

The Socio-economic Status of Immigrant Women in Gendered Migratory Processes:
Are They Double Disadvantaged?*

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Abstract

The feminization of migrants has changed immigrant women into a key player in migratory process, and their socio-economic status is rapidly gaining importance in the course of it. Thus, the present study aims to reveal their socio-economic status, particularly their occupations within the Japanese labor market, and its determinants. It also takes into account how gendered migratory processes are formed in Japanese society.

The hypothesis of the present study is based on the double disadvantaged theory, which proposes that not only immigrant women's ethnicity but also the gender relations in which these immigrant women are embedded determine their socio-economic status in Japan. As a result, their socio-economic statuses tend to be lower than that of Japanese women who have an equivalent socio-economic characteristic in terms of educational attainment and age and so on.

Regarding methods and data, the present study used micro-data from the population census of Japan conducted in 2010, and applied the Heckprobit model to estimate simultaneously the probability of immigrant women's labor participation and their being employed in upper white-collar occupation.

Thereby, the present study has been able to conclude that the double disadvantaged hypothesis is applicable to the socio-economic status of immigrant women in Japan. It has also found that the migratory process of labor migrants can boost their occupational attainment as in the case of Chinese women. Further, it shows that we cannot necessarily expect social adaptation by immigrant women with time elapsed since migration. Therefore, we can also conclude that integration policies should include gender perspectives. Otherwise, immigrant women's social integration will be slow, despite the prolongation of their residency.

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1. An introduction to the aims of the present study

The socio-economic status of immigrant women has been overlooked by social scientists so far, although it is an important indicator of immigrant integration in a host society. This is partly because immigrant women have been regarded as being dependent on immigrant men as wives, mothers, or daughters. However, the feminization of migrants (Castles et al. 2014: 16), which means that immigrant women are key players in migratory processes, has changed the situation. Immigrant women are now the primary movers in their community of origin, or amongst their family members, and they are incorporated into the host society as independent stayers.

Japan has also experienced such a phenomenon. There have been many immigrant women in Japan, and since 1994 their numbers have been larger than that of immigrant men. Many of them are marriage migrants, namely, married to Japanese men, but recently their migratory processes are becoming diverse; they also come to Japan as international students, professionals, or employees of Japanese firms. Thus, their socio-economic status is a key to understanding immigrant incorporation in Japan.

However, few studies focus on the socio-economic status of immigrant women in Japan. Most studies are based on a small-sample survey or a qualitative analysis, which hardly pays any attention to the subjects' socio-economic status. Moreover, these studies tend to see immigrant women as a collective category that necessarily falls into the lower class of society, rather than as individuals with discrete socio-economic statuses (Ogaya 2013: 118-9).

In light of this, the present study aims to reveal the socio-economic status of groups of immigrant women separately—particularly their occupations in the labor market—and its determinants, based on microdata from the population census of Japan conducted in 2010. It also takes into account how gendered migratory processes are formed in Japanese society by exploring the labor participation gap between immigrants and the Japanese and the differences in the types of occupations they undertake in the labor market.

In doing this, the present study reveals how immigrant incorporation affects the social stratification of Japanese society and the importance of the gender perspective.

2. Previous Studies

Previous studies in the United States and Europe revealed that the globalization of reproductive work (Sassen 1988), which demands that immigrant women act as substitute wives in their host society, leads to the feminization of migrants globally. As a result, there are already many immigrant women living and working in developed

countries in a variety of care-giving roles, such as domestic workers, child/elderly carers, or sex-workers (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000), and their socio-economic status tends to be lower than those of native women due to the double disadvantages of being both women and immigrants (Parella et al. 2013: 1367). These researchers have found that the social assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 2003) cannot fully explain this.

In Japan, Ochiai et al. (2007: 194) pointed out that the feminization of migrants played an important role in the migration transition in Japan of the 1990s. In particular, many immigrant women from Asian countries immigrated to Japan to marry Japanese men, or to work as entertainers in the sex industry. It has also been found that Japanese-Brazilian women, who were return migrants, took jobs as unskilled laborers in Japanese factories. Therefore, Japan is not an exception in the trend towards the feminization of migrants.

