

economic recovery of Japan may have stimulated this type of immigrants to enter Japan. These new immigrants may have settled more in the eastern part of Japan, contributing to the rise in the sex ratios of Brazilians in some prefectures like Saitama or Kanagawa.

As my study suggests, in some areas of Japan, the settlement of Brazilians and Peruvians is slowly taking place. Consequently, data as well as research on children's circumstances as they begin their journey in a new country is immediately needed, for they may become important members of Japanese society in the near future.

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- Yoshimi Chitose  
(National Institute of Population and Social Security Research)

## AUGMENTATION RAPIDE DE POPULATION MUSULMANE AU JAPON: DYNAMIQUE DEMOGRAPHIQUE

Hiroshi KOJIMA, l'institut national de recherches sur la population et la sécurité sociale, Tokyo

### INTRODUCTION

Cette étude présente une analyse démographique de population musulmane par nationalité au Japon pendant les deux dernières décennies et essaye de décrire l'augmentation rapide de la population musulmane par ses caractéristiques démographiques. Les données principales utilisées pour l'analyse de la population musulmane par nationalité sont les statistiques des étrangers enregistrés au Japon, annuellement publiées par le Ministère de la Justice (avant 1994 biennellement) et les résultats des recensements de population conduits par le Bureau de la Statistique, le Ministère de la Gestion Publique, les Affaires Intérieures, les Postes et la Télécommunication (MPHPT) tous les cinq ans.

Selon l'enregistrement, il y avait 1.556.113 étrangers enregistrés à la fin de 1999 et 1.686.444 étrangers à la fin de 2000, indiquant une estimation de 1.588.696 au premier octobre 2000. D'autre part, le recensement a compté 1.310.545 étrangers au premier octobre 2000. Ainsi, le chiffre de l'enregistrement est plus grande que celui du recensement par 21%. Les résultats de recensement sont susceptibles d'avoir le sous-dénombrement tandis qu'il y a également des éléments pour le comptage excessif dans le système d'enregistrement.

Les recensements tendent à avoir le sous-dénombrement pour les raisons suivantes: 1) les difficultés pour l'agent recenseur à localiser des étrangers ou les persuader d'être énumérés, dont certains sont également vrais des résidents japonais mais sont accentué parmi les résidents étrangers dû à leur sexe, âge, structure de ménage, type de logement, heures de travail, mobilité et dont certains sont particuliers aux étrangers tels que des problèmes de langue; 2) la tendance d'éviter d'être énuméré parmi les répondants potentiels, en particulier ceux avec le statut irrégulier; et 3) la déclaration erronée de la nationalité ou la déclaration partielle des nationalités multiples (Kojima 2002).

D'autre part, les statistiques d'enregistrement d'étrangers ont également des problèmes. Tandis qu'elles comptent une partie de migrants irréguliers (autour de 20.000), elles tendent à être un comptage excessif parce que certains de ces étrangers enregistrés ont pu être sortis du Japon (les cioux y compris) temporairement ou de manière permanente. Quelques étrangers avec la résidence permanente ou semi-permanente peuvent rester dans leur pays d'origine pendant une période prolongé pour différentes raisons. La mort des étrangers ne peut être aussi rapidement rapportée aux autorités japonaises que celles des Japonais parce qu'il y a peu d'incitations ou peu de personnes relatives à rapporter.

La proportion de musulmans dans la population totale dans chaque pays de nationalité dérive de

Weekes (1984), Clévenot (1987), Malherbe (1992), Tanada (2001, 2003), et *CIA World Factbook*.

#### ESTIMATION DE POPULATION MUSULMANE ETRANGERE AU JAPON

Le tableau 1 montre une estimation de population musulmane étrangère au Japon basée sur la proportion de musulmans dans chaque pays d'origine dans le monde (180-200 pays ou territoires) à la fin des années entre 1984 et 2002. On estime que la population musulmane étrangère totale à la fin de chaque ans sont 8.400 en 1984, 19.500 en 1990, 40.800 en 1995, 65.500 en 2000, 70.500 en 2001 et 74.900 en 2002. On estime que la part des musulmans dans la population étrangère est 1% en 1984, 2% en 1992, 3% en 1995 et 4% en 2001 et 2002. Ceci signifie que la population musulmane étrangère a crû beaucoup plus rapidement que la population étrangère dans l'ensemble. Les chiffres pour les pays choisis (avec plus de 1.000 musulmans en 2002) et les régions du monde sont également présentées au haut.

Puisque les non musulmans sont plus probable à migrer au Japon que les musulmans des pays musulmans et non musulmans, l'estimation devrait être considérée comme une estimation maximum pour les musulmans étrangers réguliers. Par exemple, parmi les Malaisiens restant au Japon ceux chinois seraient la plus grande majorité quoique Malaisiens musulmans soient la majorité en Malaisie (Ishii 1999; Sakurai 2003). Ceci devrait être également vrai des étrangers de Chine, d'Inde, des Philippines et de Thaïlande où les musulmans sont la petite minorité. Cependant, le pourcentage de musulmans parmi les migrants faisant un séjour excessif a été beaucoup plus haut que dans la population étrangère enregistrée. Selon mon estimation précédente (Kojima 2003), il était le plus haut à 30% (84.000 musulmans faisant un séjour excessif) en 1992, mais il est descendu au niveau de 13% (30.000) ces dernières années.

Le bas du tableau 1 montre la distribution de la population musulmane étrangère par pays et région d'origine. Parmi les musulmans étrangers enregistrés au Japon, les Asiatiques domine (79-90%) et les Africains et les Européens suivent avec des pourcentages beaucoup plus petits (2-7%). Parmi tous les musulmans étrangers, les Indonésiens ont eu la plus grande part de 1984 à 1992 et depuis 1997, mais ils ont été surpassés par les Iranien et de près suivis de Pakistanais et de Bangladeshis entre 1992 et 1997. C'est partiellement dû aux accords mutuels d'exemption de visa (suspendus au début des années 90) entre le Japon et le Bangladesh, le Pakistan et l'Iran, partiellement dû aux économies de la bulle au Japon et la revalorisation de yen japonais, en partie en raison des situations économiques et politiques instables dans les pays d'origine et partiellement en raison des contraintes religieuses et de la pression démographique faite face par la jeunesse dans les pays d'origine.

