



EMERGING DIMENSIONS OF **MARRIAGE** IN ASIA

19-20 NOV 2020

Online via Zoom

The goal of this conference is to bring scholars from multiple disciplines to update and broaden our understanding of the rapidly changing patterns and issues related to marriage in the different regions of Asia.

Trends in marriage in Asia are highly diverse, but are influencing in very important ways the demographic viability of some countries, as well as challenging the traditional role of the family in many. East Asia and South Asia are worlds apart, in a number of respects – prevalence of premarital sexual relations, who chooses the marriage partner, age at marriage, prevalence of cohabitation, consanguinity, and divorce. In some East Asian countries, the rising tide of delayed and non-marriage, in a context of continued popular opposition to childbearing outside marriage, is making it almost impossible to reverse fertility declines. Thus governments are challenged either to find policies to counter imminent population contraction, or to learn to live with diminishing and ageing populations. In China, though marriage remains near-universal, a trend toward delayed marriage is clear among well-educated city dwellers; cohabitation and divorce are rising; and the pace of change in all things associated with marriage appears to be accelerating. At the same time, emerging sharp gender imbalances in the key marriageable ages are placing in jeopardy the chance for many men, particularly less educated and rural men, to find brides. In other East Asian countries, too, men facing problems in finding marriage partners are resorting to seeking spouses from other countries.

In South Asian countries, child marriage (below age 18) remains common, though its incidence is declining. Parental choice of spouse remains the norm, divorce rates continue to be low and for many women an escape route from a violent or disharmonious marriage is very difficult to find. The way marriage customs and patterns are likely to be affected by the high rates of economic growth and rising proportions of young women proceeding to tertiary education in recent years in countries such as India and Bangladesh requires careful scrutiny.

Southeast Asian patterns of marriage are more diverse than those in other regions of Asia. Some Southeast Asian countries – notably Singapore, Thailand and Myanmar – have patterns of delayed marriage among women – especially the highly educated – rivalling those of East Asia. But while average age at marriage is rising almost universally, as it is throughout Asia, two Southeast Asian countries, Indonesia and Vietnam, have seen a reversal of this trend (as has Sri Lanka in South Asia). Quite high levels of child marriage continue to characterize Cambodia, Lao PDR and Indonesia. Thailand shows elements of the issues facing both East and South Asian countries – rising levels of child marriage, at the same time as marriage delays are much in evidence, especially among the more highly educated.

Many questions arise in relation to marriage trends in Asia, and the conference is open to submissions covering a wide range of topics. The following are examples of some of the questions that might be addressed, though the list is certainly not exhaustive.

- As mate selection arrangements and marriage patterns change in Asia, is there any observable tendency towards increasing uniformity, or increased diversity, of these arrangements and patterns?
- What are the patterns of age difference between spouses in different parts of Asia, are they changing, and what do they reveal about power relationships within marriages?
- In what ways are rising educational levels and changing labour markets, especially changes in the nature of women's labour force participation, affecting marriage markets, erosion of parental choice of marriage partners, age at marriage, non-marriage?
- Role of marriage migration in different Asian cultures; how do other types of migration shape family formation processes including divorce and remarriage?
- Trends in international marriages – is the upsurge in international marriages in the region over? How to explain the trends? What are the key issues around international marriages?
- What impacts are evolving feminist attitudes in different parts of Asia having on marriage trends? How much are sexual norms changing, and what is the effect on marriage, cohabitation, divorce?
- What patterns of cohabitation are observed in the region? How do these compare with cohabitation in other world regions? Does cohabitation lead to marriage?

- Effect of internet dating, religiously based matchmaking arrangements, and other emerging ways of seeking a marriage partner, on success in spousal choice.
- Issues related to rapidly rising numbers unmarried in their 20s and 30s – for example, changing family and social involvement of adult singles; issues about provision of contraception to the unmarried.
- Understanding trends in divorce – effects of simplification of divorce procedures; changes in normative systems governing divorce (e.g. in East Asia); can South Asian divorce rates rise much unless arranged marriage and patrilocal residence cease to be the norms governing marriage?
- Remarriage – issues arising in step families

WORKSHOP CONVENORS

Prof Wei-Jun Jean Yeung | National University of Singapore

Prof Gavin W. Jones | Australian National University

19 NOVEMBER 2020 • THURSDAY

| | | |
|----------------------|--|---|
| 09:30 – 10:30 | PANEL 1 – THE END OF UNIVERSAL MARIAGES? | |
| <i>Chairperson</i> | Wei-Jun Jean Yeung <i>National University of Singapore</i> | |
| 09:30 | Patrick Heuveline <i>University of California-Los Angeles, USA</i> | Contemporary Marriage in Cambodia |
| 09:50 | Jeofrey B. Abalos <i>National University of Singapore</i> | Not “When to Marry” But “Whether to Marry”: The Continuing Rise of Non-Marriage and Cohabitation in the Philippines |
| 10:10 | QUESTIONS & ANSWERS | |
| 10:30 – 11:00 | BREAK | |
| 11:00 – 12:00 | PANEL 2 – SEARCHING FOR A PARTNER ONLINE | |
| <i>Chairperson</i> | Gavin W. Jones <i>Australian National University</i> | |
| 11:00 | Yang Shen <i>Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China</i> | How to Find Mr/Miss Right? The Mechanism of “Search” among Online Daters in Shanghai |
| | Yue Qian <i>University of British Columbia, Canada</i> | |
| 11:20 | Anirban Mukherjee <i>Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Petroleum Technology, India</i> | From Arranged to E-Arranged Marriages in India: Tracing the Contours |
| 11:40 | QUESTIONS & ANSWERS | |
| 12:00 | END OF SESSION | |
| 14:00 – 15:30 | PANEL 3 – RECENT PATTERNS IN TRANS-ASIAN MARRIAGE | |
| <i>Chairperson</i> | Fatemeh Torabi <i>University of Tehran, Iran</i> | |
| 14:00 | Anis Ben Brik <i>Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Qatar</i> | Marriage Markets in West Asia: Trends, Determinants and Public Policies |
| 14:20 | Premchand Dommaraju <i>Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i> | Age Differences between Spouses in South and Southeast Asia |
| 14:40 | Gavin W. Jones <i>Australian National University</i> | Between Tradition and Modernity: Men’s Marriage Trends in Asia |
| | Gu Xiaorong <i>National University of Singapore</i> | |
| 15:00 | QUESTIONS & ANSWERS | |
| 15:30 – 16:00 | BREAK | |
| 16:00 – 17:30 | PANEL 4 – EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE | |
| <i>Chairperson</i> | Wen-Shan Yang <i>Academia Sinica, Taiwan</i> | |
| 16:00 | Soomin Kim & Doo-Sub Kim <i>Hanyang University, South Korea</i> | Teaching Wife’s Language to the Children of International Marriage Couples in South Korea |
| 16:20 | Noriko O. Tsuya <i>Keio University, Japan</i> | Educational Attainment, First Employment, and First Marriage in Japan |
| 16:40 | Kriti Vikram <i>National University of Singapore</i> | Modern Marriage in a Traditional Society: The Role of College Education on Marriage in India |
| 17:00 | QUESTIONS & ANSWERS | |
| 17:30 | END OF SESSION | |

