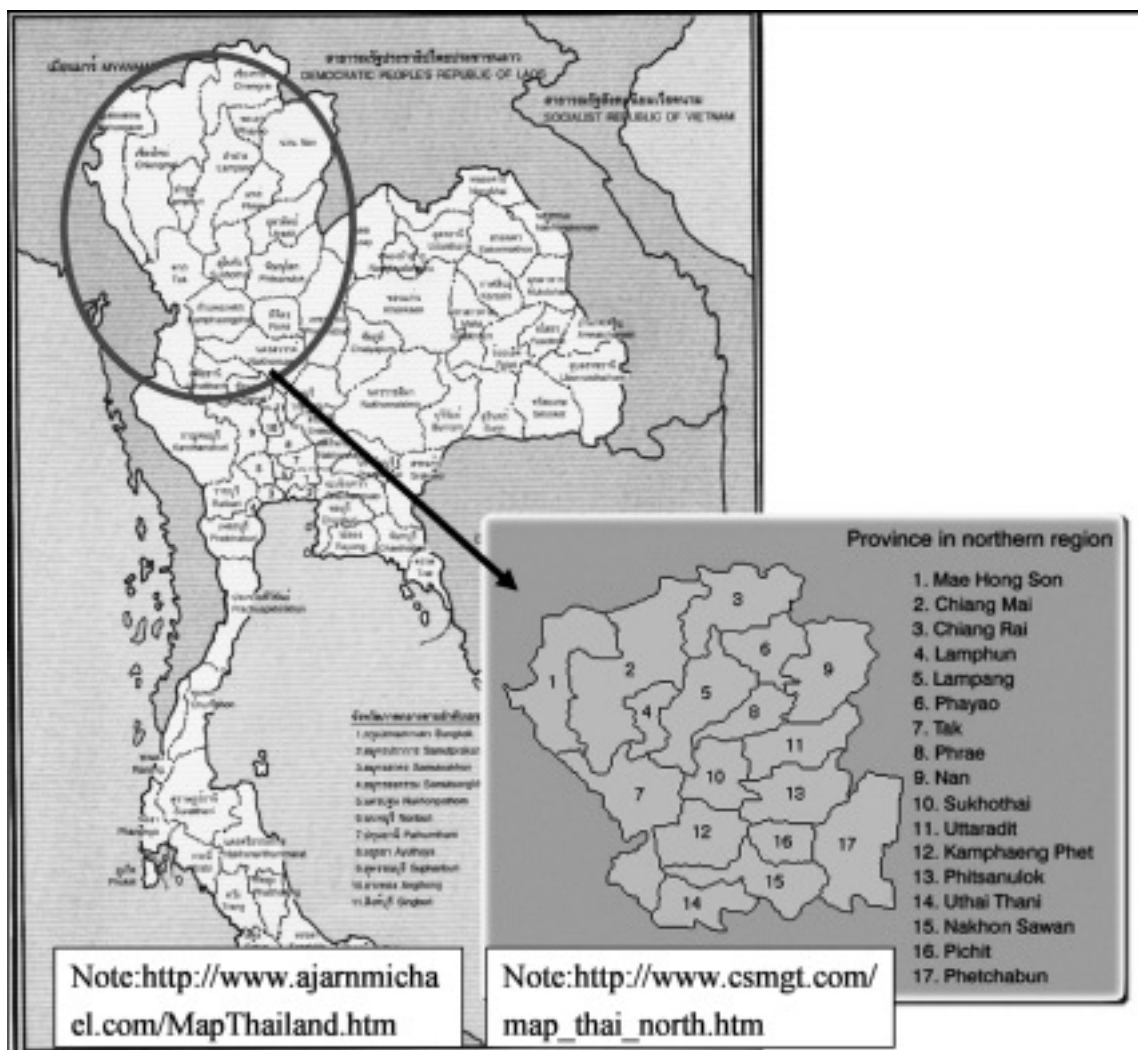


Fig I: Province in northern region of Thailand
 Note: <http://www.ajarmichael.com/MapThailand.htm>
 Note: http://www.csmgt.com/map_thai_north.htm

strata of society. Accordingly, the occupations of the subjects' fathers were chiefly small business owners and government employees. The occupations of the subjects' mothers were restaurant owners and general workers. The average number of children in the subjects' family was four to six. More than half of the subjects were first and second children. One-third of the subject's kin held a high school degree. Another third of the women's kin were able to receive financial support for further studies after the women's marriage. Thus, the women's kin were able to graduate with a higher degree (i.e., Bachelor and Masters degree) after her marriage. In relation to the education of the subjects' kin, the following interview excerpts show their line of thinking.