Whereas, gender studies in Japan have overlooked ethnicity, and ethnic studies have rarely paid any attention to socio-economic status. (Ogaya 2013: 117). Amongst the few things that we do know concerning immigrant women's socio-economic status is that they often work in the gendered labor market, for instance as entertainers in the sex-industry, or if they marry, their marriage to Japanese men usually requires them to accept the role of an obedient wife in the Japanese patriarchal system. As a result, their socio-economic status tends to be lower than that of Japanese women (e.g., Takahata 2003, Takeda 2011, Kondo 2009, Saruhashi 2009).

Yet, these immigrant studies have been case studies, which have been done along categorical lines, concerning such categories as "marriage migrants," or "entertainers," or "Japanese-Brazilians," whose findings are confined to a certain migratory process and do not allow any exceptions within that category. Therefore, many details yet to be clarified on the matter of the socio-economic status of immigrant women.

3. Hypothesis and Research Questions

The hypothesis of the present study is based on the double disadvantaged theory that not only the gender relations in which immigrant women are embedded but also their ethnicity determine their socio-economic status. As a result, their socio-economic status tends to be lower than that of Japanese women who have an equivalent socio-economic characteristic in terms of educational attainment and age, and so on.

To prove that hypothesis, the present study aims to address four research questions. The first one is how socio-demographic characteristics tend to differ between immigrant and Japanese women. The second is how the socio-economic statuses of the two groups differ, particularly in terms of their labor participation rates and the proportion

of their members in upper-white-collar occupations. The third concerns how occupations of immigrant women are gendered or feminized, when compared with those of Japanese women. The fourth one is about what determines the differences in occupations between immigrant and Japanese women.

4. Methods and Data

The present study focuses on immigrant women's occupations, particularly on a probability of being employed in an upper-white-collar occupation, which involves professional and managerial roles. Moreover, the present study also takes into account the distribution of occupations to check whether immigrant women's occupations are unevenly distributed to more gendered or feminized ones, compared to those of Japanese women.

Further, in order to estimate the probability of being employed in an upper-white-collar occupation, the double disadvantaged hypothesis shares its basic structure with the social assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 2003), which assumes that immigrants' occupational attainment is impeded by their own ethnicity, although residency of a longer duration in the host country lessens their hardships.

To analyze women's occupations, we should also take into account the women outside the labor market. Thus, the present study uses the Heckprobit model (Van de Ven and Van Pragg 1981) to simultaneously estimate the probability of labor participation and that of being employed in an upper-white-collar occupation.

Finally, the double disadvantaged hypothesis assumes that the adaptation effect along with the prolongation of the duration of residency will differ depending on the type of marriage, in other words, the gender relations in which a woman is embedded and her ethnicity. Therefore, the model used in the present study is set out below¹.

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \text{Probit}(\text{Pr}(UW_i)) \\
 & = c + \beta_1 \cdot Fg_i + \sum_{j=1}^3 \beta_{2,j} \cdot (Fg_i \cdot Edu_{j,i}) + \beta_3 \cdot DR_i + \beta_4 \cdot (DR_i \\
 & \cdot \sum_{j=1}^3 Edu_{j,i}) + \beta_5 \cdot (Fg_i \cdot Mrg_i) + \beta_6 \cdot Intl_i + \beta_7 \cdot (DR_i \cdot (Fg_i \cdot Mrg_i)) + \beta_8 \\
 & \cdot (DR_i \cdot Intl_i) + X_i' \cdot \beta_9
 \end{aligned}$$

$\text{Pr}(UW_i)$: Probability of being employed in an upper-white-collar occupation

c : constant term

Fg_i : Dummy variable for being an immigrant (foreign citizen)

Edu_{ji} : Dummy variable for educational attainment (j=1 junior high school, j=2 junior college, j=3 university, reference case = high school)

Mrg_i : Dummy variable for being married

$Intl_i$: Dummy variable for being the spouse of a Japanese man

DR_i : Dummy variable for more than 5-years residency in Japan

X_i' : Other control variables (age, squared age, educational attainment, foreign citizenship, a cross-term with educational attainment and squared age, being married, residential municipality and its population size, population density area)

This model consists of four parts: the effect of ethnicity, human capital, social adaptation along with longer residency, and gender relations. Fg_i represents the effect of ethnicity, being paired with a Japanese as a reference point and its cross-effect with educational attainment indicate the difference in its effects depending on the educational attainments. “Duration of residency” represents the effect of social adaptation together with longer residency in Japan, and its cross-terms with educational attainments indicate the difference in its effects depending on the educational attainments. Finally, the model shows the cross-effects of being an immigrant woman married to an immigrant man on occupation. The effect of international marriages and their cross-effects, along with the longer duration of residency are additionally estimated. These factors can be summarized as follows.