Tableau 1 : Estimation de la population musulmane étrangère au Japon par région et pays d'origine à la fin des années: 1984-2002

Nationalité (Origine)	% Musulman	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Étrangers		840885	867237	941005	1075317	1281644	1354011	1362371	1415136	1482707	1512116	1556113	1686444	1778462	1851758
% Musulman		1,0	1,3	1,7	1,8	2,4	2,9	3,0	3,2	3,4	3,6	3,7	3,9	4,0	4,0
Musulmans		8360	11159	15593	19546	30425	38691	40833	44907	49969	54683	57823	65513	70455	74900
Asie		6609	9252	13509	16957	26603	34225	36210	39965	44563	48899	51651	58594	63031	66837
Bangladesh	88,3	402	1045	1881	1862	2565	3492	4358	5171	5382	5671	5805	6336	6932	7685
Chine	1,4	951	1182	1810	2105	2735	3060	3122	3280	3530	3811	4119	4698	5337	5940
Inde	12,0	292	312	328	373	484	620	661	761	897	1039	1088	1208	1406	1601
Indonésie	87,2	1433	1604	2074	3159	4535	5478	6066	7623	10408	13047	14316	16870	18165	18897
Iran	99,0	538	843	909	1225	4471	8125	8559	8334	7867	7145	6587	6105	5862	5711
Malaisie	52,9	872	1154	1874	2477	3039	2833	2832	2933	3162	3491	3739	4436	4840	5019
Pakistan	95,0	627	1182	1960	1964	3918	4282	4515	4856	5313	5705	6223	7123	7508	7814
Philippines	4,6	442	869	1481	2258	2862	3955	3418	3887	4290	4844	5322	6664	7207	7791
Thaïlande	4,0	101	119	211	269	418	560	641	727	827	942	1010	1172	1267	1349
Turquie	99,8	178	168	167	250	345	424	563	728	996	1135	1192	1421	1807	2050
Europe		541	600	646	763	934	1116	1171	1240	1374	1477	1599	1959	2119	2340
Afrique		546	609	673	853	1704	2125	2201	2381	2666	2968	3231	3531	3815	4179
Nigerie	43,0	19	41	46	83	565	555	538	545	564	626	672	749	854	973
Égypte	90,0	251	259	271	331	421	586	572	635	717	806	908	993	1108	1146
Amerique du nord		552	610	657	776	865	890	891	917	915	900	901	949	985	1025
Amerique du sud		8	9	16	98	201	207	226	254	290	274	275	308	322	329
Océanie		17	21	26	39	58	63	61	65	72	78	82	92	106	114
Sans nationalité	4,0	87	60	66	59	60	65	73	84	88	87	84	80	78	76
Dist de musulmans		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Asie		79,1%	82,9%	86,6%	86,8%	87,4%	88,5%	88,7%	89,0%	89,2%	89,4%	89,3%	89,4%	89,5%	89,2%
Bangladesh	88,3	4,8%	9,4%	12,1%	9,5%	8,4%	9,0%	10,7%	11,5%	10,8%	10,4%	10,0%	9,7%	9,8%	10,3%
Chine	1,4	11,4%	10,6%	11,6%	10,8%	9,0%	7,9%	7,6%	7,3%	7,1%	7,0%	7,1%	7,2%	7,6%	7,9%
Inde	12,0	3,5%	2,8%	2,1%	1,9%	1,6%	1,6%	1,7%	1,8%	1,9%	1,9%	1,8%	2,0%	2,1%	
Indonésie	87,2	17,1%	14,4%	13,3%	16,2%	14,9%	14,2%	14,9%	17,0%	20,8%	23,9%	24,8%	25,8%	25,8%	25,2%
Iran	99,0	6,4%	7,6%	5,8%	6,3%	14,7%	21,0%	21,0%	18,6%	15,7%	13,1%	11,4%	9,3%	8,3%	7,6%
Malaisie	52,9	10,4%	10,3%	12,0%	12,7%	10,0%	7,3%	6,9%	6,5%	6,3%	6,4%	6,5%	6,8%	6,9%	6,7%
Pakistan	95,0	7,5%	10,6%	12,6%	10,0%	12,9%	11,1%	11,1%	10,8%	10,6%	10,4%	10,8%	10,9%	10,7%	10,4%
Philippines	4,6	5,3%	7,8%	9,5%	11,6%	9,4%	10,2%	8,4%	8,7%	8,6%	8,9%	9,2%	10,2%	10,2%	10,4%
Thaïlande	4,0	1,2%	1,1%	1,4%	1,4%	1,4%	1,4%	1,6%	1,6%	1,7%	1,7%	1,7%	1,8%	1,8%	1,8%
Turquie	99,8	2,1%	1,5%	1,1%	1,3%	1,1%	1,1%	1,4%	1,6%	2,0%	2,1%	2,1%	2,2%	2,6%	2,7%
Europe		6,5%	5,4%	4,1%	3,9%	3,1%	2,9%	2,9%	2,8%	2,7%	2,7%	2,8%	3,0%	3,0%	3,1%
Afrique		6,5%	5,5%	4,3%	4,4%	5,6%	5,5%	5,4%	5,3%	5,3%	5,4%	5,6%	5,4%	5,4%	5,6%
Nigerie	43,0	0,2%	0,4%	0,3%	0,4%	1,9%	1,4%	1,3%	1,2%	1,1%	1,1%	1,2%	1,1%	1,2%	1,3%
Égypte	90,0	3,0%	2,3%	1,7%	1,7%	1,4%	1,5%	1,4%	1,4%	1,4%	1,5%	1,6%	1,5%	1,6%	1,5%
Amerique du nord		6,6%	5,5%	4,2%	4,0%	2,8%	2,3%	2,2%	2,0%	1,8%	1,6%	1,6%	1,4%	1,4%	1,4%
Amerique du sud		0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,5%	0,7%	0,5%	0,6%	0,6%	0,6%	0,5%	0,5%	0,5%	0,5%	0,4%
Océanie		0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,2%	0,2%
Sans nationalité	4,0	1,0%	0,5%	0,4%	0,3%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%

(Source) Ministère de justice, Statistiques sur les étrangers enregistrés au Japon, 1985-2003  
Weekes (1984), Clevenot (1987), Malherbe (1992), Tanada (2001, 2003), and CIA World Factbook

## CARACTÉRISTIQUES DEMOGRAPHIQUES DE LA POPULATION MUSULMANE ÉTRANGÈRE

Le tableau 2 présente les indicateurs de la structure d'âge et de sexe: la proportion de mâles dans la population totale venant de chaque pays et la proportion d'enfants âgés en-dessous de 15. Comme il est présenté par le haut du tableau 2, la part des mâles dans la population étrangère totale est environ 50% tandis qu'elle est autour de 60-70% et, ainsi, elle est 10-20% plus haut dans la population musulmane totale, qui est calculée de la population par le sexe d'environ 200 pays d'origine. Ils étaient plus hauts autour du milieu des années 90 qu'aujourd'hui. Quand nous regardons les chiffres pour chaque pays, la situation diffère par pays. Parmi les pays principalement musulmans, la proportion tend à être très haute. La population du Bangladesh a atteint la marque la plus élevée de 93,8% en 1988 et la population pakistanaise a eu la proportion la plus élevée de 93,5% en 1992, alors que la population iranienne avait les chiffres les plus élevés de 93,1% entre 1995 et 1997. Les populations turques et nigériennes ont également des proportions élevées de mâles. D'autre part les populations des pays non musulmans tels que les Philippines et la Thaïlande ont la proportion très basse de mâles.