"I only graduated from junior high-school. In fact I wanted to continue to study but my family was unable to support me. Now, after marriage, I have some savings from my husband. Therefore I would like to spend this amount of money on higher education for my relatives so that they won't lose such an opportunity like me." (53 year-old woman)

"At that time, because of my family's economic difficulties, I started to work after graduation from high-school. Now, after my marriage (with a Japanese), I want to fulfill my dream by supporting my kin to get a higher education." (36 year-old woman)

A total of 16 subjects interviewed gave answers in a similar vein. They did not have the opportunity to continue on to higher education due to their family's poverty. Therefore, using their savings to support their kin's education also fulfills their dream of getting an education.

3. 1. 2 Marriage experience

12 of the subjects were previously married. The average age of marriage within this group was 34.3 years old. Meanwhile, the other group with no marriage experience, on average, married their Japanese partners when they were 4.4 years younger than the previously married group. In addition, 8 husbands who were previously married had their marriage with their Thai wives when they were an average of 46.6 years old. The rest of the Japanese males were married when they were an average of 8.9 years younger than the other group.

Japanese husbands of subjects range 30 to 71 years of age (average, 49.8). Eighteen of them are more educated than their wife; most graduated from university or diploma level. Half of them have been working as a salary man in a private company. The rest of them are working as government employees and entrepreneurs. Three of them have been living on a pension. Most of the married couples speak simple English with each other. Few of them use Japanese; however their language skill is limited to speaking and listening. This group of subjects had previously studied and worked in Japan.

3. 1. 3 Classification on 'meeting' and 'seeing' each other

This research defines the terms "meeting and seeing" as thus: The subject *meets* the man by chance or through an intermediary. From then on, they *see* each other and the relationship develops step by step, culminating in their wedding.

Due to the 'Amazing Thailand' campaign launched by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) in 1998-1999 and the campaigns to promote foreign investors launched by the Thailand Office of the Board of Investment (BOI), there was an increased flow of foreigners into Thailand. This created a platform for Thai and foreigners to meet, whether in the area of travel and service,

boss and employee, or students in the same institute.

Previously, the image of a Thai woman and foreign man walking together had negative connotations as the woman was perceived as simply a temporary wife or mistress. However, it is slowly becoming a familiar scene and is accepted in the daily life of Thais as it becomes an avenue for Thai women and their families to improve their standard of living.

In general, it was shown that Thai women tend to marry western men from Europe and United States. However, there is a recent increase in the number of Thai women married to Japanese men. Based on the interviews, 'meeting' and 'seeing' can be categorized into 3 groups. ; 1) In Thailand, 2) In Japan, 3) Other places.

Table 1 Classification of meeting and seeing type by place

Thailand	Japan	Other Places
1. kin and neighborhood network 2. workplace/brothel 3. agency 4. Japanese friend who married or working in Thailand network	1. workplace 2. university	1. workplace

In Thailand

1. Through Thai people living in the same village who introduced her to her husband. Most of the subjects met their husband this way as they had kin or friends who know a foreigner. The seeing period of the subjects was about half a year to two years.

2. Workplace the subject first met her husband as a co-worker in the same company in Thailand. The seeing period before marriage was around three to six years. Some subjects met Japanese men traveling to Thailand and the subject first met her husband as a customer in a travel related context, such as a department store, a Tourist Company or a tourist police service. The man came to Thailand one or two times a year. The seeing period before marriage was around one to three years. They appeared to communicate by telephone or mail using English or Thai language.

3. Through a matchmaking agency; only one of the subjects used this method. The process from meeting to marrying is about three months.