20 NOVEMBER 2020 • FRIDAY

| | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| 09:30 – 11:00 | PANEL 5 – COHABITATION AND DIVORCE | |
| <i>Chairperson</i> | Patrick Heuveline <i>University of California-Los Angeles, USA</i> | |
| 09:30 | Wen-Shan Yang <i>Academia Sinica, Taiwan</i> | Determinants of Cohabitation in Taiwan: A Panel Data Analysis |
| | Ying-Ting Wang <i>Yuan Ze University, Taiwan</i> | |
| 09:50 | Rachel Rinaldo <i>University of Colorado-Boulder, USA</i> | Divorce Narratives and Class Inequalities in Indonesia |
| | Eva Nisa <i>Australian National University</i> | |
| | Nina Nurmila <i>State Islamic University, Indonesia</i> | |
| 10:10 | Zheng Mu <i>National University of Singapore</i> | Premarital Cohabitation, Marital Dissolution, and Marital Quality in China |
| 10:30 | QUESTIONS & ANSWERS | |
| 11:00 | END OF SESSION | |
| 13:00 – 14:00 | PANEL 6 – NEW TREND IN CHILD MARRIAGE AND CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGE | |
| <i>Chairperson</i> | Noriko O. Tsuya <i>Keio University, Japan</i> | |
| 13:00 | Fatemeh Torabi <i>University of Tehran, Iran</i> | Macro-level Correlates of Early Marriage in Asia |
| 13:20 | Heribertus Rinto Wibowo <i>Tulodo, Indonesia</i> | Sex Brings Shame to the Family: Siri' (Shame) as the Primary Predictor of Child Marriage in South Sulawesi, Indonesia |
| 13:40 | QUESTIONS & ANSWERS | |
| 14:00 – 15:00 | BREAK | |
| 15:00 – 16:00 | PANEL 7 – NEW MARRIAGE TRENDS IN ASIA AND THEIR DETERMINANTS | |
| <i>Chairperson</i> | Doo-Sub Kim <i>Hanyang University, South Korea</i> | |
| 15:00 | Wei-Jun Jean Yeung & Shuya Lu <i>National University of Singapore</i> | Family Dynamics in Cross-national Families with Young Children in Singapore |
| 15:20 | Wiraporn Pothisiri <i>Chulalongkorn University, Thailand</i> | Remarriage in Thailand: A Study of Emerging Trends, Correlates and Implications for the Well-being of Women and their Families |
| | Bussarawan Teerawichitchainan <i>National University of Singapore</i> | |
| | Nitchakarn Kaewbuadee <i>Shanghai University, Republic of China</i> | |
| 15:40 | QUESTIONS & ANSWERS | |
| 16:00 | END OF SESSION | |

PANEL 1

Contemporary Marriage in Cambodia

Patrick Heuveline

California Center for Population Research, University of California, Los Angeles, USA
heuveline@soc.ucla.edu
(Corresponding Author)

Michelle Kao Nakphong

California Center for Population Research, University of California, Los Angeles, USA

In Democratic Kampuchea, the « Khmer-Rouge regime » profoundly changed family life, separating parents from children, encouraging children no longer defer to their parents in spousal choices and even organizing mass marriages on the spot. Its effects are believed to be only temporary, however, and past marriage patterns to quickly resume after the regime's fall and with little change in the following two decades. Starting in the 1990s, the country underwent rapid socio-economic changes, including rising educational levels, new economic opportunities, in particular for young women, and urbanization. Such changes have been hypothesized elsewhere to weaken the authority of parents over their children and to reduce women's incentives to marry and remained married, and might ultimately lead to more permanent changes in family formation and dissolution.

In this paper, we use four waves of the Cambodian Demographic and Health Surveys from 2000 to 2014 to document contemporary trends in family behaviour. We find little change in extra-marital behaviour, as both cohabitation and sex between unmarried partners remain rare. Marriage also continues to be nearly universal and early for women, but we find that the transition to self-arranged "love" marriages has been earlier and faster than previously documented. With the addition of the most recent marriage cohorts, we find a continuation of a trend toward less marital stability than in earlier cohorts, but overall divorce levels remain relatively low compared to other countries in the region.

Patrick Heuveline is Professor in the Department of Sociology and the International Institute at the University of California, Los Angeles. Co-author of a widely used textbook on demographic analysis, *Demography: Measuring and Modeling Population Processes* (Blackwell, 2001), he has conducted research mostly in formal and in family demography. His substantive research interests center on how childhood family structures affect child wellbeing and the transition to adulthood. His work to date has been divided between comparative, secondary data analyses on single parenting and cohabitation in Western Nations, and, since 2000, the design, implementation and data curation of the ongoing Mekong Integrated Population-Registration Areas of Cambodia. Combining a Health and Demographic Surveillance System and "rider" surveys on specific topics of interest, this project is generating data specifically intended for the study of demographic change since the Khmer-Rouge period (1975-79).