Le bas du tableau 2 présente la proportion de population d'enfants âgés en-dessous de 15. Dans la population étrangère totale il y a une tendance vers une proportion inférieure d'enfants. Elle était 23% en 1986 et est graduellement descendue à 10% en 2001. Parmi la population musulmane totale la proportion

est inférieure par 3-8% et le niveau est pratiquement demeuré le même à 7% depuis 1992. Parmi les musulmans asiatiques il est encore inférieur.

Tableau 2 : Composition par sexe et age de la population musulmane étrangère au Japon par region et pays d'origine a la fin des années: 1984-2001

Nationalite (Orig)	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
(% Males)													
Etrangers	50,8%	50,1%	50,0%	50,1%	50,8%	49,6%	49,9%	49,6%	49,3%	48,7%	48,1%	47,3%	46,9%
Musulmans	58,6%	59,6%	63,2%	61,2%	68,0%	69,0%	70,5%	70,8%	70,7%	70,3%	68,7%	66,9%	65,9%
Asie	58,8%	59,9%	63,6%	61,1%	67,9%	69,3%	71,0%	71,2%	71,1%	70,6%	68,8%	66,9%	65,9%
Bangladesh	82,0%	92,3%	93,8%	91,4%	87,7%	85,1%	85,8%	84,8%	83,4%	82,9%	81,5%	80,6%	80,6%
Chine	49,9%	48,0%	53,5%	52,7%	52,6%	49,9%	48,8%	47,9%	46,9%	46,0%	44,7%	43,9%	43,2%
Inde	61,3%	61,1%	63,3%	65,2%	67,8%	71,9%	72,1%	73,4%	74,2%	75,0%	73,7%	73,1%	72,8%
Indonesie	54,4%	55,8%	59,7%	61,6%	65,9%	68,1%	67,4%	72,2%	75,7%	76,6%	74,5%	72,6%	71,3%
Iran	62,1%	66,5%	67,9%	73,2%	88,9%	92,6%	93,1%	93,1%	93,1%	92,6%	91,9%	90,9%	89,7%
Malaisie	64,8%	61,9%	61,1%	62,9%	61,8%	59,0%	58,7%	59,7%	58,8%	59,1%	58,1%	58,9%	59,1%
Pakistan	78,5%	89,1%	91,8%	88,7%	93,5%	92,4%	92,2%	91,7%	91,6%	92,3%	91,3%	90,7%	90,0%
Philippines	20,1%	13,7%	12,1%	11,9%	13,4%	13,0%	15,1%	15,0%	14,8%	14,9%	15,2%	15,0%	15,7%
Thailand	42,2%	42,3%	37,1%	36,8%	34,2%	27,8%	28,5%	28,4%	28,5%	29,0%	26,8%	26,5%	26,4%
Turquie	58,4%	60,7%	65,3%	66,1%	69,9%	77,2%	79,4%	83,1%	84,3%	84,6%	85,3%	86,4%	86,5%
Europe	54,2%	54,4%	55,0%	56,9%	57,3%	55,8%	55,6%	56,7%	56,6%	56,7%	56,0%	53,5%	52,3%
Afrique	68,1%	65,7%	70,4%	71,1%	80,6%	77,5%	77,4%	78,0%	77,6%	76,7%	76,4%	76,7%	76,0%
Nigerie	88,6%	73,7%	89,8%	89,1%	91,9%	91,5%	91,1%	91,6%	90,6%	90,5%	90,7%	91,0%	91,2%
Egypte	60,2%	59,0%	61,1%	63,3%	66,5%	62,1%	63,8%	66,0%	64,9%	62,5%	61,3%	61,7%	59,5%
Amerique du nord	53,7%	54,6%	55,8%	57,4%	58,8%	59,3%	59,6%	59,9%	60,7%	61,3%	61,6%	61,9%	63,1%
Amerique du sud	42,5%	42,4%	52,1%	61,3%	58,8%	57,1%	57,1%	56,6%	56,0%	54,8%	54,8%	54,7%	54,4%
Oceanie	50,5%	48,5%	48,6%	50,2%	51,9%	52,9%	52,9%	54,0%	54,2%	54,9%	56,6%	57,5%	57,8%
Sans nationalite	50,4%	52,6%	52,7%	52,5%	52,4%	51,8%	51,7%	52,0%	52,1%	51,2%	51,3%	50,6%	51,2%
(% Enfants 0-14)													
Etrangers	23,4%	20,4%	16,8%	14,3%	12,6%	11,9%	11,9%	11,8%	11,7%	11,4%	11,1%	10,6%	10,3%
Musulmans	18,0%	12,7%	8,8%	8,9%	7,2%	7,3%	7,4%	7,3%	7,2%	7,1%	7,4%	7,3%	7,5%
Asie	17,2%	11,6%	8,1%	8,3%	6,8%	6,7%	6,8%	6,7%	6,6%	6,4%	6,8%	6,7%	7,0%
Bangladesh	11,9%	4,9%	3,0%	5,0%	6,3%	7,8%	7,7%	7,7%	8,5%	9,1%	10,1%	10,6%	10,8%
Chine	16,9%	13,5%	9,1%	8,9%	8,8%	10,0%	10,9%	11,3%	11,2%	10,7%	10,2%	9,3%	8,6%
Inde	24,4%	21,2%	17,7%	16,1%	11,2%	12,1%	11,9%	11,0%	10,8%	10,2%	10,8%	11,1%	11,1%
Indonesie	17,2%	13,3%	11,1%	8,6%	8,0%	8,0%	7,1%	5,8%	5,1%	5,0%	5,4%	5,1%	4,9%
Iran	24,7%	20,2%	19,7%	18,6%	7,2%	4,9%	4,7%	4,5%	4,3%	4,4%	4,5%	5,0%	5,5%
Malaisie	10,6%	9,1%	4,9%	5,0%	4,9%	5,1%	4,8%	4,8%	4,6%	4,3%	4,3%	5,2%	5,4%
Pakistan	22,0%	8,4%	6,1%	8,9%	4,8%	5,5%	5,8%	6,4%	6,5%	5,9%	6,4%	6,7%	7,5%
Philippines	6,5%	3,8%	3,2%	3,7%	4,3%	4,7%	6,3%	6,3%	6,5%	6,2%	6,4%	5,8%	6,2%
Thailand	6,4%	4,2%	2,7%	2,7%	3,3%	5,0%	5,7%	6,4%	6,4%	6,4%	7,2%	6,9%	7,2%
Turquie	22,5%	10,1%	3,0%	6,8%	5,2%	4,5%	6,4%	4,8%	4,4%	5,0%	5,1%	4,7%	4,6%
Europe	21,1%	17,2%	13,5%	13,0%	11,7%	12,4%	11,9%	11,6%	11,0%	10,5%	10,7%	9,5%	9,2%
Afrique	23,0%	21,4%	14,1%	13,6%	8,8%	11,2%	11,4%	11,9%	12,0%	13,1%	12,8%	12,8%	13,7%
Nigerie	4,5%	21,1%	4,6%	3,6%	1,4%	2,5%	3,8%	4,3%	4,9%	5,5%	5,8%	5,4%	5,5%
Egypte	29,0%	26,7%	21,3%	23,6%	23,7%	27,6%	26,3%	26,7%	27,7%	30,3%	29,1%	29,6%	32,8%
Amerique du nord	19,8%	16,5%	12,8%	12,3%	11,5%	10,8%	10,9%	10,8%	11,0%	10,9%	10,8%	10,8%	10,2%
Amerique du sud	21,9%	12,1%	6,3%	7,5%	9,8%	10,1%	10,5%	11,4%	12,8%	14,3%	14,7%	15,0%	15,2%
Oceanie	14,2%	14,0%	8,9%	7,2%	6,1%	6,9%	7,1%	7,6%	8,0%	8,4%	7,3%	6,7%	7,0%
Sans nationalite	16,0%	11,1%	9,1%	9,0%	14,5%	22,4%	30,6%	40,5%	49,7%	52,3%	53,4%	53,2%	52,1%