4. Through a Japanese intermediary; subjects have a foreign friend living and working in Thailand. Based on the subject's trust of the Japanese intermediary, she proceeded to marry her husband even though they did not have an extended seeing period (the Japanese man comes to Thailand just 1-2 times a year). The 'meeting' time before marriage is a rather short (one to two years).

In Japan

1. Through the subject's workplace or brothel in Japan; subject first met her husband as a customer in a Thai restaurant in Japan. The seeing period was about a half year to two years. If they met through a brothel in Japan, she met her husband for the first time as a customer in the brothel or bar in Japan. The man (usually older than the subject) sympathized with the subject and offered a regular stipend for her to stop working. The seeing period before marriage was

around one to three months.

2. University; subject first met her husband as a friend in an educational institute during cultural exchange activities. They communicated in Japanese. The seeing period before marriage was around two to four years.

Other places

In a brothel in Thailand or Singapore; subjects met their future husband as a customer in a brothel in Thailand or Singapore. Being especially attracted to the subject, he offered to provide a stipend for her and she stopped working. The seeing period before marriage was around half a year to two years.

In general, twelve subjects had a 2-3 years seeing period before marriage about 2-3 times per year, and about 3-7 days per time. The shortest seeing period (1 month) appeared in a single case where the Japanese man had known and trusted the Thai intermediary. The subject who met her husband when they were studying at university was longest seeing period (more than three years). This might be because they were both students and had ample time to see each other.

The average age of marriage was 29.9 years old, ranging between 22 to 42 years old for the subjects. As for their Japanese husbands, the average age was 37.8 years old, ranging between 25 to 60 years old. The mean age difference between the subject and her husband is 7.89 years. In 23 cases, the husbands were older than the subjects. Twenty-three of the subjects have a permanent marriage visa. All of them have been married for more than ten years. The longest marriage is 23 years. The rest of the subjects have a three-year spouse visa. For this group, the shortest marriage is three years.

3. 1. 4 Reason for choosing to marry a Japanese man

Most of the subjects came from a similar low income background which is a main reason why they chose to marry Japanese who are wealthier. This is to relieve economic problems of the subject's family in Thailand. It is a tradition for descendants to take care of their elders in Thailand. In addition, the subjects wanted to support their kin's education in order to strengthen their family's future. Lastly, the subjects needed a chance to raise their social and economic status. In other words, they chose to have a safe and stable life instead of ideal love. When asked directly, most of the subjects replied that they married their Japanese husbands because of love. However, through the course of the interviews, it was clear that the single main reason for their marriage was economic benefits and a raise in status.

3. 1. 5 Work of Thai women in Japan after marrying

Regarding the subject's occupation before coming to Japan, most of them were in the retail and service sector, with an income of between 5,001 to 10,000 Baht. The rest of the subjects were in the travel sector, receiving an income of between 30,001 to 50,000 Baht and in the sex industry with an income of between 15,001 to 30,000 Baht.

Most Japanese women quit their job after marrying to raise their children. Nonetheless, the present study found that half of the subjects still work after marrying because they want to send money back to Thailand for their family's living expenses and education. In some cases, the

money is for their children from their previous marriage with a Thai man.

Moreover, some of the subjects survive with only the pension from her Japanese husband. It appears that such income is not adequate for their living expenses in Japan, thus the need to have an extra income through a part time job.

3. 2 Daily troubles and obstacles

3. 2. 1 Economic Problems

One of the more sensitive subjects among Thai people living in Japan is about money and discrimination. It should be noted here that the status of Thai people in Japan can be classified into two types: 1) Thai women who are able to earn their own living and are educated and successful, and 2) Those with diminished rights due to their illegal status in Japan. Those in the former group, who own a stable and secure business such as a restaurant or massage parlor, often run into money trouble with the latter group. In Japan, it is necessary for one to have a guarantor for rental of an apartment and application for a telephone line. As the latter are unable to have a stable standard of living in Japan, they often act irresponsibly towards their guarantor, the former group being richer Thais. For example, they often left unpaid phone bills to their guarantor. Thousand of such horror stories make the former group of people avoid the latter group and prefer to communicate exclusively with Japanese.