PANEL 1

**Not “When to Marry” But “Whether to Marry”:
The Continuing Rise of Non-Marriage and Cohabitation in the Philippines**

Jeofrey B. Abalos

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
abalosjb@gmail.com

This study aims to examine the trends in non-marriage in the Philippines and identify the factors associated with this phenomenon. It will also assess trends in cohabitation in the country and its differentials by levels of education. Data are drawn from various census and national surveys. Results show a continuing increase in the proportion of Filipinos who are unmarried in their 40s, particularly among men. The proportion of Filipinos who are living together or cohabiting has also increased over time, while the share of those who are formally married have declined. These changes are accompanied by a more liberal attitudes toward marriage and cohabitation in the Philippines.

Jeofrey Abalos recently completed his PhD from the Australian National University. His research interests include, population ageing and health; marriage and cohabitation; and divorce and separation.

PANEL 2

**How to Find Mr/Miss Right?
The Mechanism of “Search” among Online Daters in Shanghai**

Yang Shen

School of International and Public Affairs, Shanghai Jiaotong University, China
shenyang0118@gmail.com

Yue Qian

Department of Sociology, University of British Columbia, Canada
yue.qian@ubc.ca
(Corresponding Author)

Online dating sites and apps have become increasingly diverse over the past two decades, aiming to cater users' specific preferences. However, little is known about search strategies that individuals use to choose a particular online dating platform and how gender plays a role in the search strategies. China provides a unique context for online dating research, as its rapid socioeconomic transformations have brought about drastic changes in individuals' views and practices of intimacy. Based on interviews with 29 heterosexual online daters conducted in Shanghai in 2017, we examine men's and women's strategies to find a partner online. We categorize online daters into three dating types—dating, *xiangqin* (matchmaking), and mixed—depending on their mating goals and mate preferences. Within each category, we find gender differences in preferred mate characteristics. Importantly, the dating types individuals belonged to guided their choices of online dating platforms. While existing research often contrasted online dating with “traditional venues” and used online dating to symbolize modernity, we argue that great heterogeneity exists within online daters. Despite the heterogeneity, online dating exhibits homophily effects, which may reinforce social inequality in China's marriage market. Overall, this study contributes to the literature by unpacking the complexities and gendered dynamics in the processes of Internet search for romantic partners.

Yang Shen is an Associate Professor at the School of International and Public Affairs at Shanghai Jiao Tong University. She received her PhD in Gender Studies at the London School of Economics. Her current research projects include women's reproductive behaviour, housing and intimacy and online dating in China. Her academic articles appeared in *Journal of Family Issues*, *Social and Cultural Geography*, *Journal of Social Issues*, *China Quarterly*, among others. Her book monograph 'Beyond tears and laughter: gender, migration and the service sector in China' has been published by Palgrave in 2019.

Yue Qian is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver). She received her PhD in sociology from the Ohio State University. Her research interests are in the areas of social demography, family, and gender. She has conducted research on both East Asia and North America. Her current research focuses on 1) online dating and family change in China and Canada, 2) trends and variation in assortative mating, and 3) how gender intersects with family and population processes to shape social inequality. Her research has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Her research has been published in the *American Sociological Review*, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *Social Science & Medicine*, among others.

PANEL 2

From Arranged to E-Arranged Marriages in India: Tracing the Contours

Anirban Mukherjee

Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Petroleum Technology, India
amukherjee@rgipt.ac.in

The rise of matrimonial websites in India can be traced to the 1990s when the country was experiencing the advent of economic liberalization and privatization. Research suggests that matrimonial website users are mostly between 18 to 35 years of age, enjoy commendable economic standing, and are concentrated in the mega-cities of the country (Titzmann, 2013). While the existing scholarship have hailed online matrimonial sites as domains in which individuals are empowered with the agency of choosing their spouse and negotiate their role as mature adults, this paper argues that marriage medialization broadly abides by the contours of Indian traditional values and norms. Content analysis of profiles and interviews with the users of the popular matrimonial websites in India (namely, Shaadi.com, Bharatmatrimony.com, and Jeevansathi.com) revealed that inconspicuousness of the virtual environment does not lead the users to deviate from the specificities of the Indian cultural moorings. The paper thus observes certain commonality in the profiles of matrimonial users: they are mostly of unmarried people; educational and job credentials of the prospective grooms are highlighted and the brides portray themselves as traditional; marriages aim to be hypergamous with an emphasis on caste, religious, and class compatibility; profiles cohere with the socially desirable body types. Further, even in cases where spousal selection is made by the candidate, parental/familial involvement becomes imperative for the finalization of marriage. The paper contends that internet matchmaking is an evolved form of arranged marriage, in which 'human' matchmaker is replaced by software algorithms. Thus, in modern India, marriages continue to be arranged, heterosexual, and lifelong union.

Anirban Mukherjee is currently serving as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Petroleum University (RGIPT), Jais, UP. Prior to his engagement at RGIPT, he served as an Assistant Professor at National Institute of Technology (NIT), Uttarakhand for 3.5 years. He earned his Ph.D. in Sociology from Kansas State University, USA and received his undergraduate and graduate degrees in Sociology from Presidency College, Calcutta and Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, respectively. His areas of research interest include Urban Sociology, Industrial Sociology, and Diaspora Studies. His dissertation is entitled, "Assimilation and Intergenerational Relations among Creative Workers: The Case of Bengali-Indian Immigrants in Kansas City Metropolitan Area." The research focuses on the migration of Bengali (the inhabitants of the state of West Bengal, India) professional workers to United States and examines the role that urban amenities play in the adaptation and assimilation of Bengali-Indian professionals as creative workers to social life in a U.S. metropolitan area.