(Source)

Ministere de justice, Statistiques sur les etrangers enregistres au Japon, 1985-2002

La proportion de population d'enfants a continue à être la plus haute parmi des Egyptiens. La proportion était également haute parmi Iraniens, Pakistanais et Indiens, mais la proportion a graduellement diminué parmi Iraniens et Indiens tandis qu'elle a diminué rigoureusement pendant la dernière moitié des années 80 parmi des Pakistanais. Quoique la proportion ait diminué rigoureusement parmi des Bangladeshis pendant la dernière moitié des années 80, elle a monté récemment probablement parce qu'ils ont eu une proportion mariée relativement élevée, en particulier entre eux-mêmes en 1995 car nous verrons ci-dessous. Les Pakistanais exhibent également une tendance moins prononcée d'élévation récente probablement dû à la même raison. Parmi les populations principalement musulmanes les Indonésiens et les Turcs ont la proportion très basse probablement parce que la proportion mariée est relativement basse parmi elles.

## MARIAGES MIXTES ENTRE LES MUSULMANS ETRANGERS ET LES JAPONAIS

Les étrangers de certains pays ont plus souvent un visa de conjoint/enfant que d'autres pour rester au Japon. Tandis que la proportion a été très haute parmi les populations principalement non musulmanes comme Philippins et Thaïs, elle a été également relativement haute parmi les populations principalement musulmanes comme Iraniens, Pakistanais et Turcs. La proportion a été relativement basse parmi Bangladeshis et Indonésiens. D'autre part, la proportion a rigoureusement augmenté parmi des Nigériens tandis qu'elle est graduellement allée vers le bas parmi des Egyptiens.

Tableau 3 : Proportion dans un mariage mixte chez les musulmans ages 15 et en haut: 1995 et 2000

Sexe	Rapport de sexe	Nationalite de conjoint				Populatio Agee 15+	Population mariee agee 15+			
		% Mariee Somme	Meme	Japonais	Autres		Somme	Meme	Japonais	Autres
1995										
<b>Male</b>	(Pop 15+)					(2000/1995)				
Etranger	98	46,0%	-	26,1%	-	110%	114%	-	123%	-
Asien	88	47,9%	-	25,1%	-	106%	104%	-	117%	-
Bangladeshis	807	20,1%	50,7%	43,1%	6,2%	101%	171%	154%	205%	73%
Indonesien	217	17,4%	60,7%	36,7%	2,6%	256%	204%	183%	244%	139%
Iranien	1456	15,4%	25,4%	56,3%	18,2%	56%	176%	64%	255%	89%
Malaisien	187	13,2%	59,2%	29,2%	11,6%	77%	128%	106%	180%	106%
Pakistanais	1704	26,6%	14,0%	77,4%	8,6%	90%	173%	149%	186%	91%
<b>Femelle</b>	(Marrie)					(2000/1995)				
Etranger	82	55,4%	-	39,8%	-	122%	122%	-	139%	-
Asien	76	55,5%	-	43,2%	-	121%	118%	-	140%	-
Bangladeshis	188	86,1%	95,5%	4,0%	0,4%	151%	152%	154%	94%	150%
Indonesien	73	51,9%	44,2%	53,0%	2,8%	188%	190%	183%	196%	178%
Iranien	314	71,2%	79,8%	17,8%	2,4%	71%	69%	64%	86%	100%
Malaisien	53	46,8%	31,2%	61,9%	6,9%	107%	127%	106%	140%	111%
Pakistanais	623	72,7%	87,1%	9,1%	3,8%	133%	139%	149%	53%	114%
2000										
<b>Male</b>	(Pop 15+)									
Etranger	88	47,6%	-	28,1%	-					
Asien	77	47,4%	-	28,0%	-					
Bangladeshis	541	34,0%	45,7%	51,6%	2,6%					
Indonesien	295	13,9%	54,4%	43,8%	1,7%					
Iranien	1143	48,7%	9,3%	81,5%	9,3%					
Malaisien	135	21,8%	49,1%	41,2%	9,7%					
Pakistanais	1156	50,8%	12,1%	83,4%	4,5%					
<b>Femelle</b>	(Marrie)									
Etranger	76	55,3%	-	45,3%	-					
Asien	67	54,3%	-	51,5%	-					
Bangladeshis	212	86,7%	97,1%	2,5%	0,4%					
Indonesien	79	52,3%	42,7%	54,6%	2,6%					
Iranien	802	69,4%	74,2%	22,3%	3,5%					
Malaisien	53	55,8%	26,0%	68,0%	6,0%					
Pakistanais	773	76,0%	93,4%	3,5%	3,1%					

(Source) Bureau de statistiues, 1995/2000 recensement de population

La gauche du tableau 3 présente la proportion dans un mariage mixte dans la population musulmane âgée 15 et en haut pour 1995 et 2000. Elle montre également le rapport de sexe (100 x mâles / femelles) dans la population âgée 15 et en haut et la proportion mariée pour 1995 et 2000. Tandis que les

rappports de sexe parmi les populations étrangères totale et asiatique sont légèrement moins de 100, ils sont tout à fait hauts parmi Bangladeshis, Iraniens et Pakistanais et inférieur (mais toujours plus haut que la moyenne) parmi Indonésiens et Malaisiens en 1995 et 2000. Par exemple, la population pakistanaise a eu des rapports de sexe de 1.704 en 1995 et 1.156 en 2000.

Le rapport très élevé de sexe de la population âgée 15 et en haut explique en partie la proportion élevée des mariages mixtes entre un musulman et une Japonaise parce que les hommes bangladeshis, iraniens et pakistanais ont des proportions élevées de mariages avec une Japonaise. Parmi les hommes mariés, autour de 80% des Pakistanais sont mariés avec une femme japonaise en 1995 et 2000 et davantage que 80% des hommes iraniens sont mariés avec une femme japonaise en 2000. Tandis que la proportion mariée parmi les hommes étrangers en général n'a pas changé beaucoup entre 1995 et 2000, la proportion est montée par 15-30% pour les hommes bangladeshis, iraniens et pakistanais. De même la proportion dans un mariage mixte avec une femme japonaise est restée au niveau semblable parmi les hommes étrangers en général, la proportion a monté de manière significative parmi les hommes des trois pays musulmans, en particulier parmi les hommes iraniens. Cependant, environ une moitié des hommes bangladeshis, indonésiens et malaisiens sont mariés toujours avec une femme du même pays.