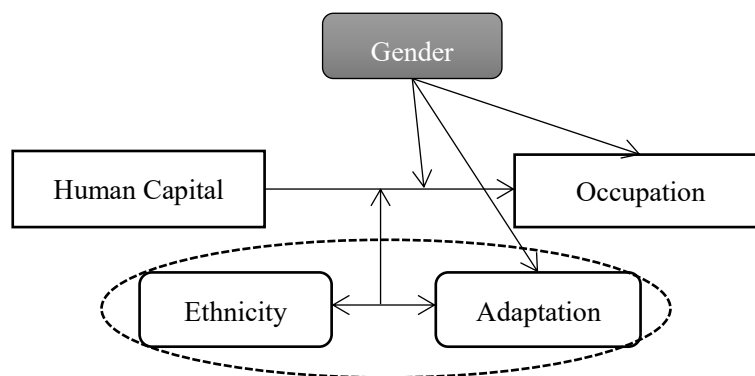


Figure 1: Structure of the Double Disadvantaged Hypothesis

The social assimilation theory, which is the *de facto* standard theoretical framework in migration studies, assumes a linear cause-effect relationship between a

person's human capital and his/her occupation that is adjusted for ethnicity and social adaptation. The double disadvantaged hypothesis additionally assumes the effect of gender relations on those relations.

Finally, the data used in the present study is the microdata of the population census of Japan conducted in 2010. It uses the individual data of immigrant women aged 15 to 64 years who are not students and whose nationality is either Chinese, Philippine, or Brazilian. They are representative of permanent immigrants in Japan, as labor migrants, marriage migrants, and return migrants respectively. Finally, the study also uses 10% of the population of Japanese women as a reference point to study immigrant women.

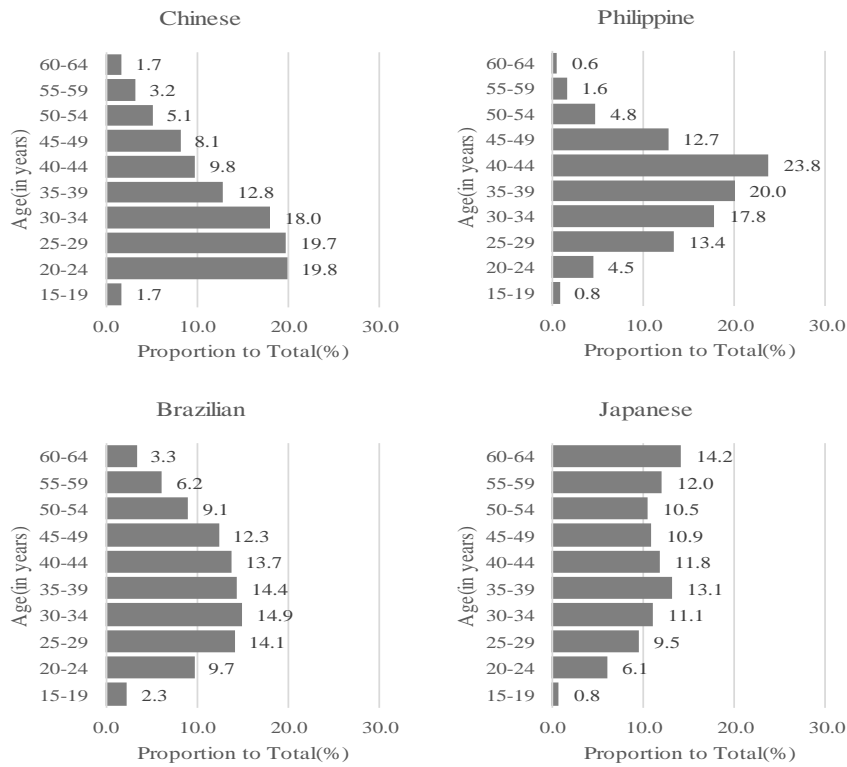
5. Analysis

5-1. Descriptive Statistics

(1) Socio-demographic Characteristics

As mentioned earlier, the socio-demographic diversity among immigrant women has been overlooked by social scientists so far. However, how do socio-demographic characteristics differ among immigrant and Japanese women?