PANEL 3

Marriage Markets in West Asia: Trends, Determinants and Public Policies

Anis Ben Brik

College of Public Policy, Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Qatar
abrik@hbku.edu.qa

Marriage markets have changed dramatically since the last three decades in West Asia. Foremost among these developments have been the large changes in divorce rates, the decline in marriage, and the general weakening of the traditional family structure. Drawing upon a range of theoretical frameworks and based on a review of quantitative research studies on marriage published between 1980 and 2019; analysis of administrative data and national surveys on marriage, divorce and fertility in the region, this paper analysis trends of marriage in select West Asian countries – Arabian Peninsula, Iran and Turkey; and investigate the cause and effects of changes in marriage market in the region. Consistent with previous research, trends in marriage in West Asia, reflect tension between rapid social and economic changes and limited change in family expectations and obligations. The age at first marriage and the celibacy rates have been steadily increasing in West Asia, partly due to mass education, female employment, health improvements and other modernizing factors. The high cost of marriage, which includes the payment of dowry, gold, the expenses of the wedding ceremony and housing, is one of the other main factors behind the delay in marriage in the region. Indeed, young people in West Asia are today confronted with economic difficulties to finance their marriage, especially in a context of urban growth, unemployment, decrease in oil prices, new female subjectivities; which is provoking social frustrations and questioning the reproduction of the family in the region. A variety of public policies have been implemented in many countries in the West Asia such as marriage allowances, a cap on the dowry's amount and wedding halls. However, all these measures do not seem very efficient in reducing the cost of marriage which continues to increase in the region, prompting young people to opt either for debts or to other alternative forms of financing, such as popular finance, collective weddings and Islamic banks. Some people prefer also to marry a foreigner or to enter into a secret marriage (misyar) where mahr is significantly lower in these marriages compared to a non-mixed marriage or a 'standard marriage'.

Anis B. Brik is Associate Professor at the College of Public Policy at Hamad Bin Khalifa University (HBKU). Before joining HBKU, he served as the Director of Family Policy Department at the Doha International Family Institute, a member of Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Community Development. Graduated from London School of Economics and Political Science. Dr Ben Brik has served as advisor on social policy at the UAE government. He has served in a number of national and international committees, including chairing the Middle East United Nations NGO Major Group, member of the Social Protection Committee of the Qatar National Development Strategy; member of the national committee on youth, labor market, population of the UAE government. Dr Ben Brik has conducted research on youth, family relationships, child well-being, social protection, culture and sustainable development. Dr Ben Brik is member of core group of the MENA social policy network www.menasp.com

PANEL 3

Age Differences between Spouses in South and Southeast Asia

Premchand Dommaraju

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Premchand@ntu.edu.sg

Age differences between spouses have important implications on a range of outcomes—from fertility, longevity to gender relationships, marital quality, and stability. In this paper, I examine the age differences between spouses in 12 countries in South and Southeast Asia in the 2010s. The findings show that average age difference (husband's minus wife's age) is positive in all countries and ranges from 2.7 in Myanmar to 8.4 in Bangladesh. Age homogamous marriages account for 5% of marriage in Bangladesh to close to half of all marriage in Thailand. The proportion of age hypogamous marriage are uniformly low in all the countries. There is also considerable variation within countries in the two regions. The findings show that marriage age of men have a stronger influence than marriage age of women on the age differences. Education differences are significant in many countries. The effect of education is to a great extent due to the differences in marriage age for different educational groups. There is not significant relationship between educational homogamy and age homogamy. The results are discussed in the context of social and demographic changes in the two regions.

Premchand Dommaraju is Associate Professor of sociology and Director of the MSc in Applied Gerontology Programme at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research focuses on socio-demographic issues related to marriage, families and households, and ageing in three regions in Asia—Southeast, South and Central Asia—and on the common demographic issues faced by the diverse societies in these regions. His works have appeared in leading social and demographic journals including *Population and Development Review*, *Demographic Research*, *Population*, and *Population Studies*. He is also currently the Vice-President of the Asian Population Association.

PANEL 3

Between Tradition and Modernity: Men's Marriage Trends in Asia

Gavin W. Jones

School of Demography, Australian National University
gavinj881@gmail.com

Gu Xiaorong

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
arigx@nus.edu.sg

Recent years have seen an expanding literature on women's delay in and 'flight from' marriage in many Asian societies, particularly in East Asia and Southeast Asia, which diverges from traditional norms and cultural ideals, and has significant implications for fertility trends in this region. But if women are delaying marriage or avoiding it altogether, how does this impact men's marriage patterns? In what ways are men actively engaged in the change in motivations for and resistance to marriage? Is there a symbiotic relationship between men's and women's motivations and the obstacles they face in contracting marriage? The current study attempts to answer these questions by exploring census and survey data from a number of Asian contexts. Preliminary findings include: 1) between the 1970s and 2010s, there was an overall rise in marriage age for men across Asia and the slope of change is especially sharp in East Asia; 2) men in East Asia and Southeast Asia increasingly remain single in their early 30s and early 40s (with the exceptions of China and Indonesia), while earlier and almost universal marriage continues to dominate men's nuptiality in South Asian societies (though Sri Lanka is an outlier); 3) at the aggregate level, economic growth and changing labour markets, including less certainty of permanent employment, affect both males and females. Shifting gender dynamics (as reflected in women's higher educational attainment and better earnings prospects) are much analyzed in relation to nuptiality patterns in Western countries; to what extent do similar forces affect men's marriage patterns in Asia? To what extent does men's own educational attainment influence their marriage patterns, and are patterns of gender inequality at the household level viable explanatory variables for the prevalence and timing of men's marriage? The study seeks to unravel complex trends and inter-regional heterogeneity in marriage behaviors of men in their negotiation of traditional norms and new gender dynamics amidst rapid social change in Asia.

Gavin W. Jones is an emeritus professor, but remains active in research. He has studied marriage patterns in Asia over a long period, but is conscious of the need to focus much more on the forces influencing men's decisions about whether, when and whom to marry, and the extent to which they actually have agency in these decisions. He has recently conducted a study on child marriage in Pakistan, based on DHS data.

Xiaorong Gu is currently a Research Fellow at Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore (NUS). She is a sociologist who shows great passions in 1) understanding how broader social and economic systems shape the development and well-being of young populations, and 2) in exploring the social consequences of China's economic reform for its social stratification patterns and for everyday life of ordinary people. Her wider research interests include child and youth development, migration, family, education, social stratification, China's political economy and mixed-methods research.