D'autre part, comme il est présenté par la gauche au bas du tableau 3, la proportion mariée est beaucoup plus élevée parmi des femmes des pays musulmans que des hommes du même pays. Parmi les femmes mariées, des femmes bangladeshis, iraniennes et pakistanaises sont la plupart du temps mariées aux hommes du même pays tandis que la majorité de femmes indonésiennes et malaisiennes sont mariées aux hommes japonais. Ceci peut être dû aux contraintes religieuses imposées aux femmes musulmanes au sujet de la religion de leur conjoint, mais il peut être également dû aux contraintes religieuses imposées aux femmes musulmanes au sujet de la migration non accompagnée. La proportion dans un mariage mixte avec un conjoint de tous les autres nationalités est restée au même niveau parmi des femmes des pays musulmans, mais elle a diminué de 1995 à 2000 parmi les hommes, ayant pour résultat les niveaux semblables des hommes et des femmes pour chaque pays d'origine.

La droite au haut du tableau 3 présente le rapport des chiffres originaux entre 1995 et 2000 ( $100 \times$  chiffres de 2000 / chiffres de 1995). La population âgée 15 et en haut a accru sensiblement parmi les hommes et les femmes indonésiens, alors que l'augmentation tend à être plus grande parmi les femmes que parmi les hommes dans les autres pays d'origine. Les hommes et les femmes ont diminué simultanément parmi des Iraniens. Le rapport des personnes mariées entre 1995 et 2000 exhibe une tendance semblable sauf que le nombre des hommes mariés iraniens, malaisiens et pakistanais a augmenté tandis que la population âgée 15 et en haut a diminué pour les mêmes nationalités. Ceci suggère que ces hommes qui ne s'étaient pas mariés avec une femme japonaise ont retourné à leurs pays pendant la période de cinq ans. Parmi les musulmans étrangers qui sont mariés à un compatriote, seulement Iraniens a diminué leurs nombre. Ceci se permet de suggérer que seulement le nombre de couples d'Iranien et Iranienne ait diminué pendant les 5 années tandis que d'autres couples des compatriotes a augmenté. Tandis que les couples d'un homme



musulman et d'une femme japonaise a doublé, les couples d'un homme japonais et d'une femme bangladeshie, iranienne et pakistanaise a diminué. Ceci peut suggérer la difficulté de l'adaptation par des femmes musulmanes aux hommes japonais ou à la société japonaise.

## CONCLUSION

Quoiqu'il ne soit pas souhaitable que les gouvernements interfèrent des mariages, y compris des mariages mixtes, ils devraient donner l'appui nécessaire si de tels mariages montrent des difficultés dans l'adaptation mutuelle comme dans le cas des mariages d'un musulman et une Japonaise (Takeshita 2001). Jasso et Rosenzweig (1990) ont constaté que le marché du travail et le marché du mariage pour les migrants internationaux ont le rapport étroit. Ils discutent, si un pays limite à apposer un visa de travail, mais pas un visa de conjoint, il peut pratiquement encourager l'augmentation des mariages de convenance par les migrants internationaux. Si le gouvernement japonais continue à limiter l'accueil des ouvriers étrangers non qualifiés, les mariages mixtes de convenance (qui ne sont pas "les mariages blancs") augmenteront à l'avenir (Kojima 1992). Il devrait également donner l'appui aux enfants des mariages mixtes, en particulier des mariages d'un musulman et une Japonaise pour leur adaptation à la société japonaise et la communauté musulmane.

Les croyants de plus nouveaux mouvements islamiques comme le Jama'at Tabligh (Foi et Pratique) semblent augmenter au Japon comme indiqué par l'augmentation des mosques sous leur influence. Ceci peut être également lié à la restriction du gouvernement japonais à l'entrée des ouvriers non qualifiés, ayant pour résultat des états inférieurs de travail et de vie. Le gouvernement japonais doit faire plus d'efforts d'intégrer mieux les migrants musulmans non organisés et leur famille (épouses japonaises y compris) dans la société japonaise aussi bien que les communautés musulmanes plus traditionnelles au Japon.

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## Variations in Demographic Characteristics of Foreign “Muslim” Population in Japan: A Preliminary Estimation

Hiroshi KOJIMA

### Abstract

This study presents a preliminary estimation of variations in demographic characteristics of the foreign “Muslim” population in Japan over the last two decades, particularly size and composition, as well as a preliminary analysis of intermarriages between foreign “Muslims” and Japanese. The major data derive from the *Statistics of Foreigners Registered in Japan*, which is supplemented by the population census data. Drawing on these data, this study examines the factors for the increase in intermarriages of foreign “Muslim” men with Japanese women. The policy implications of the increase are also discussed.

**Key Words:** estimation, Muslim, sex ratio, children, intermarriage

### Introduction

There is an increase in the Muslim population in the world, including developed countries. Japan is no exception partly because it has historical ties with Indonesia, which is inhabited by the largest Muslim population in the world, and partly because it used to have mutual visa waiver agreements with predominantly Muslim countries in Asia with a large population such as Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran. However, we do not know how many foreign Muslims are living in Japan and how they are living due to the lack of data. Some “guestimations” of the number of Muslims in Japan, ranging up to 300,000, seem to be overestimates.

This study presents a preliminary estimation of variations in demographic characteristics of the foreign “Muslim” population in Japan over the last two decades, particularly

size and composition, as well as a preliminary analysis of intermarriages between foreign “Muslims” and Japanese. The major data used for the estimation of the foreign “Muslim” population by nationality derive from the *Statistics of Foreigners Registered in Japan*, annually published by the Japan Ministry of Justice (MOJ) (before 1990 biannually). It is supplemented by population censuses, conducted by the Bureau of Statistics, the Japan Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) every five years, for an analysis of intermarriages.

According to the former, there were 1,556,113 registered foreigners as of the end of 1999 and 1,686,444 registered foreigners as of the end of 2000, from which it is estimated that 1,653,861 foreigners were registered as of October 1, 2000. On the other hand, the latter counted 1,310,545 foreigners as of October 1,

2000, which amounted to a little more than 1% of the total population. Thus, the figure from the registration is larger than the figure from the census by 26%. Censuses are likely to undercount foreigners while there are also elements of overestimation of foreign residents in the registration system.

Censuses tend to undercount foreigners for the following reasons: 1) the enumerator's difficulties to locate foreigners or persuade them to be enumerated, some of which are also true of Japanese residents but accentuated among foreign residents due to their sex, age, household structure, housing type, work hours, mobility, and some of which are peculiar to foreigners such as language problems; 2) the tendency to avoid being enumerated among some potential respondents, particularly those with irregular residence status; and 3) the misreporting of nationality or partial reporting of multiple nationalities (Kojima 2002).