The age composition of immigrant women groups greatly differs from that of Japanese women and reflects differing migratory processes. Japanese women are more evenly distributed, and slightly skewed to older ages compared to immigrant women, owing to low fertility and ageing. In contrast, Chinese women have the youngest age composition, which is partly the result of a constant and expanding inflow of new immigrants. Philippines are largely middle-aged, as their inflow peaked in the mid-2000s. Finally, Brazilians have the most balanced age distribution, reflecting the fact that they accompany their family members to Japan.



Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Figure 2: Age Compositions of Immigrant and Japanese Women

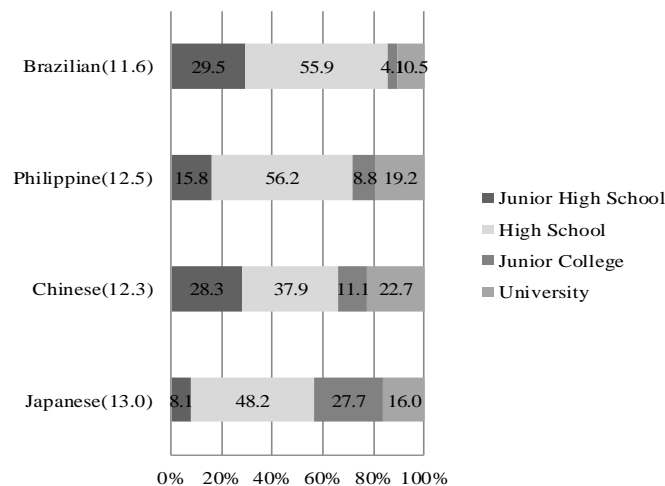
Marital status, which represents a part of gender relations, is closely related to migratory processes. Philippine women show a very high marriage rate—80.4%—reflecting the fact that they mainly move to Japan as marriage migrants. In particular, the proportion of international marriages among them is 89.2%. On the other hand, Chinese women’s marriage rate is 66.2%, which is almost the same level as that of Japanese women, and the proportion of international marriages is 59.3%, indicating that approximately half of all married Chinese women in Japan are married to immigrant men. This reflects the fact that many Chinese women move to Japan as international students or as labor migrants (Tsuboya 2000: 113). Finally, Brazilian women show a slightly higher marriage rate than Japanese women—70.2%—and the proportion of international marriages amongst them is 13.7%, which represents the fact that they come to Japan with their family members.

Table 1: Marital Status of Immigrant and Japanese Women

Country of Origin (Nationality)	Married	Spouse of a Japanese man
Chinese	66.2%	59.3
Filipina	80.4	89.2
Brazilian	70.2	13.7
Japanese	66.0	-

Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

The educational attainments of immigrant women, which are a key to success in the labor market, are on average, lower than that of Japanese women. Moreover, a detailed study of compositions shows that immigrant women’s educational attainments are polarized into higher and lower levels. For instance, the population of Chinese women has a larger proportion of university graduates than that of Japanese women, although the proportion of junior high school graduates is also much larger among the Chinese than the Japanese. The same holds true for Philippine and Brazilian women, but the actual proportion of tertiary-educated people is much smaller among them than among Japanese women.



Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Note: Figures in the parentheses are the average educational attainment in years. These figures do not consider the place of education.

Figure 3: Educational Attainments of Immigrant and Japanese Women

These findings have revealed that the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrant women are more diverse than that of the Japanese, reflecting their individual migratory processes, which previous studies have not necessarily noted.

(2) Socio-economic Status

How are these diverse socio-demographic characteristics represented in women’s socio-economic status? We have considered the labor participation rates and proportion of upper-white-collar occupations in the following sections.

