

# Correlates of Cross-Border Marriages among Muslim Migrants in Tokyo Metropolitan Area: A Comparison with Seoul Metropolitan Area

Hiroshi Kojima

## 1. Introduction

There has been 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 Pakistan, Bangladesh and Iran. Some of those Muslim migrants married to Japanese and continued to stay in Japan. However, we do not know exactly how many foreign-origin Muslims are living in Japan and how many of them are married to Japanese due to the shortage of data on foreigners and the lack of data on religious minorities. Some “guestimations” of the number of Muslims in Japan, ranging up to 300,000, seem to be overestimates, while it may have been true at the beginning of the 1990s when Japan had a lot of overstay foreigners from Muslim countries. Even the Pew Research Center’s (2009: 28) figure of 183,000 seems to be an overestimate even if Japanese converts are taken into account.

Moreover, the author’s recent estimate suggests that there may be a decrease in foreign “Muslim” population due to the decreased new entry and the naturalization. Table 1 shows an estimate of the registered foreign “Muslim” population in Japan, from each world region and selected country of nationality (with more than 5,000 Muslims at least once), as well as the share of each country and region, based on the modified proportion of Muslims in each country of origin in the world (some 200 countries and areas) as of the end of each year between 1984 and 2010. For the methods and review of estimation, the interested readers should refer to Kojima (2006, 2007).

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, 60,300 in 2005 and

Table 1 Estimates of Foreign Muslim Population in Japan by Region and Country of Origin at Year End

Nationality (Origin)	1984	1990	1995	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<b>Total Foreigners</b>	840885	1075317	1362371	1686444	2011555	2084919	2152973	2217426	2186121	2134151
% Muslim	0.6	1.1	2.2	2.8	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
<b>Total Muslims</b>	5341	12270	29974	47547	60299	61456	63225	66362	65582	64185
<b>Asia</b>	4481	11021	27568	43736	55259	56027	57499	60286	59445	58135
Bangladesh	402	1862	4358	6336	9726	10004	9938	10079	9856	8985
Indonesia	1433	3159	6066	16870	21885	21676	22341	23762	22276	21708
Iran	538	1225	8559	6105	5175	5146	5113	5008	4968	4793
Pakistan	627	1964	4515	7123	8350	8632	8865	9363	9780	9784
<b>Europe</b>	174	249	381	711	1155	1245	1360	1462	1542	1660
<b>Africa</b>	481	679	1592	2594	3319	3604	3789	4035	4042	3869
<b>North America</b>	184	259	297	316	352	364	366	370	365	354
<b>South America</b>	3	32	75	103	123	127	128	126	110	96
<b>Oceania</b>	6	13	20	31	53	51	46	46	42	37
<b>No Nationality</b>	14	17	40	57	53	51	46	46	42	37
<b>Total Muslims</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Asia</b>	83.9	89.8	92.0	92.0	91.6	91.2	90.9	90.8	90.6	90.6
Bangladesh	7.5	15.2	14.5	13.3	16.1	16.3	15.7	15.2	15.0	14.0
Indonesia	26.8	25.7	20.2	35.5	36.3	35.3	35.3	35.8	34.0	33.8
Iran	10.1	10.0	28.6	12.8	8.6	8.4	8.1	7.5	7.6	7.5
Pakistan	11.7	16.0	15.1	15.0	13.8	14.1	14.0	14.1	14.9	15.2
<b>Europe</b>	3.2	2.0	1.3	1.5	1.9	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.6
<b>Africa</b>	9.0	5.5	5.3	5.5	5.5	5.9	6.0	6.1	6.2	6.0
<b>North America</b>	3.4	2.1	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
<b>South America</b>	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
<b>Oceania</b>	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
<b>No Nationality</b>	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

(Source) Ministry of Justice, Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan, 1985–2011

64,200 in 2010. The share of “Muslims” among the foreign population is estimated to be 0.6% in 1984, but attained the 2% mark in 1994, the 3% mark in 2004 and has been staying around the same level. This means that the foreign “Muslim” population has grown much faster than the foreign population as a whole in Japan during the two decades until the mid-2000s.