The discrimination problem occurred among Thai people from a lower class background. This includes those who worked as a prostitute before and grew up in a poor family in Thailand. Though these people could raise their economic and social status later, the discrimination they encounter is unavoidable if someone knows of their background. Most Japanese women quit their job after marriage to raise their children in Japan. Nonetheless, this study found that half of the subjects still worked after marriage as they want to send money back to their family in Thailand for their education and living expenses. In some cases, it is for their children from their previous marriage in Thailand. As for the subject who survives with only the pension of her Japanese husband, it appears that the amount is not adequate for her daily expenses in Japan. Thus, she must earn some extra money through a part time job.

“Associating with Thai people often brings trouble; for example, money and guarantor matters. I had the experience of losing about one million yen because I lent it to somebody. Japanese friends will not ask me for money.” (53 year-old woman)

“Whenever I meet up with Thai people, they always bad-mouth other Thais. My husband doesn’t like that kind of behavior. When my husband goes out with his friends to relax and have fun, my Thai friend will call me to report on his whereabouts. My husband feels that this is an invasion of his privacy and it makes him uncomfortable. Like my husband, I hate this kind of behavior too. I am tired of listening to gossip and looking down on other people. Therefore, I avoid hanging around with those kind of people.” (56 year-old woman)

3. 2. 2 Family Relationship Problems

3. 2. 2. 1 Relationship between Thai women and their father/mother-in-law

When asked about the problems encountered in trying to get along with their new family in an entirely different culture, it appears that the first issue brought up was the objections of the

father and mother-in-law to the marriage. This is especially so for remarried Thai women and those who had worked as a prostitute in the past. This is due to the negative image of the Thai women's past and their own prejudice that Thai women are money-grabbers who love money more than their son. In addition, they feel that a daughter-in-law who knows nothing about their culture will not be able to take proper care of them. Finally, they might be biased towards marriage between two people from different cultures due to the negative stereotyping of such marriages in the mass media.

Based on the interviews, it was found that in most cases (15 subjects), they had to struggle long and hard to overcome these problems. Even if they were able to convince their parents-in-law to accept them, they could not judge the depth of the acceptance.

Moreover, It goes without saying that living in a different cultural family is stressful for the subjects in the beginning. To ease such problems, the subjects chose to call or go back to visit their hometown. However there is limit to her income. As time passes, even though they gradually become familiar with their environment, they are still faced with stress and loneliness. The modern Japanese family unit is usually nuclear, where the newly married couple usually moves away from the extended family to create a new household. Moreover, neighborly relations are very shallow nowadays and cannot provide housewives with a support group.

3. 2. 2. 2 Problems between the subject and their children's relationship

Three out of four of the subjects have two children. There is big difference between raising a child in Thai and Japanese culture. The Thai family is composed of not only father, mother, and children, but also grandfather, grandmother, and other relatives. Thus children are raised with the influence of several generations of people. In contrast, most families in Japan are composed of a nuclear family unit nowadays. Such differences are a source of trouble for Thai woman raising children in Japan, as we can see in the following case studies.

Lack of cooperation from the husband in raising the children

For a nuclear family in Japan, the burden of raising children is placed solely on the mother. Such a burden makes subjects both physically and mentally tired.

“compared with raising children in Thailand, I think Thailand is better because there are relatives, grandfather and grandmother helping. In contrast there is no one here.” (31 years old woman)

Children hate their mother

The educational system in Japan significantly involves the mother in raising the children. During the school year, there are plenty of activities that require the mother to participate at the school. For example, observing lessons in the classroom and the annual sports meet at the school. However, for a mother who is not a Japanese native speaker, it becomes difficult to follow such activities. For instance, the difficulty encountered in reading the invitation letter from the school and communication with other parents.

Their children, in comparing them to the Japanese mothers of their friends in school, tend to hate their mothers. Moreover, the mother is blamed for their inability to speak proper Japanese and this results in a lack of confidence in raising her children. Finally this situation leads to conflicts among members in their family.