PANEL 4

Teaching Wife's Language to the Children of International Marriage Couples in South Korea

Soomin Kim

Hanyang University, South Korea
smkim33@hanyang.ac.kr

Doo-Sub Kim

Hanyang University, South Korea
duskim@hanyang.ac.kr

This study examines the connection between social factors and bilingual education for the children of international couples in Korea. Teaching wife's native language to children at home has important implications for the quality of ties between foreign wives and their children as well as the linguistic and cultural identity of the second generation. Perspectives rooted in destination and immigrant group characteristics have identified two negative factors for bilingual education at home: local spouse's reluctance and foreign spouse's need for assimilation to the host country. Korean husband and his family members are expected to discourage teaching wife's native language to children. Also, once the foreign wife assimilates by way of acquiring Korean proficiency and citizenship, she is expected to reduce speaking in her native language. These effects are expected to be stronger when the language has a low global status, such as Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian languages compared to Chinese and Japanese. We use the 2015 Korean Multicultural Family Survey and conduct regression analyses to test the above hypotheses. The findings show that Korean husband's dominant decision-making power about children's education is significantly associated with a decrease in bilingual education, and this significance is mainly driven by the couples with wives from Southeast Asian countries. Korean language proficiency and citizenship are not significantly associated with bilingual education, but this relationship varies when the sample is stratified by origin group. For those who speak Chinese, Korean proficiency shows a significant, negative link with bilingual education, while for the wives who speak Vietnamese or other Southeast Asian languages, their Korean skills significantly increase the speaking of their mother tongue to their children. Although discouragement from the husband's family is stronger for low-status languages, wives who speak those languages do not necessarily forgo teaching them to their children, even after acquiring proficiency in Korean. Finally, wife's college education is significantly associated with an increase in bilingual education across all origin groups.

Soomin Kim is post-doctoral researcher at the Center for SSK Multicultural Research, Hanyang University. She received her doctoral degree in Sociology from Stanford University in 2018 with a focus on sociology of family and gender. Her research interests lie broadly in gender in marital dynamics in the East Asian context. Her doctoral thesis, "Resource, Development, and Tradition: Explaining Persistence and Costs of Intergenerational Marital Norms in South Korea," analyzes whether a non-normative gender division of marital costs affects the patterns of intergenerational relations in marriage for South Korean newlyweds. Currently, she is working on research projects about gender in marital dynamics of immigrant women married to Korean men in Korea.

Doo-Sub Kim is Distinguished University Professor at Hanyang University and Director of the Center for SSK Multicultural Research in South Korea. He is also Adjunct Professor at Shanghai University and Jilin University in China. He has research and teaching experience at the East-West Center, Seoul National University, University of Oxford, University of Iowa, and University of British Columbia. He also served as President (2016-2018) of the Asian Population Association. He received his BA and MA in Sociology from Seoul National University, and Ph.D. from Brown University. His current research focuses on low fertility, demographic transition and marriage migration in Asia. He has published 52 books/monographs and some 160 journal articles and book chapters. In recognition of his active consultation to the Korean government as well as academic contributions, he was awarded the Order of Service Merit (2004) and the Order of Civil Merit (2018) from the President of Korea.

PANEL 4

Educational Attainment, First Employment, and First Marriage in Japan

Noriko O. Tsuya

Keio University, Japan

tsuya@econ.keio.ac.jp ; tsuya@keio.jp

This paper examines the patterns of changes in educational attainment and employment of young Japanese men and women, and the effects of educational attainment and first employment on the likelihood of first marriage, using data drawn from a national family survey in 2004 and its follow-up in 2007. Like many developed economies in the West as well as in East and Southeast Asia, Japan has been experiencing rapid and continuous fertility declines to below-replacement levels, and this decline has been caused almost entirely by decreasing rates of first marriage among the young Japanese (Tsuya, Choe and Wang 2019). With little childbearing outside marriage, delayed marriage and less marriage have driven Japan's fertility to very low levels.

Why are young Japanese women and men not marrying? According to previous studies (e.g., Raymo 1998, 2003; Tsuya and Mason 1995), increasing educational attainment, especially of young women, is a major factor causing declining first marriage in Japan. Similar to Western industrial societies (Oppenheimer 1994; Oppenheimer, Kalmijn and Lim 1997), Japan's decreasing marriage is also thought to be caused, at least in part, by diminishing job security and career prospects associated with increasing temporary employment (Igarashi 2009). Improvements of women's educational attainment and the worsening of employment prospects of the youth have also been happening in newly industrializing economies in other parts of Asia and many industrial societies in the West (Imai 1999; International Labour Office 2011, 2017; Lee 2010; OECD 2002: 129–169). Focusing on Japan—the first non-Western country that has gone through industrialization and the demographic transitions—as an illustrative case, this study is expected to further our understanding of the demographic impacts of changing economic opportunities of young women and men in the context of changing labor market and social structure.

The paper first analyzes the trends and patterns of changes in fertility and first marriage. We then look at the trends of changes in economic opportunities of the young Japanese, focusing on gender differences in educational attainment and first employment. Next, we examine, separately by gender, the effects of educational attainment and first employment on the likelihood of first marriage. The paper concludes with a summary of the findings and a discussion of their policy implications.

Noriko O. Tsuya is Professor of Economics, and the Director of the Institute of Economic Studies at Keio University in Tokyo. She holds a PhD from the University of Chicago with specialization in demography and applied methodology and statistics. Her research focuses on fertility and family change in Asia and developed countries. She is currently the president of the Population Association of Japan, and the chair of the Council Committee of National Institute of Population and Social Security Research. She also serves several government committees, including Japan's Statistics Committee, the Social Security Commission of Japan Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare, and the National Land Agency. She is the first author of numerous publications, including *Marriage, Work, and Family Life in Comparative Perspective* (University of Hawaii Press, 2004), *Prudence and Pressure: Reproduction and Human Agency in Europe and Asia, 1700–1900* (MIT Press, 2010), and *Convergence to Very Low Fertility in East Asia* (Springer 2019).

PANEL 4

Modern Marriage in a Traditional Society: The Role of College Education on Marriage in India

Kriti Vikram

Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore
socvk@nus.edu.sg

India has witnessed a dramatic expansion of higher education in the past few decades, with women emerging as significant winners in the process. According to recent statistics, women outnumber men in several undergraduate programs, including the highly competitive medical and science programs. Remarkable achievements are also observed in the enrollment and completion of graduate education among women. This paper focuses on the role of female college education on five critical dimensions of marriages: age at marriage, freedom in the choice of spouse, work and financial autonomy, quality of the marital relationship and proximity with natal family after marriage. This study utilizes a sample of 35,561 currently-married women from the 2011-2011 wave of the nationally-representative India Human Development Survey (IHDS). Using regression analyses, this paper underscores how higher education among women, particularly college education, enables women to lead lives substantively different from their less-educated peers. Results show that college-educated women marry at later ages, have greater autonomy in choosing their husbands, enjoy more egalitarian relations within marriages and remain connected with their natal families after marriage. Additionally, homogamy and hypogamy enable women to have a more egalitarian relationship with their husbands as compared to those women who are in hypergamous marriages. Even without a concomitant increase in labour force participation, college education among women appears to have a transformative effect on marriage in India.