The lower panel of Table 1 shows the distribution of the registered foreign “Muslim” population in Japan by selected country of nationality and world region. Among foreign “Muslims,” Asians dominate (around 90%) 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, followed by Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, between 1992 and 1996. This is partly due to the mutual visa waiver agreements between Japan and Pakistan, Bangladesh (both suspended in January 1989) and Iran (suspended in April 1992), 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 the youth in home countries.

On the other hand, the renewed 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 around 35% in

recent years, the share of Iranians has declined rapidly from 29.4% in 1994 to 7.5% in 2010, ranking them fourth after Indonesians (33.8%), Pakistanis (15.2%) and Bangladeshis (14.0%).

Even though the tables are not presented here, 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 9.2% in 2010. The percentage among foreigners from Asia peaked at 11.8% in 1999 before declining to 8.0% in 2010. The proportion has 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 4.0% in 2009 among Bangladeshis, and it was the highest at 16.2% in 1986 before declining to 9.7% in 2000 among Indonesians. On the other hand, the percentage was the highest at 26.2% in 2001 before declining to 10.4% in 2010 among Iranians, and it peaked at 22.3% in 1999 before declining to 7.9% in 2010 among Pakistanis.

Among the registered foreign “Muslim” population as a whole, the proportion of children (population aged below 15) is low, and the percentage declined until the late 1990s. But it is on the increase in recent years possibly due to their family formation. Among foreigners from predominantly Muslim countries, the sex ratio tends to be very high. The Bangladeshi population attained the highest mark of 1526 in 1988 and the Pakistani population had the highest mark of 1439 in 1992, while the Iranian population had the highest sex ratios of about 1341 between 1995 and 1997. Their sex ratios have been declining these days possibly due to their family formation and naturalization.

This study presents the results of a preliminary logit analysis on the correlates of cross-border marriages among male Muslim migrants in Tokyo Metropolitan Area, particularly determinants of marriage partner and effects of marriage partner on having children, drawing on the microdata from the Social Survey of Muslim Population in Tokyo Metropolitan Area conducted in 2005 and 2006. It also compares the results with those of a preliminary logit analysis on the correlates of cross-border marriages among male Muslim migrants in Seoul, drawing on the Survey of Muslims in Korea conducted in 2011. The comparative analysis is preceded by a bivariate analysis of macrodata on the cross-border marriages between foreign “Muslims” and Japanese during the past climax period of cross-border marriages between Muslim migrants and Japanese, drawing on the published results of the Population Census. This is an extension of the author’s studies on cross-border marriages (e.g., Kojima 1989, 1992, 2009a) and studies on Muslim population (e.g., Kojima 2001, 2006, 2007, 2009b). Parts of analyses based on macrodata draw on Kojima (2006).

Table 2 Proportion in Cross-Border Marriages among “Muslim” Population Aged 15+: 1995 and 2000