Children are bullied

Thai-Japanese children are often a target of bullies in school due to the fact that they are not Japanese and that they have a foreign mother. This results in an inferiority complex among these children, leading to depression. Some of them refused to attend school until the family had to relocate and find other schools for their children.

“Now I am living in Kanagawa with two children; 11 and 9 year-old girls. Two years ago when I was in Tokyo, the older girl was teased for being a foreigner’s daughter. From then on, she became silent.” (44 years old woman)

3. 3 Future planning

Twenty subjects have already either built houses or bought land in Thailand. They have been planning to go back to Thailand after their husband’s retirement. The three main reasons for wishing to return to Thailand are: “Family in Thailand is already economically stable and there is no need to maintain their living expenses” “Husband has retired and with their children grown up, there is no need to take care of them.” “General dissatisfaction with life in Japan.” In addition, there are relatives in Thailand who might be depending on her for living. (Including her children from her previous marriage.)

“I can’t speak Japanese and I have no children with my present husband. I want to go back to Thailand in the future. There, I have kin who will take care of me when I am old. My Japanese husband is still uncertain over such a move because of his parents. So he has not yet decided about the future.” (47 year-old woman)

In one case, the subject is 36 years old while her husband is 62 years old. They have a 2-year old child. At present, the family stipend is from the husband’s pension. The current income is inadequate and the future income of the family will be unstable if the husband passes away. It is found that in some cases, the subject plans to buy a house in Thailand and they will move back to Thailand after her husband retires. As they are uneducated with only her part time job and her husband’s pension available, it might not be possible to raise her children in Japan. However, it might be possible to live in Thailand where she can work in some small business in her hometown.

“My husband now is 44 years old. After his retirement, I will go back to Thailand to work at some small business. Now, I have already built a house for my parents. I have been thinking that that is the place where I will live in the future. My husband’s pension might not be enough here. And I have no idea what I can do here to earn money because I only graduated from elementary school. If I go back to Thailand I could at least start some small shop and hope that it would be enough to go on.” (31 years old woman)

4. Discussion**4. 1 The comparative of the way of life of Thai women — Low education and High education —**

Much research has focused on Thai women who are not well-educated, have low income, are poor, and have marriage experience. They have come to the conclusion that they want to quickly

upgrade their social and economic status.²⁻⁴⁾ However, there is little research that focuses on well-educated Thai women and those with high economic status who marry foreigners.

Based on the results of the present research, 7 subjects either graduated with a Bachelor's degree or higher. Their backgrounds in Thailand are at a level significantly better than average and they are all from urban areas. Three patterns of first meetings between them and Japanese men were through a Thai intermediary, through knowing each other in Japanese universities³⁾ and through Japanese men visiting Thailand. The outstanding point of these groups is that the married couples mostly have the same level of education (6 subjects). The primary reason for marrying Japanese men is love and there is no economic factor involved. On average, couples spent 2.7 years seeing each other before marriage. Most of them earn 10,000–50,000 Baht and none of them have been previously married.

By the contrast, after marriage, half of this group has still been working in Japan as interpreters, Thai culture teachers, and entrepreneurs. The rest of the group prefers being a housewife to working outside of the home. It is generally understandable that more highly educated people receive more income, however, in the present study there are four poorly educated subjects that earn the same amount as those who are highly educated. They are Thai restaurant and Thai massage entrepreneurs, for example.

That means that education is related to income and career path. Attaining a high education allows people to find a job and get a high salary to support their family. In contrast, people with low education are pushed and pulled into poverty. So for women, choosing to marry a foreigner offers a chance to promote their socio-economic status.

4.2 Cross-culture marriages transfer funds from large-economic scale countries to small-economic scale countries

A couple in a cross-culture marriage has the extra option of choosing whether to live in the home country of the husband or wife. We have found that how they choose a place to live depends significantly on economic factors. During their working age, they tend to live in the large-economic scale country where they can earn a high income and receive good social welfare.