Labor participation rates of immigrant women differ across countries of origin and across types of a partnership. For instance, Chinese women’s labor participation rate is 70.2% of the total; on the other hand, it is 46.6% for spouses of Japanese men, 56.7% for immigrants’ partners, and 92.8% for single women. This order is also true of other immigrant groups; single women show the highest labor participation rate, immigrants’ partners do the second highest, and spouses of Japanese men have the lowest rate.

These findings are not surprising, as previous studies have often pointed out that immigrant women, in particular spouses of Japanese men, tend to accept the role of a traditional full-time housewife (e.g. Takahata 2003, Takeda 2011, Kondo 2009, Saruhashi 2009), and this is sometimes true of immigrants’ wives (Ho 2009). It implies that gender relations are closely related with their participation in the labor market.

Table 2: Labor Participation Rates of Immigrant and Japanese Women

Country of Origin (Nationality)	Total	Spouse of a Japanese man	Immigrant’s partner	Single
Chinese	70.2%	46.6	56.7	92.8
Philippine	61.4	51.5	71.9	86.3
Brazilian	77.8	62.8	73.4	90.5
Japanese	69.1	60.4	-	86.2

Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

With regard to occupational distribution, the table that follows shows the proportion of the various groups in upper-white-collar occupations. It may be noted that the occupational status of immigrant women is on average lower than that of Japanese women. Among the immigrant groups, Chinese women have the highest occupational status, which at 6.9% is less than half that of Japanese women, which is 16.8%.

Table 3 Proportions of Upper-White-collar Occupations among Immigrant and Japanese Women in the Labor Force

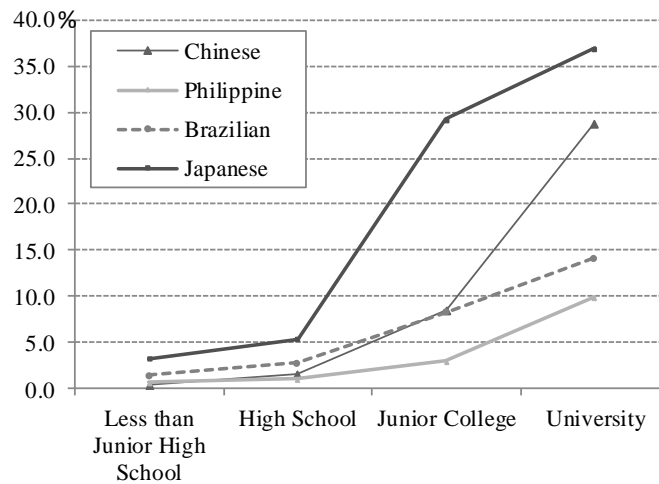
Country of Origin (Nationality)	Prop. of UW (%)
Chinese	6.9%
Philippine	2.8
Brazilian	3.6
Japanese	16.8

Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Is their low occupational status due to low returns from their educational attainments? The answer is no, because even among those from the same country of origin, there is a diversity of occupations depending on their educational attainments. Thus, 9.9% of Philippine immigrant women who have at least a B.A. are employed in upper-white-collar occupations, but it is just 2.8% among them with less than a junior high school diploma. This holds true for those from other countries of origin as well. For instance, 14.2% of Brazilian women and 28.7% of Chinese women who have university degrees are employed as upper-white-collar occupations.

Note that gaps in the proportion of upper-white-collar occupations at each level of educational attainment between Japanese women and others are becoming larger, for instance among those women with tertiary-level education, and particularly for those with junior-college level education; this is closely related to the gendered labor market of Japan as discussed in the following section.

Therefore, the gaps in returns from educational attainment only partially explain their low occupational statuses. What else can explain the gaps in occupational statuses between immigrant and Japanese women?



Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Figure 4: The Proportions of Upper-White-Collar Occupations among Immigrant and Japanese Women in the Labor Force by Level of Educational Attainment

(3) Joint Distribution in Occupations and Industries

It is known that gendered migratory processes, which push immigrant women into more feminized occupations, keep their occupational statuses lower than those of the natives. Therefore, we decided to inquire whether immigrant women are more frequently distributed in feminized occupations, which tend to be lower-ranked.

First, we considered the fact that Japanese women are more frequently distributed in interpersonal service industries, such as education, learning support, medical services and health care, and welfare than are Japanese men². These are examples of feminized industry in the Japanese labor market.