On the other hand, foreigner registration statistics also have problems. While they include a portion of overstay migrants registered as having "no residence status" (about 20,000 in 2003), they tend to be overestimates because some of those registered foreigners may have left Japan (for overseas or the Heavens) either temporarily or permanently. Some foreigners with permanent or semi-permanent residence status may be staying in their home country or elsewhere for an extended period for various reasons. The death of foreigners may not be reported to the Japanese authorities as quickly as that of Japanese because there are fewer incentives or fewer related persons to report.

### **1. Assumptions**

The estimation of population by religion is difficult in a majority of countries which do not include a question on religion in their population census. A few countries such as Canada have been asking about religion in their census, and the U.K. joined the group with their 2001 census, but they are the minority among developed countries. Even in the U.S. where a lot of surveys have been conducted, the estimates of the proportion of Muslims are not necessarily based on survey results. For example, American survey statistician Smith (2001) estimates 1% or less as the percentage of Muslims in the U.S. based on the results of several national surveys including the General Social Surveys headed by himself at the NORC at the University of Chicago, while many popular estimates run around 2%. American demographer Haaga (2002) also confirms the maximum 1% estimate based on the results of surveys including Religious Congregation and Membership Survey: 2000.

In Japan, however, censuses and surveys do not generally include a question on religion. The Japanese General Social Surveys, conducted by Osaka University of Commerce and the University of Tokyo, include questions on religion, but the percentage of Muslims is too low to be captured by a survey with a sample size of less than 5,000. In addition, Japanese national surveys generally do not include foreign respondents. Even if they do, foreigners represent only about 1% of the total population. Thus, we have to estimate the number of foreign "Muslims" based on the population of foreigners

in Japan by country of nationality and the estimated proportion of Muslims in each country. Earlier scientific estimates include 70,000 by Komai (1999), 62,000 by Sugimoto (2002), 75,000 (excluding overstay migrants of about 30,000) in 2002 by Kojima (2003, 2004) and 64,000 (including overstay migrants of 22,000) in 2000 by Sakurai (2003). This is a modified extension of Kojima (2003, 2004), which estimated a virtual maximum number of foreign “Muslims” in Japan.

The estimates for the proportion of Muslims in the total population in each country of nationality (home country) derive from Tanada (2001, 2003), supplemented by Weekes (1984), Clévenot (1987), Malherbe (1992) and *CIA World Factbook*. The number of registered foreigners in Japan from each country of nationality has been multiplied by the estimated proportion of Muslims in the home country to derive the estimate of “Muslim” population in Japan from each country of nationality. For the proportion of Muslims among foreigners whose nationality is registered as “no nationality,” the estimate has been based on the proportion of “Muslims” among all the registered foreigners but them in Japan, which was calculated from the estimates of “Muslim” population from some 200 countries of known nationality. In addition, the proportion of “Muslims” in Japan has been reduced to one-third in cases where the proportion of Muslims in the country of nationality is below 67%, following the estimation for Malaysians in Japan by Ishii (1999) and Sakurai (2003). These countries include China, India, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Nigeria. The proportion has been separately

reduced to one-third in cases where the percentage of females among foreigners from one country is above 67% (e.g., the Philippines, Thailand, Russia). Thus, the percentage of “Muslims” among Filipinos in Japan has been reduced to one-ninth of the percentage of Muslims in the Philippines (from 4.6% to 0.5%).

## 2. Estimates of Foreign “Muslim” Population in Japan

Table 1 shows an estimate of the registered foreign “Muslim” population in Japan between 1984 and 2004, for each world region and selected country of nationality (with more than 300 Muslims at least in one year), as well as the share of each country and region, based on the proportion of Muslims in each country of nationality in the world (some 200 countries and areas) as of the end of each year between 1984 and 2004. Even though the estimates go up to the first digits (above zero), they should be taken as approximate figures.

The total foreign “Muslim” population as of the end of each year is estimated to be about 5,300 in 1984, 12,300 in 1990, 30,000 in 1995, 47,600 in 2000, 50,800 in 2001, 53,600 in 2002, 56,300 in 2003 and 58,600 in 2004. The share of “Muslims” among the foreign population is estimated to be 0.6% in 1984, but attained the 2% mark in 1994 and the 3% mark in 2004. This means that the foreign “Muslim” population has grown much faster than the foreign population as a whole in Japan during the two decades.

The figures for selected countries of nationality and world regions are also presented in the upper panel, but they can still be considered

overestimates for some countries, even after the modification of the proportion of “Muslims” in Japan, because non-Muslims are generally more likely to migrate to Japan from both Muslim and non-Muslim countries. Even though Muslims represent more than half of the total population of Malaysia, non-Muslims (ethnic Chinese) are the largest majority among Malaysians staying in Japan (Ishii 1999). This should be also true of foreigners from non-Muslim countries such as China, India, the Philippines, Thailand and the U.S. On the other hand, there may be underestimates for a few non-Muslim countries including Myanmar, where the Muslim minority is discriminated against and its members are more likely to emigrate than members of the majority.

It should be noted that the percentage of “Muslims” among overstay migrants has been much higher than among the registered foreign population. According to my previous estimate (Kojima 2003), it was at its highest at 30% (84,000 overstay “Muslims”) in 1992, but it has gone down to the level of 13% (30,000) in recent years. This may suggest that the total number of the foreign “Muslim” population in Japan, including overstay “Muslims,” exceeded the 100,000 mark around 1992 even though it should have declined to below 100,000 in recent years.

The lower panel of Table 1 shows the distribution of the registered foreign “Muslim” population in Japan by country of nationality and world region. Among foreign “Muslims,” Asians dominate (84-92%) and Africans and Europeans follow with much smaller percentages. Among all foreign “Muslim” populations, Indonesians had the largest share from 1984 to

1992 and since 1997, but they were surpassed by Iranians and closely followed by Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, between 1992 and 1996. This is partly due to the mutual visa waiver agreements between Japan and Bangladesh, Pakistan (both suspended in January 1989) and Iran (suspended in April 2002), partly due to Japan’s bubble economies and the revaluation of the Japanese yen, partly due to uncertain economic and political situations in home countries and partly due to the religious constraints and demographic pressure faced by youths in home countries. On the other hand, the renowned increase in Indonesians since the mid-1990s is also due to the systematic introduction of “trainees” to small and medium-sized enterprises suffering from a labor shortage in Japan.