Kriti Vikram is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore. Her research centers on the social determinants of health, cognitive development, and well-being of children. One stream of her research focuses on the intergenerational transfer of (dis)advantage in health and cognitive development. These include a series of papers that illustrate how parental resources and characteristics influence the health and cognitive development of children in India. The second stream of research assesses the role of contextual factors in shaping human development. A third related line of work evaluates the role of governmental intervention on children's health and cognitive achievement. The last strand focuses on women's health and well-being, marriage, fertility, and contraceptive use in developing countries. As a graduate student at the University of Maryland, she was closely involved with the India Human Development Survey. She has published in *Demography*, *World Development*, *Health & Place*, *Social Science Research*, and *Social Science and Medicine*.

PANEL 5

Determinants of Cohabitation in Taiwan: A Panel Data Analysis

Wen-Shan Yang

Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan
wsyang@gate.sinica.edu.tw

Ying-Ting Wang

Department of Social and Policy Sciences, Yuan Ze University, Taiwan
yingtingwang@saturn.yzu.edu.tw

Cohabitation has become more common in places that experienced demographic transitions, including Taiwan, and hence it attracted many research interests. However, our understanding of cohabitation in Taiwan has been limited to indirect estimations and cross-sectional analysis because there was no appropriate data. These analyses can provide a quick overview of cohabitation prevalence at specific periods, but they cannot portray the risk of cohabitation over the life course. Using recent panel data from the Taiwan Youth Project, we estimate cohabitation risk among young adults during their mid-20s to early-30s. We also examine the determinants of cohabitation. Results show that being a woman, unemployment, living in emerging regions, not having varying residential locations, ever had sex (especially at an earlier age), and more open to premarital intimacy were associated with higher odds of cohabitation.

Wen-Shan Yang is an adjunct Research Fellow at Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. Prof Yang works on the trajectories of family formation and fertility behaviour of Taiwanese youth.

Ying-Ting Wang is Assistant Professor at the Department of Social and Policy Sciences at Yuan Ze University, Taoyuan, Taiwan. Dr Wang's areas of interest are sociology of health and social demography.

PANEL 5

Divorce Narratives and Class Inequalities in Indonesia

Rachel Rinaldo

University of Colorado-Boulder, USA
rachel.rinaldo@colorado.edu

Eva F. Nisa

Australian National University
eva.nisa@anu.edu.au

Nina Nurmila

State Islamic University, Indonesia
ninanurmila@yahoo.com

In the past twenty years, divorce has been on the increase in Indonesia. Indonesian statistics show that divorces initiated by women exceed those by men. One issue that is often neglected is how socioeconomic differences also play a role in this matter. Recent research from the US shows that higher education, economic security, and older age at marriage are associated with both lower divorce rates and lower marriage rates. Drawing on our collaborative research on Muslim divorce in Indonesia, this paper focuses on the interplay between divorce strategies and class interests among Muslim couples. Our in-depth interviews with (93) Muslim men and women and (19) judges from Islamic courts suggest that class interests and inequality also shape different dynamics of divorce among Muslim Indonesians. Couples from less educated, lower income backgrounds tend to more easily accept marriage dissolution, with women becoming much less tolerant of men's behaviors such as domestic violence, infidelity, and failure to provide financial support. Educated, middle class urban couples divorce for similar reasons but tend to experience a lengthier process accompanied by complex layers of conflict. Many educated women's narratives emphasize their ability to support themselves through working, and a desire to be free of a bad marriage at any cost. Class and education thus contribute to significant differences in the experience and trajectories of divorce in Indonesia.

Rachel Rinaldo is Associate Professor of Sociology and Chair of the Graduate Program in Sociology at the University of Colorado Boulder. Her research interests include gender and sexuality, globalization, culture, religion, Islam and Muslim societies, and qualitative methods, with a focus on Indonesia. She is the author of *Mobilizing Piety: Islam and Feminism in Indonesia* (Oxford 2013). Her current research projects include a study of divorce in Indonesia and a study of contemporary art scenes in Southeast Asia. Her most recent article is "Obedience and Authority among Muslim Couples: Negotiating Gendered Religious Scripts in Contemporary Indonesia" (*Sociology of Religion* 2019).

Eva F. Nisa is Senior Lecturer of anthropology in the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University. She is also Adjunct Research Fellow in the School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington and Honorary Research Associate, the Faculty of Graduate Research, Victoria University of Wellington. She was formerly a lecturer in Religious Studies at Victoria University of Wellington and completed two post-doctoral projects at the Universität Hamburg (Germany) and Universiteit van Amsterdam (the Netherlands). Her research interests include Islam and Muslim societies, gender relations, Islamic family law, gender and religion, the anthropology of Islam, political Islam, Islamic economy and philanthropy, religion and media (social media), Islamic thought, Qur'anic exegesis, refugees and migration, and religion and popular culture.

Nina Nurmila is a Professor of Gender and Islamic Studies at the State Islamic University (UIN) Bandung. Her PhD on Gender and Islamic Studies was from University of Melbourne (2007). She was a Fulbright Visiting Researcher at Temple University, Philadelphia, USA (2000), Endeavour Postdoctoral Research Fellow at University of Technology, Sydney (2008), Fullbright Visiting Professor of Islamic Studies at University of Redlands, California, USA (2008-9). She was also a Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Western Sydney (2013) and University van Amsterdam (2015). Nina is the author of *Women, Islam and Everyday Life: Renegotiating Polygamy in Indonesia* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009&2011). She wrote several articles on gender and Islam in the international journals and book chapters published for example at Routledge (London& New York), Brill (the Netherlands), University of Amsterdam Press (the Netherlands) and Demeter (Canada).