When the working member (usually the husband) retires they move to the small-economic scale country because of a lower cost of living and higher quality of life such as a healthy living environment and food. Moreover, at this age, besides the pension paid by the social welfare system, they have almost no chance of earning other income because it is typically difficult to start any small business in a large-economic scale country. Focusing on the data of the present research, there is no surprise that most subjects have carried out their life according to this pattern. As many subjects came to Japan for economic reasons, they have plans to move back to Thailand when their husband retires.

On the Japanese husbands' side, it was found that, besides their monthly pension of around 30,000–100,000 Baht, they have savings, insurance, and assets such as land and a house bought by the time they had married. As for the monthly pension, it is enough for the couple and the wife's relatives to live comfortably in Thailand. Moreover, it is enough for starting a small business where the Thai wife could use her basic skills such as cooking to earn extra money. Therefore, the results of the present research suggest that cross-culture marriages result in the transferring of

savings, pensions and funds from a large-economic scale countries to small-economic scale countries. This is analogous to the results of recent research that concluded that cross-culture marriages are a transfer of social welfare by moving elderly and retired citizens to be taken care of in small-economic scale areas⁵⁾. The social welfare of the small-economic scale area in this sense means that the husband, wife and wife's relatives take care of each other³⁾.

4.3 Changing of cultural attitudes of Thai women

Previous studies on women from the North and Northeast of Thailand have shown that cross-culture marriage is a method used to legally live in Germany where there are many new opportunities to work and earn high income²⁾. It is also highly likely to earn money without difficulty; therefore, cross-culture marriage in this sense could mean economic exchange⁵⁾. This is analogous to the present research in that Thai women with the same attributes as mentioned above change their attitudes to marry foreign men because they want to upgrade their social and economic status in a short period of time. However, it should be noted that the other group of subjects in this study who are well educated have different reasons for marrying foreign men.

Though Thai women usually need to learn and adapt themselves to their new cultural environment, studies of cross-culture marriages find that they still appreciate their own original culture^{3,5)}. Wherever they live, it appears that they still value attitudes of gratitude to parents, being a good mother, a good family member, and a good relative, as well as good village member. Instead of weakening such attitudes, it turns out that contact with anew culture strengthens them for Thai women. We found the same results in the present research where many subjects still send money back to their hometown for their parents, their children (with their Thai ex-husband) and their local village. Further studies on this matter should be done for Thai women who marry men from developing countries or smaller-economic scale countries.

5. Conclusion

Thai women who married Japanese men struggle to adapt to life in Japan where the culture and traditions are wholly different from Thailand. This is due to the fact that their survival in Japan means the survival of their family in Thailand. However, they face numerous obstacles: they lack a social support system, the age gap with their older husband, they often have no work/job, their future security and household finances are uncertain, and the relationship between a Thai mother and her children is often emotionally painful. Moreover, the Japanese family's lack of understanding of Thai culture is a major problem in their relationship. That is in Thai culture and tradition, it is still the role of the daughter to take care of her family. Even though they move overseas, they send their savings back to their family in Thailand as a way of making up for the fact that they could not be there in person to take care of their parents. Marrying across cultures is a chance to increase their social and economic status. It was a change from a life of difficulty into a life of luxury. Although living abroad gives them a chance to increase their status, they must lose the love and warmth of their family in Thailand. This is because no matter how perfect life in Japan is, nothing can replace the happiness received from their family in Thailand.

Respondents also reported many problems they had, such as pressure from their husband's family, bullying of their children and a large generation gap with their husband. All of these problems are exacerbated by the lack of close confidants to share their problems with and the communication gap in their family as the nuclear family in Japan has only a father, mother and children. Furthermore, there is no close social network among neighbors in Japan. Sometimes, they alleviate their problems by calling their cousins in Thailand or joining the Thai Cyber Society to share their problems, release their stress, and to exchange information. In the end, they may decide to return to their homeland to settle into a new home if they feel that it is too difficult to live in Japan.