Then, we analyzed the joint distribution of immigrant women in occupations and industries and found that compared to Japanese women, immigrant women are unevenly distributed in the manufacturing industry, which is a rather masculinized industry and less frequently distributed in feminized industries, such as wholesale and retail trade, living-related, personal and amusement services, education and learning support, and medical, healthcare, and welfare industries.



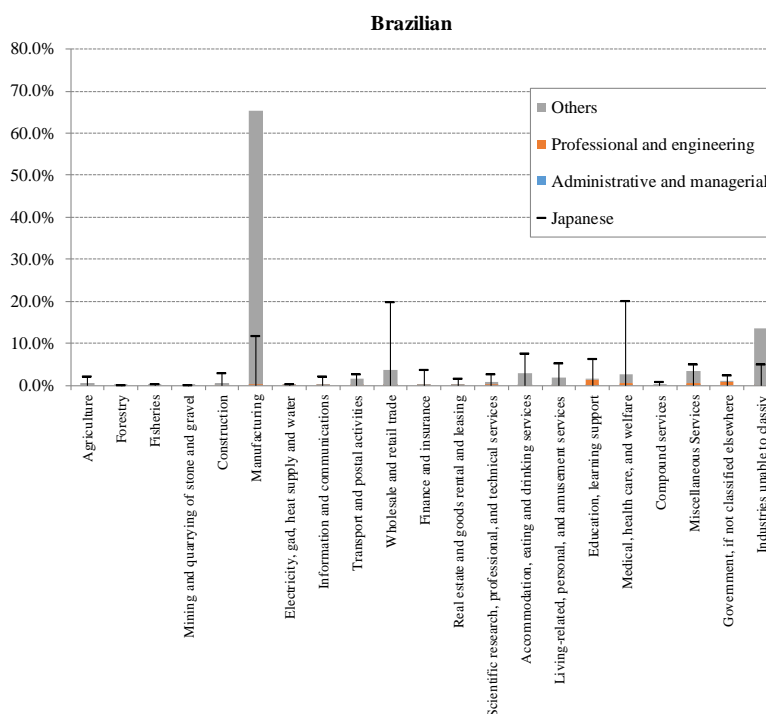
Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Figure 5: Distribution of Chinese Women in Occupations and Industries



Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Figure 6: Distribution of Philippine Women in Occupations and Industries



Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Figure 7: Distribution of Brazilian Women in Occupations and Industries

Further, more masculinized distributions can be seen among immigrant women in upper-white-collar occupations. Indeed, immigrant women are less frequently distributed in occupations where Japanese women are most frequently distributed; examples include clinical nurse (27.8%), childminder (11.6%), and elementary school teacher (6.7%). Instead, among immigrant women, professionals in other industry, which includes an interpreter occupy the largest proportions of upper-white-collar occupations³. Moreover, Chinese women show the most masculinized distribution; examples include ICT consultant (11.3%), corporate executive (9.2%), university professor (9.1%), and software programmer (8.6%). On the other hand, Philippine and Brazilian women show a slightly more feminized distribution than Chinese women, in roles such as private teacher (both groups), other teacher (both groups), and masseuse (Brazilian).

These findings indicate that the Japanese labor market is less gendered in favor of immigrant women than of Japanese women, which does not necessarily offer more chances for occupational attainments for immigrant women.

Table 4: Detailed Composition of Women’s Upper-White-Collar Occupations

Order	Chinese	Philippine	Brazilian	Japanese
1	Other Professionals, 19.0%	Other Professionals, 35.0%	Other Professionals, 55.4%	Clinical nurse, 27.8%
2	ICT consultant, 11.3%	Private teacher, 26.6%	Other teacher, 18.0%	Childminder, 11.6%
3	Corporate executive, 9.2%	Other teacher, 6.4%	Masseuse, 6.7%	Elementary school teacher, 6.7%
4	University professor, 9.1%	Corporate executive, 3.9%	Private teacher, 5.4%	Social welfare professionals, Misc., 5.2%
5	Software programmer, 8.6%	Natural scientist, 3.4%	Religious professional, 1.8%	Pharmaceutical chemist, 3.1%

Source: Tabulated from the micro-data of the population census of Japan

Note: Other professionals includes an interpreter, which might be popular professionals among immigrants.