PANEL 5

Premarital Cohabitation, Marital Dissolution, and Marital Quality in China

Zheng Mu

Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore

socmuz@nus.edu.sg

Cohabitation has been on the rise in China, especially since the start of China's economic reforms. Along with modernization and migration, cohabitation has been less stigmatized and become more instrumentally important in its role as a trial marriage. Using data from the 2018 wave of the Chinese Family Panel Studies, we examined the associations between premarital cohabitation, marital satisfaction, and the probability of the subsequent divorce. Findings show positive association between premarital cohabitation and marital dissolution, and negative association between cohabitation and marital quality controlling for gender, age, education, income, number of children, urban-rural divide, and migration status. We further find that the positive association between premarital cohabitation and the probability of divorce gets weakened by better education, particularly among men.

Zheng Mu is an assistant professor at the NUS Department of Sociology. Her areas of specialization include marriage and family, ethnicity, migration, development, and contemporary China. Her research centres on trends, social determinants and consequences of marriage and family behaviours, with special focuses on Chinese Muslims and Chinese migrants. She is currently working on projects examining heterogeneities in the mechanisms and outcomes of Chinese migrants' marital behaviours.

PANEL 6

Macro-level Correlates of Early Marriage in Asia

Fatemeh Torabi

Department of Demography, University of Tehran, Iran

fatemeh_torabi@ut.ac.ir

Although the practice of early marriage – defined as marriage by age 18 – has continued to decline around the world, one in every five young women (aged 20 to 24) still marry as children. Because early marriage has negative consequences for girls and for the society, it is now on the global development agenda. The majority of child brides live in Asia and that includes over 400 million women. Yet, no study to date has investigated cross-national differences in early marriage and its correlates in Asia. Using the most recent data from multiple sources, this paper describes geographical distribution of early marriage in Asia, assesses the extent to which the exiting variation is related to demographic, economic and gender-related factors and examines the association between early marriage and health outcomes. The findings suggest that the prevalence of early marriage largely varies among Asian countries, ranging from 4 per cent in Oman, Qatar and Maldives to 59 per cent in Bangladesh. Furthermore, the indicators of female education, urbanization and migration display stronger associations with early marriage than those representing either economic situation or gender equality. After adjusting for other covariates, the single predictor of early marriage is the proportion of girls' progressing to secondary school. As expected, early marriage is associated with poor health outcomes among women as well as children. These findings reiterate the international concern about early marriage and calls for investment in continuation of education as the most important potential protective factor.

Fatemeh Torabi is a faculty member at the Department of Demography, the University of Tehran, Iran. She has a BA in Sociology (2004), an MA in Demography (2006), both from the University of Tehran, and a PhD in Demography (2011) from the Department of Population Studies, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK. She has been appointed as the Research Deputy of Centre for Women's Studies, University of Tehran (2014-2016) and elected as a council member of the Population Association of Iran (2011-2017). More recently, she has been a visiting scholar at the NYU Population Centre (2016-2019) and the Department of Population and Family Health, the Columbian University (2018-2019), U.S. Her research interests include family demography, marriage and divorce, fertility and gender studies in Middle East, with a special focus on Iran. Her research results have been shared via several publications and presentations at national and international population conferences.

PANEL 6

Sex Brings Shame to the Family: *Siri'* (Shame) as the Primary Predictor of Child Marriage in South Sulawesi, Indonesia

Heribertus Rinto Wibowo *

Tulodo, Indonesia
heribertus@tulodo.com

Muliani Ratnaningsih, Tulodo

Nicholas J. Goodwin, Tulodo

Yulida Pangastuti, Tulodo

Ridwan, Tulodo

Ratnakanya Hadyani, Tulodo

Emilie Minnick, UNICEF

Reza Hendrawan, UNICEF

Annisa Elok Budiyan, UNICEF

Amelia Tristiana, UNICEF

Derry Fahrizal Ulum, UNICEF

Hendriyadi Bahtiar Daeng Sila, UNICEF

The child marriage burden remains high in Indonesia. Indonesia is seventh in the world in incidence of child marriage. South Sulawesi is one of provinces that has one of the highest burdens of child marriage in Indonesia. The study aims to explore the determinants of child marriage in Bone, South Sulawesi. This is a cross-sectional study with a mixed methodology approach using a triangulation method. For the quantitative study, a total of 1,004 respondents consisting of 500 households and 504 adolescents were recruited. For the qualitative methods, 39 in-depth interviews and 5 focus group discussions were conducted. Most did not know the minimum legal marriage age for women (1.2% answered correctly) and men (2.1% correct). The impact of child marriage stated included disruption of education (47.2%), fewer job opportunities (29.4%), domestic violence (26.2%), and health risks (20.8%). Factors influencing child marriage include norms for women (wellbeing and caregiving) and for men (economic and protection). Primary determinants of child marriage included *siri'* (shame), especially around a daughter's unwanted pregnancy and the connected fears around dating. Islamic values, interacting with Bugis contexts, produce local interpretations of laws and traditions. The strength of *siri'* highlights how decisions are made with parents as authorities and adolescents still highly dependent. Economic pressures need to be addressed and adolescents must be supported to complete basic education. There is a need to conduct interventions to prevent child marriage including providing sexual and reproductive health education to young people.

Heribertus Rinto Wibowo specializes in mixed method research with extensive experience and advanced skills in quantitative techniques. He conducted a baseline and formative research study on child marriage and menstrual health management in South Sulawesi, a formative research on young people's access to health services in Indonesia and a research study on the impact of tobacco control program on Indonesian adolescents. He has a Master's degree in public health (Curtin University). He led the Partnership for Human Development (PHD)'s Gender Self-Assessment study, Nutrition study in Timor-Leste in 2018, WASH assessment in Timor-Leste in 2017. He also leads the research and M&E tasks as part of the human centred design process for the KOMPAK Market Linkages program in East Java and West Nusa Tenggara funded by the Australia *Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade* (DFAT) in 2018 and Smart Games for Children project in Jakarta funded by Grand Challenges Canada in 2019.