While the share of Indonesians among registered foreign “Muslims” has increased from 19.8% in 1994 to more than 35% in recent years, that of Iranians has declined rapidly from 29.4% in 1994 to 9.1% in 2004, ranking them fourth after Indonesians (35.6%), Bangladeshis (16.2%) and Pakistanis (14.0%). The percentage of Turks is on the increase and it was 4.1% in 2004, followed by Chinese, Malaysians, Filipinos, Indians, Afghans and Saudi Arabians within Asia. The share of Europeans continued to decline up to the mid-1990s, but it has been slightly increasing since then to attain 1.8% in 2004 possibly because of an increase in “Muslims” from countries in the former Soviet Union including Uzbekistan. The share of African “Muslims” has remained at the level of 5.5% since the late 1980s, but their composition has been changing over time to include more West Africans rather than North

Africans. While Egyptians still account for the largest percentage—2.0% among African “Muslims” in Japan in 2004, Nigerians ranked second among Africans, surpassing Moroccans. The number of Tunisians, Guineans and Senegalese are also on the increase among foreign “Muslims” in Japan and they are about to attain the 300 mark. The share of foreign “Muslims” from the Americas and Oceania are relatively small in their percentages.

### **3. Demographic Characteristics of Foreign “Muslim” Population**

Table 2 presents the indicators of sex and age composition of the registered foreign “Muslim” population in Japan as of the end of each year between 1984 and 2004: the sex ratio (100 x males / females) of population and the proportion of children aged below 15 for each country of nationality and region. As the upper panel of Table 2 shows, the sex ratio of registered foreign population as a whole has been balanced around 100 while it has fluctuated between 170 and 410 in the registered foreign “Muslim” population as a whole, which is computed from registered foreign population by sex for some 200 countries of nationality. The sex ratio of foreign “Muslim” population was much higher around 400 in the mid-1990s while it has gone down to 268.4 in 2004. When we look at figures for each country of nationality, the situation differs by country. Among foreigners from predominantly Muslim countries, the sex ratio tends to be very high. The Bangladeshi population attained the highest mark of 1526.0 in 1988 and the Pakistani population had the highest mark of 1438.8 in

1992, while the Iranian population had the highest sex ratios of about 1341 between 1995 and 1997. While their sex ratios have been declining these days possibly due to their family formation as we will see below, the sex ratio of Nigerian population is on the increase with very high sex ratios of over 1,000 in recent years. On the other hand, the populations from non-Muslim countries such as the Philippines tend to have very low sex ratios.

The lower panel of Table 2 presents the proportion of child population aged below 15. In the registered foreign population as a whole, there is a decreasing trend in the proportion of children. It was 23.4% in 1984 and has gradually gone down to 9.4% in 2004. In the registered foreign “Muslim” population as a whole, the proportion of children has been lower than in the total foreign population by 3-7% during the two decades and the percentage has virtually remained the same at around 7% in the 1990s. However, it is on the increase in recent years possibly due to their family formation. Among Asian “Muslims” it is even lower except for Afghans, Bangladeshis, Indians and Saudi Arabians.

The proportion of child population has continued to be the highest among Egyptians, recording 34.7% in 2004. The proportion also used to be high among Afghans, Indians, Iranians, Pakistanis, Turks and Moroccans, but it decreased drastically during the latter half of the 1980s among Pakistanis, Turks and Moroccans. Even though the proportion also decreased drastically among Bangladeshis in the latter half of the 1980s, it has gone up recently possibly because a

relatively high proportion is married in recent years as we will see below. Pakistanis also exhibit a less pronounced rising trend in recent years probably because of the same reason. Among foreigners from predominantly Muslim countries, Indonesians and Turks in Japan have a very low proportion of children probably because the proportion married is relatively low.

#### **4. Intermarriages between Foreign “Muslims” and Japanese**

##### 1) Trends in Foreign “Muslim” Population with Spouse/Child Residence Status

Table 3 shows the proportion of registered foreigners with a spouse/child residence status (visa) as of the end of each year between 1984 and 2004. The percentage of foreigners with a spouse/child visa increased rapidly through the early 1990s and was the highest at 18.5% in 1997 before declining to 13.0% in 2004. The percentage among foreigners from Asia peaked at 11.8% in 1999 before declining to 9.5% in 2004.

Foreigners from certain countries are more likely to stay in Japan with a spouse/child visa than others. While the proportion has been very high among foreigners from predominantly non-Muslim countries such as Filipinos and Thais (particularly women), it has also been relatively high among foreigners from predominantly Muslim countries including Iranians, Pakistanis and Turks (particularly men). But the proportion has been relatively low among Bangladeshis and Indonesians. Actually, the percentage with a spouse/child visa peaked at 9.3% in 2000 before declining to 5.6% in 2004 among Bangladeshis,

and it was the highest at 16.2% in 1986 before declining to 10.8% among Indonesians. On the other hand, the percentage was the highest at 26.2% in 2001 before declining to 19.4% in 2004 among Iranians, and it peaked at 22.3% in 1999 before declining to 16.9% among Pakistanis.

Among Africans, however, the percentage with a spouse/child visa was even higher than among Asians. It peaked at 24.9% in 2000, but it has declined to 18.6% in 2004 among Africans in Japan. Among Moroccans the percentage was extremely high at 74.6% in 1990 and still high at 32.8% in 2004. The proportion has drastically increased to the peak of 45.0% in 2002 among Nigerians before declining to 29.4% in 2004, while it has gradually gone down from the peak of 15.8% in 1990 to 4.9% in 2004 among Egyptians.

##### 2) Sex Ratio and Intermarriages among “Muslims”

The left-hand panels of Table 4 present the sex ratio (of adult and married population) and the proportion married and intermarried among foreign “Muslim” population aged 15 and above in Japan in 1995 and 2000. The first column shows that the sex ratios among foreigners and Asians as a whole are balanced at slightly less than 100, but that they are quite high among Bangladeshis, Iranians and Pakistanis and lower (but still higher than average) among Indonesians and Malaysians in both 1995 and 2000. For example, Pakistanis had a sex ratio of 1,704 in 1995 and 1,156 in 2000. The first column also shows that the sex ratios of married “Muslims” are generally lower than those of adult “Muslims”



and that they are similar for 1995 and 2000 except among Iranians. The sex ratio of married Iranians more than doubled from 314 to 802 during the period, due to a significant increase in intermarried couples of Iranian men and Japanese women and a significant decrease in intermarried couples of Japanese men and Iranian women as well as Iranian-Iranian couples.

The second column of the upper left-hand panel reveals that the proportion married among the foreign male population as a whole has not changed much between 1995 and 2000, but that the proportion married has gone up by 15-30% for Bangladeshi, Iranian and Pakistani men in Japan in the same period. The fourth column shows that the proportion intermarried with Japanese women has remained at around the same level among the foreign male population, but that the proportion has gone up significantly among men from the three predominantly Muslim countries, particularly Iranian men. However, the third column reveals that about a half of Bangladeshi, Indonesian and Malaysian men are still married to women from the same country.

The high proportion of intermarriages of “Muslim” men with Japanese women may be partly explained by the high sex ratio among them. Actually, among Bangladeshis, Iranians and Pakistanis with a high sex ratio, men have a high proportion intermarried with Japanese women as indicated by the fourth column. Among married men, about 50% of Bangladeshis are intermarried with Japanese women in 1995 and 2000 while about 80% of Pakistanis are intermarried with Japanese women. As for Iranian men, the percentage intermarried with Japanese women in

1995 was at about the same level as Bangladeshi men, but it rose to the same level as Pakistani men in 2000. The first column reveals that the sex ratio of married “Muslims” in Japan is less unbalanced than the sex ratio of adult “Muslims,” but that it is still high, suggesting a larger number of intermarriages of “Muslim” men with non-compatriots than those of “Muslim” women with non-compatriots.