5-2. Multivariate Analysis

What determines immigrant women’s low occupational statuses? A multivariate analysis revealed the controlled effect of belonging to a certain ethnicity, being embedded in certain gender relations, and the intersections between them on their occupational attainment.

First, only Chinese women show a statistically significant result for their ethnicity, meaning that there is no uniform effect of ethnicity among Philippine and Brazilian women. In other words, their experience as immigrants is so diverse that it cannot be summarized into one average effect for those ethnicities.

However, large negative values for junior college graduates means that immigrant women cannot extract benefits from the gendered Japanese labor market, as Japanese women do. In the Japanese labor market, clinical nurses represent the largest part of the upper-white-collar occupations of Japanese women, many of whom are junior college graduates⁴. Yet, immigrant women cannot select such a route, and thus there is a huge gap between the various groups at the junior college level.

Apart from junior college graduates, Chinese and Philippine women who have university degrees show large positive values, although that of Philippine women is almost negated by the cross-term with longer duration of residency. Whereas, Chinese women show a positive value even after being subtracted by the cross term, with longer durations of residency reflecting their migratory processes, in that many of them are not originally family migrants who are not selective about their educational attainment, but international students or highly skilled labor migrants who are more positively selected based on their human capital.

Results on marital status, which represent the gender relations in which a woman is embedded, show that marriage has a negative effect on occupational attainment for women as a whole. However, the supplementary effects of being a spouse of an immigrant/a Japanese man are much larger in comparison. For instance, the effect of being a spouse of a Japanese man is -0.24 for Chinese women, -0.49 for Philippine women, and effects of being the spouse of an immigrant man are -0.49 for Philippine women, and -1.02 for Brazilian women. These figures imply that gender relations have a negative effect on women's occupational attainment.

Yet, there are also some variations in those effects of marriage. For instance, Chinese women do not show a significant negative value for being the spouse of an immigrant man, probably reflecting the fact that they prefer egalitarian gender relations in their partnership (Tsuboya 2000: 119). Philippine women have negative values for being the spouse of an immigrant or Japanese man. Finally, the results for Brazilian women show some complexity, in that those variables probably detect other effects than that of marital status. They may rather represent whether a woman has Japanese ancestry or not⁵.

Finally, it is surprising that the duration of residency, which is a core variable in immigrant research, shows almost no significant effect. Only Chinese women show a large positive value, 0.72, although other significant values are substantially negligible as an effect of social adaptation. For instance, its cross-terms with university degree are negative for all immigrants, and the cross-terms with marital status are negative for Philippine women, although they do reflect the selection bias between short and long stayers⁶.

Table 5: Results of a Multivariate Analysis on the Probability of Being Employed in an Upper-White-Collar Occupation

	Chinese	Philippine	Brazilian
Dependent variable = probability of being employed in an upper-white-collar occupation			
Foreign Nationality(FN)	-1.08**	-0.39	0.48
Foreign Nationality			
*Lower than JH	-0.18**	0.35	0.23
*Junior college	-0.37**	-0.90**	-0.72**
*University	0.98**	0.29**	-0.15
Married	-0.04**	-0.04**	-0.04**
*FN	0.04	-0.49**	-1.02**
*Spouse of a JP	-0.24**	-0.49**	0.46**
Duration of Residency (> 5yrs.)	0.72**	-0.05	0.14
*Lower than JH	0.02	-0.23	-0.11
*Junior college	-0.12	0.02	0.28
*University	-0.79**	-0.51**	-0.25**
*FN*Marriage	-0.04	0.22**	0.14
* Spouse of a JP	0.02	0.37**	-0.20
Control Variables	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
N	3,696,575	3,595,540	3,546,285

Note: * p<.05, ** p<.01, probability of labor participation is simultaneously estimated.

6. Discussion

The feminization of migrants has changed the situation surrounding immigrant women, in which immigrant women's socio-economic status has been overlooked by academics. Thus, the present study explored details of their socio-economic status, in particular, their occupations in the Japanese labor market and related determinants. It also

takes into account how gendered migratory processes are formed in Japanese society.