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Document I: Subjects's Data (Before coming to Japan)

Subjects	Age	Sex	A period living in Japan	Brothers/ Birth order	Place of birth	Occupation of father	Occupation of mother	Educational Background in Thailand	Latest occupation in Thailand		Income (Baht)	Marriage experience
									Place of employment	Occupation		
B1	30	F	3	3/2	Bangkok	Government employee	Government employee	Master's Degree	A Thai airline	Employee	30,001-50,000	No have
B2	31	F	5	9/9	Chaiyaphum	Agricultural	Agricultural	Elementary (6years)	A Thai massage shop	Workman	5,000-10,000	Have
B3	33	F	12	4/2	Songkhla	Captain of a ship	Family business	High School	A company	Employee	5,000-10,000	No have
B4	33	F	8	2/2	Chiang Rai	Employment	Employment	Elementary (6years)	Travel agency	Employee	5,000-10,000	No have
B5	34	F	9	4/1	Nakhon Pathom	Priest (family business)	Housewife	High School	Thai restaurant	Owner	5,000-10,000	No have
B6	36	F	13	4/3	Samut Prakan	Passed away	Passed away	High School	A company	Employee	5,000-10,000	No have
B7	36	F	12	3/2	Krabi	Schoolteacher	Agricultural	Bachelor Degree	A company	Employee	5,000-10,000	No have
B8	36	F	10	2/1	Phitsanulok	Passed away	Passed away	Diploma	A company	Employee	5,000-10,000	No have
B9	37	F	4	3/2	Lampang	Thai boxer	Retirement (Thai restaurant)	Bachelor Degree	Police officer	Police	5,000-10,000	No have
B10	39	F	16	5/3	Ratchaburi	Family business	Stall	Junior high school	A company	Employee	5,000-10,000	No have
B11	39	F	3	8/5	Mukdahan	Employment	Employment	Junior high school	A Thai massage shop	Workman	5,000-10,000	No have
B12	39	F	17	3/1	Chiang Mai	Lecturer	Lecturer	Bachelor Degree	A company	Employee	5,000-10,000	No have
B13	39	F	16	8/6	Ratchaburi	Family business	Housewife	Bachelor Degree	Japanese company	Employee	> 50,001	No have
B14	39	F	11	4/3	Kamphaeng Phet	Passed away	Passed away	Junior high school	English school	Employee	5,000-10,000	Have
B15	41	F	12	2/1	Nan	Government employee	Schoolteacher	Junior high school	VDO Shop	Clerk	5,000-10,000	Have
B16	41	F	14	4/3	Bangkok	Retirement (family business)	Retirement (Thai restaurant)	Bachelor Degree	Travel agency	Guide	> 50,000	No have
B17	42	F	20	5/2	Bangkok	Passed away	Family business	Bachelor Degree	—	No experience	None	No have
B18	44	F	3	3/1	Chiang Rai	Police	Government employee	Diploma	A snack bar	Hostess	15,001-20,000	No have
B19	46	F	9	11/6	Nakhon Si Thammarat	Passed away	Family business	Elementary (4years)	A snack bar	Hostess	15,001-20,000	Have
B20	47	F	13	3/2	Phrae	Passed away	Passed away	Diploma	Agricultural	Farmer	None	Have
B21	47	F	9	7/5	Nakhon Sawan	Employment	Employment	Elementary (6years)	A snack bar	Hostess	20,001-30,000	Have
B22	48	F	20	9/6	Chiang Rai	Employment	Employment	Elementary (4years)	Thai restaurant	Owner	5,000-10,000	Have
B23	50	F	18	6/2	Singburi	Agricultural	Agricultural	Junior high school	Hair salon	Owner	5,000-10,000	No have
B24	50	F	19	4/1	Phetchabun	Priest (government employee)	Family business	High School	A snack bar	Clerk	5,000-10,000	Have (Japanese)
B25	53	F	23	3/1	Uttaradit	Government employee (passed away)	Passed away (beautician)	Elementary (4years)	Thai restaurant	Workman	5,000-10,000	Have
B26	53	F	12	6/4	Chiang Mai	Passed away	Passed away	Elementary (4years)	Family business	Owner	> 50,000	Have
B27	53	F	22	4/4	Ratchaburi	Retirement	Passed away	Junior high school	Company	Employee	5,000-10,000	Have
B28	56	F	14	5/2	Bangkok	Passed away (employment)	Passed away	Junior high school	A snack bar	Singer	15,001-20,000	Have