On the other hand, as indicated by the second column in the lower left-hand panel of Table 4, the proportion married is much higher among women from each predominantly Muslim country than men from the same country. The third and fourth columns show that, among married Bangladeshi, Iranian and Pakistani women in Japan, most are married to a man from the same country and that few are married to a Japanese man. This may be due to religious constraints imposed on Muslim women on their spouse’s religion, but it may also be due to religious constraints imposed on Muslim women regarding unaccompanied migration. The fourth column also reveals that the majority of married Indonesian and Malaysian women are intermarried with Japanese men, possibly because many of them are ethnic Chinese. As indicated by the fifth column of the left-hand panel, the proportion intermarried with a spouse of all other nationalities has remained at a similar level among women from predominantly Muslim countries, but it has decreased from 1995 to 2000 among men from these countries, resulting in similar levels between men and women from each country of nationality.

### 3) Factors of Changes between 1995 and 2000

The upper right-hand panel of Table 4 presents the ratio of original population figures (absolute numbers not presented here) between 1995 and 2000 (100 x 2000 figures / 1995 figures) to show the changes during the 5 years. The first column reveals that the population aged 15 and above increased significantly among Indonesian men and women partly due to the trainee scheme, and that the increase tends to be larger among women than among men in each country. A decrease in both men and women was observed only among Iranians, but a decrease in men was also observed among Malaysians and Pakistanis. As indicated by the second column, the ratio of married foreigners between 1995 and 2000 exhibits a similar tendency except that the number of married Iranian, Malaysian and Pakistani men has increased while the population aged 15 and above decreased. This suggests that those men who had not married Japanese women left for home during the 5-year period. The third column shows that, among both men and women married to a compatriot, only the number of Iranians has decreased. This means that only the number of Iranian-Iranian couples has decreased while other couples of compatriots have increased. The fourth column reveals that the couples of a "Muslim" man and a Japanese woman doubled, but that the couples of a Japanese man and a Bangladeshi, Iranian or Pakistani woman decreased. This may suggest the difficulty of adaptation by "Muslim" women to Japanese men or the Japanese society.

### 4) International Migration and Marriage between

### 1995 and 2000

Table 5 shows the proportion intermarried by place of usual residence 5 years ago (migration status) among married foreign "Muslim" men in Japan in 2000 based on the author's tabulation of the 2000 Census microdata (through the courtesy of the Bureau of Statistics). The top panel presents the proportion for the total, which is basically a duplicate of the lower left-hand panel of Table 4 based on the 2000 Census report. The microdata, however, allow the tabulation of foreign men married to a compatriot among all the foreigners and Asians, which are respectively 70.1% and 71.2%. In addition, there are slight differences in the number of men intermarried with "others" among Asians and Bangladeshis. Anyway, the proportion of homogamy in terms of nationality turns out to be high among non-Muslim foreign men in Japan, which is in contrast to the proportion among foreign "Muslim" men, particularly Iranian and Pakistani men.

The middle panel of Table 5 presents the proportion intermarried among married foreign men who used to live abroad in 1995 ("international migrants") and the bottom panel shows the proportion intermarried among those who used to live in Japan in 1995 ("non-migrants"). The proportion of homogamy among "international migrants" is much higher than that of "non-migrants," particularly among "Muslims." On the other hand, the proportion of intermarriage with Japanese women is much higher among "non-migrants" particularly among "Muslims." While the latter difference between migrant statuses is about 9 percentage points

among foreign and Asian men in general, it amounts to 41 points among Bangladeshis, 7 points among Indonesians, 20 points among Iranians, 26 points among Malaysians and 17 points among Pakistanis. The larger difference among Bangladeshi men is due to the fact that the proportion intermarried with Japanese women is closer to the average among “migrant” men while it is close to other “Muslim” men among “non-migrants.” The apparent high propensity of Iranian and Pakistani men to marry with Japanese women within 5 years of their stay in Japan and that of Bangladesh and other “Muslim” men to marry with Japanese women beyond (but probably close to) 5 years of their stay may suggest that “Muslim” men who did not marry with Japanese women are more likely to leave Japan.

The high sex ratio of the “Muslim” population in Japan cannot always explain the high incidence of intermarriages between “Muslim” men and Japanese women. This is because the number of such couples increased between 1995 and 2000 even though the sex ratio among “Muslims” in Japan generally declined except among Indonesians in the same period. The increase in intermarriages is also related to the aging of “Muslim” men in Japan, most of whom came to Japan in the late 1980s or early 1990s as young men and reached the prime age of marriage in the mid to late 1990s. It is also due to the religious constraints imposed on Muslim women in terms of unaccompanied migration and selection of a Muslim spouse. It should be related to the Japanese government’s regulation regarding residence status and work of foreigners

as mentioned below. Thus, the intermarriage of foreign “Muslims” with Japanese, particularly that of “Muslim” men with Japanese women may be a result of a compromise between migration strategy and marriage strategy under changing demographic, religious and legal constraints faced by them.

## 5. Conclusion

Even though it is not desirable for governments to interfere directly with marriages including intermarriages, they should give necessary support if intermarriages exhibit difficulties in mutual adaptation as in the case of Muslim-Japanese marriages (Takeshita 2004). Jasso and Rosenzweig (1990) found that the labor market and marriage market for international migrants are closely linked. They argue that, if a country restricts the issuance of working visas for the unskilled, but not spouse visas, this may virtually encourage the increase in marriages of convenience of foreigners with citizens of the receiving country for the former to stay and work in the country. If the Japanese government continues to restrict the inflow of unskilled foreign workers, the intermarriages of convenience (which are NOT “disguised marriages”) will continue to increase in the future (Kojima 1992).

The Japanese government should give necessary support to intermarried couples and their children like the Taiwanese (Chinese Taipei) government, particularly to Muslim-Japanese couples and their children for adaptation to the Japanese society and its Muslim communities. It should also consider giving support to

intermarried Japanese spouses and their children living in predominantly Muslim countries in Asia if they increase significantly and exhibit difficulties in adapting themselves to Muslim societies. In the long run, it would be necessary for Asian countries to have an intergovernmental arrangement to support intermarried couples and their children living in Asia with a particular reference to religions and their role in adaptation.

In parallel with an increase in the “Muslim” population in Japan, the followers of newer Islamic movements such as *Jama’at Tabligh* seem to be on the increase in Japan as indicated by an increase in the number of mosques and prayer spaces under their influence. This may also be related to the Japanese government’s restriction on the entry of unskilled workers, resulting in inferior working and living conditions. The Japanese government has to make more efforts to better integrate unorganized Muslim migrants and their family (including Japanese spouses) into the Japanese society as well as the more traditional Muslim communities in Japan.

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