The hypothesis of the present study is based on the double disadvantaged hypothesis that the socio-economic status of immigrant women in Japan is determined by gender relations in which immigrant women are embedded and their ethnicity. As a result of these factors, their socio-economic statuses tend to be lower than that of Japanese women who have equivalent socio-economic characteristics.

To prove the hypothesis, the present study answers four research questions: (1) How do socio-demographic characteristics differ between immigrant and Japanese women? (2) How do socio-economic statuses differ between immigrant and Japanese women, particularly in terms of labor participation rates and proportion in upper-white-collar occupations? (3) How are the occupations of immigrant women gendered or feminized, compared to those of Japanese women? (4) What determines differences in occupations between immigrant and Japanese women?

Regarding methods and data, the present study used micro-data from the population census of Japan conducted in 2010 and applied the Heckprobit model to simultaneously estimate the probability of being employed in an upper-white-collar occupation and labor participation.

The results show that the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrant women are more diverse than expected, reflecting differences in their migratory processes. Age compositions and marital statuses strongly reflect their migratory processes, and their educational attainments tend to be polarized into high and low levels.

Labor participation rates of immigrant women differ greatly depending on their marital statuses. Single women show the highest rate, spouses of immigrant men show the second highest, and spouses of Japanese men show the lowest rates. These patterns imply that the marital status and the gender relations behind these trends are closely related to labor participation.

The proportion of immigrant women in upper-white-collar occupations is on average lower than that of Japanese women. This is partly because their educational attainments are lower than that of Japanese women, and there are the gaps in returns from educational attainments between Japanese and other women, particularly among the highly educated. Moreover, it is surprising that the Japanese labor market is less gendered for immigrant women than for Japanese women. Immigrant women tend to be distributed in more masculinized occupations, which does not, however, always benefit immigrant women.

Multivariate analysis revealed that gender relations, which are represented by marital status, have a larger effect than other factors, such as ethnicity and social

adaptation, which is represented in longer durations of residency. Only Chinese women show definite effects of ethnicity and duration of residency, indicating that they were originally highly skilled labor migrants and/or international students.

Interestingly, a cross-term between foreign nationality and a junior college degree shows large negative values for all immigrant women, reflecting the structure of the gendered Japanese labor market, where many women who are employed in upper-white-collar occupations are clinical nurses with junior college degrees.

Therefore, the present study concludes that the double disadvantaged hypothesis can be applied to socio-economic statuses of immigrant women in Japan. It also found that the migratory process for a labor migrant lessens this trend, as in the case of Chinese women.

Further, results suggest that we cannot necessarily expect the social adaptation of immigrant women to occur and therefore integration policies should include gender perspectives. Otherwise, immigrant women's social integration will continue to be slow, despite the prolongation of the duration of their residency in Japan.

Finally, the limitation of the present study is that it only uses cross-sectional data without longitudinal data. Thus, the next challenge will be conducting a longitudinal survey on the migratory processes of immigrants as a whole.

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- 1 The model to estimate the probability of labor participation includes husband’s educational attainment and number of children under six years of age.
 - 2 This is based on the author’s tabulation of the micro-data from the population census.
 - 3 This category includes an interpreter.
 - 4 According to the population census used in the present study, 65.9% of Japanese clinical nurses have a junior college degree.
 - 5 This interpretation needs an explanation. First, the statistics on foreign citizens in Japan (Ministry of Justice 2011) reveals that almost all Brazilians living in Japan are Japanese-Brazilian, or partners of native Brazilians. Second, naturalization is approved not for an individual but for the entire household. Therefore, a Brazilian living in Japan with a Japanese partner is expected to be a Japanese-Brazilian, otherwise he/she cannot obtain the visa issued to Japanese-Brazilians and his/her partner.
 - 6 With regard to university graduates, the Japanese Immigration and Refugee Control Act allows only those who have a degree higher than a university degree to work in the country. Thus, a working short-stayer is overrepresented among university graduates, meaning that a university graduate will not have such a high chance of attaining an upper-white-collar occupation. Positive values from cross-terms between duration of residency and marital statuses can be explained as the difference in the proportions of the divorced in the single immigrants group. Of the single immigrants, 54.8% are divorced among long stayers, but just 14.4% of the single short stayers are divorced. The reason is that this is a reference case, in which the single immigrants differed between short and long stayers.