Source: Data of investigation in 2005-2006year

Document II: Subject's Data (After marriage)

Subjects	Age of Japanese husbands	Japanese Husband		Period of Meeting and Seeing (years)	Period of Marriage	The child who was born from Japanese father	Occupation in Japan	Income (Yen) 1 yen = 0.32 baht	Built Houses or bought land in Thailand (After marriage)	Futer, return to Thailand
		Occupation	Educational							
B1	30	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	2	3	none	Part time	none	No have	not return
B2	44	Government employee	High School	1 month	5	2 (Girls 4years, 6month)	Housewife	none	Have	return
B3	34	Salaried worker	Diploma	1	9	2 (Boys 9years, 7years)	Part time	0-50,000 yen	No have	not return
B4	48	Workman	Diploma	2	9	2 (Boy 9years, Girl 7years)	Part time	60,000-100,000 yen	No have	return
B5	45	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	2.5	9	1 (Girl 6years)	Housewife	none	Have	fifty-fifty
B6	49	Taxi driver	High School	1	13	2 (Boys 11years, 10years)	Housewife	none	Have	not return
B7	56	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	4	12	2 (Boys 8years, 6years)	Teacher of Thai culture	210,000-300,000 yen	Have	return
B8	37	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	6	10	2 (Boys 9years, 7years)	Housewife	none	Have	fifty-fifty
B9	48	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	3	4	1 (Boy 4years)	Housewife	none	Have	return
B10	50	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	3	16	2 (Boy 15years, Girl 8years)	Owner of a Thai restaurant	300,000 yen Up	Have	fifty-fifty
B11	65	Retirement	Bachelor Degree	3 month	3	1 (Boy 1year)	Housewife	none	Have	fifty-fifty
B12	49	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	2	17	2 (Boy 16years, Girl 14years)	Manager of a family business	300,000 yen Up	Have	fifty-fifty
B13	38	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	4	7	none	Interpreter	300,000 yen Up	Have	return
B14	50	Government employee	Bachelor Degree	1	11	2 (Boys 9years, 5years)	Housewife	none	Have	return
B15	47	Owner of family business	Bachelor Degree	1 month	12	2 (Boy 7years, Girl 1year)	Owner of a Thai restaurant	300,000 yen Up	Have (Land only)	return
B16	55	Japanese priest	Bachelor Degree	2	14	2 (Boys 11years, 10years)	Housewife	none	Have	return
B17	50	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	2	20	2 (Boys 10years, Girls 8years)	Part time	60,000-100,000 yen	No have	fifty-fifty
B18	41	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	3	13	2 (Girls 11years, 9years)	Housewife	none	Have (Land only)	return
B19	39	Owner of a Thai restaurant	Bachelor Degree	0.5	10	2 (Boy 8years, Girl 6years)	Owner of a Thai restaurant	210,000-300,000 yen	No have	not return
B20	71	Retirement	Diploma	0.5	12	none	Owner of a Thai massage shop	210,000-300,000 yen	No have	not return
B21	48	Salaried worker	Bachelor Degree	2.5	9	none	Housewife	none	Have	return
B22	40	Doctor	Bachelor Degree	2	9	1 (Boys 5years)	Housewife	none	Have	fifty-fifty
B23	46	Owner of family business	Bachelor Degree	3	18	2 (Boys 18years, 14years)	Part time	60,000-100,000 yen	Have	not return
B24	57	Truck driver	High School	0.5	19	1 (Boy 9years)	Housewife	none	Have	return
B25	64	Workman	High School	0.5	23	2 (Boys 22years, 21years)	Staff of a Thai massage shop	210,000-300,000 yen	Have	return
B26	73	Retirement	High School	0.5	13	none	Owner of a Thai massage shop	300,000 yen Up	Have	return
B27	62	Salaried worker	Diploma	1	22	none	Housewife	none	Have	not return
B28	57	Workman	Diploma	3 month	14	none	Cook of a Thai restaurant	210,000-300,000 yen	Have	return

Source: Data of investigation in 2005-2006year