PANEL 7

Family Dynamics in Cross-national Families with Young Children in Singapore

Wei-Jun Jean Yeung

Asia Research Institute & Centre for Family and Population Research, National University of Singapore
ariywj@nus.edu.sg

Shuya Lu

Centre for Family and Population Research, National University of Singapore
shuyal@u.nus.edu

Transnational marriages between Singaporeans and non-Singaporeans have increased significantly in the 21st century, accounting for a substantial proportion of all marriages involving citizens registered in Singapore. According to official statistics, this proportion peaked at 41% in 2009 and subsequently declined to 36% in 2019 (Department of Statistics 2019). About three-quarters of these couples are Singaporean grooms with foreign brides, where the majority of foreign brides originate from lower-income countries in Asia such as China and Vietnam. The share of citizen-births involving a non-citizen parent has also increased, from about a quarter in 2000 to one-third in 2018 (NPTD, 2018). Previous studies have shown that transnational marriages also tend to have multiple disadvantages in socioeconomic status and lack access to formal and/or informal support systems. In this paper, we focus on couples with Singapore-born grooms and foreign-born brides that have at least a preschool child. In such cross-national families, foreign brides are often seen as subordinate and dependent on their Singapore husbands because of their lower socioeconomic status and insecure immigration status. We examine the gender relations between the spouses and family dynamics with data collected from a new study – Singapore Longitudinal Early Development Study (SG LEADS). Results show that foreign-born mothers have a lower education level, more likely to marry older men and those with lower educational attainment and family income. They have less egalitarian gender ideology, bear heavier responsibility in housework, are less likely to have the primary responsibility for the family's financial matters. We find that there is more disagreement about childrearing and a higher level of family conflicts in these cross-national families. Mother's education, family income, mother's employment, and mother's country of origin and housing types account for parts of these differences.

Wei-Jun Jean Yeung is Provost's Chair Professor of Sociology, Founding Director of the Centre for Family and Population Research, and Research Leader of the Changing Family in Asia cluster in the Asia Research Institute in the National University of Singapore (NUS). She is a leading scholar in demography and family studies, with work published in leading international journals. Prof Yeung has received many prestigious research awards. Her recent publications include books on Singapore Family and Population and Southeast Asian families, volumes on Marriage in Asia, Migration and Marriage, Living Alone: One-Person Households in Asia, Long-term Care in Asia, and Productive Aging.

Shuya Lu is a PhD student at Department of Sociology in the National University of Singapore. She is affiliated with the Center for Family and Population Research (CFPR) as a research scholar under the Singapore Longitudinal Early Development Study (SG LEADS). Her research interest focuses on how the family environment and parenting practices play a role in early childhood development with a focus on children in transnational marriages.

PANEL 7

**Remarriage in Thailand:
A Study of Emerging Trends, Correlates and Implications
for the Well-being of Women and their Families**

Wiraporn Pothisiri

College of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand
wiraporn.p@chula.ac.th

Bussarawan Teerawichitchainan

Department of Sociology & Centre for Family and Population Research, National University of Singapore
puk@nus.edu.sg

Nitchakarn Kaewbuadee

School of Sociology and Political Science, Shanghai University, Republic of China
Nitchakarnkbd@gmail.com

Thailand's marriage system, like elsewhere in Asia, has been undergoing a significant transformation. Past research has often focused on explaining the continual decline in marriage rates, delay in marital timing, and rise in marital dissolution. Much less attention has been paid to remarriage trends and consequences in the country. Addressing this research gap, we examine recent trends, correlates, and potential implications of remarriage among Thai women of reproductive age (20–49 years), based on data from five nationally representative surveys conducted between 2001 and 2016. Our preliminary results indicate that remarriage rates have doubled during the last 15 years. Around one fifth of currently married women in 2016 had been married before, compared to only 9% in 2001. Moreover, among formerly married women, the percentage ever remarried rose markedly from 61% in 2001 to 71% in 2016.

Since our results are based on self-reported marital status in the surveys, they are unlikely affected by the persistent underreporting of marriage, divorce, and remarriage shown in the Thai government's population registration system. Thailand's relatively high prevalence of remarriage and re-partnering thus warrants further investigation into factors associated with the likelihood of remarriage among previously married women, including their socioeconomic characteristics, number of children from their previous union, and duration of the previous marriage. Moreover, given that marriage as an institution provides various benefits for individuals compared to their unmarried counterparts, we further examine how women who remarried differ from those who did not with regards to their attitudes towards marriage, health status, health risk behaviors, and life satisfaction. We plan to discuss the implications of this emerging trend for understanding the evolving family and kinship systems in Thailand and Asia more broadly.

Wiraporn Pothisiri is Associate Professor at College of Population Studies (CPS) at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand. Her research interests include health and social aspects of population aging, fertility and reproductive health, and population projection. Her recent research focuses on the association between education and health status among Thai older population, roles of family and its support on older persons' psychological well-being and health care utilization, and the development of community capacity in response to needs of older persons.

Bussarawan (Puk) Teerawichitchainan holds joint appointments as Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Co-Director of the Centre for Family and Population Research at the National University of Singapore. Her research interests lie at the intersection of family demography, social gerontology, population health, and social stratification. She conducts research on these topics mostly in the context of Southeast Asia but is also interested in doing comparative analyses across Asia-Pacific countries. Her current research examines the roles of family, policy, and social structure in explaining the well-being of individuals, particularly older persons, in Southeast Asia. This includes an ongoing study funded by the National Institutes of Health on the long-term impacts of war and trauma exposure on health and well-being of older Vietnamese survivors in northern Vietnam.

Nitchakarn Kaewbuadee is a first-year PhD student in Demography at Asian Demographic Research Institute, School of Sociology and Political Science, Shanghai University, China. Her research interests center on fertility, reproductive health, marriage and population projection. She holds an MA degree in Demography from Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. Her master's thesis examined the situation and determinants of delayed childbearing among Thai women. She is currently a project member for the sub-national population projection of Thailand. For her PhD thesis, she wishes to work on Thailand's fertility projection based on the second demographic transition theory.

SECRETARIAT

Ms Valerie Yeo

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

AS8, #07-01, 10 Kent Ridge Crescent, Singapore 119260

DID | +65 6516 5279

E | valerie.yeo@nus.edu.sg