Sex Nationality	Sex Ratio	% Married	Nationality Dist. of Spouses			Population Aged 15 +	Married Population Aged 15 +			
			Same	Japanese	Others		Subtotal	Same	Japanese	Others
1995										
<b>Male</b>	(Pop 15 + )					Ratio (2000/1995)				
Foreigner	98	46.0%	–	26.1%	–	1.10	1.14	–	1.23	–
Asian	88	47.9%	–	25.1%	–	1.06	1.04	–	1.17	–
Bangladeshi	807	20.1%	50.7%	43.1%	6.2%	1.01	1.71	1.54	2.05	0.73
Indonesian	217	17.4%	60.7%	36.7%	2.6%	2.56	2.04	1.83	2.44	1.39
Iranian	1456	15.4%	25.4%	56.3%	18.2%	0.56	1.76	0.64	2.55	0.89
Malaysian	187	13.2%	59.2%	29.2%	11.6%	0.77	1.28	1.06	1.80	1.06
Pakistani	1704	26.6%	14.0%	77.4%	8.6%	0.90	1.73	1.49	1.86	0.91
<b>Female</b>	(Married)									
Foreigner	82	55.4%	–	39.8%	–	1.22	1.22	–	1.39	–
Asian	76	55.5%	–	43.2%	–	1.21	1.18	–	1.40	–
Bangladeshi	188	86.1%	95.5%	4.0%	0.4%	1.51	1.52	1.54	0.94	1.50
Indonesian	73	51.9%	44.2%	53.0%	2.8%	1.88	1.90	1.83	1.96	1.78
Iranian	314	71.2%	79.8%	17.8%	2.4%	0.71	0.69	0.64	0.86	1.00
Malaysian	53	46.8%	31.2%	61.9%	6.9%	1.07	1.27	1.06	1.40	1.11
Pakistani	623	72.7%	87.1%	9.1%	3.8%	1.33	1.39	1.49	0.53	1.14
2000										
<b>Male</b>	(Pop 15 + )									
Foreigner	88	47.6%	–	28.1%	–					
Asian	77	47.4%	–	28.0%	–					
Bangladeshi	541	34.0%	45.7%	51.6%	2.6%					
Indonesian	295	13.9%	54.4%	43.8%	1.7%					
Iranian	1143	48.7%	9.3%	81.5%	9.3%					
Malaysian	135	21.8%	49.1%	41.2%	9.7%					
Pakistani	1156	50.8%	12.1%	83.4%	4.5%					
<b>Female</b>	(Married)									
Foreigner	76	55.3%	–	45.3%	–					
Asian	67	54.3%	–	51.5%	–					
Bangladeshi	212	86.7%	97.1%	2.5%	0.4%					
Indonesian	79	52.3%	42.7%	54.6%	2.6%					
Iranian	802	69.4%	74.2%	22.3%	3.5%					
Malaysian	53	55.8%	26.0%	68.0%	6.0%					
Pakistani	773	76.0%	93.4%	3.5%	3.1%					

(Source) Bureau of Statistics, 1995/2000 Census of Population

## 2. Cross-Border Marriages between Foreign “Muslims” and Japanese in the Census

Since the late 1990s seems to be the climax period for cross-border marriages between male Muslim migrants and Japanese women, we might closely examine Table 2, drawing on published results of the 1995 and 2000 Censuses due to the limited access to the Census microdata. The left-hand panels of Table 2 present the sex ratio (of adult and married population), the proportion married and the proportion in non-cross-border and cross-border marriages among foreign “Muslim” population (nationals of the OIC [Organisation of Islamic Cooperation] member countries) aged 15 and above in Japan in 1995 and 2000. Unfortunately, the 2005 and 2010 Census results present the marriage information only for 12 major nationalities (mainly the nationalities of foreign women in cross-border marriages due to the much larger share) and only the information on Indonesians is available among “Muslims” (Among married male Indonesians, the proportion married with a Japanese was 50.2% in 2005 and 57.9% in 2010).

The first column of left-hand panels 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 1995 and 2000 while the sex ratios tend to decline. 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 couples in cross-border marriages of Iranian men and Japanese women and a decrease in couples in cross-border marriages of Japanese men and Iranian women as well as Iranian-Iranian couples.

The second column of left-hand panels 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 between 1995 and 2000. The fourth column shows that the proportion in cross-border marriages with Japanese women has remained at around the same level among the foreign male population in the 5-year period, 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 cross-border marriages 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 proportion 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 couples in cross-border marriages between “Muslim” men and non-compatriots than those in cross-border marriages between “Muslim” women and non-compatriots. Among Indonesian men, the proportion married fell between 1995 and 2000, which changed in the opposite direction to sex ratios, while the proportion in cross-border marriages kept on rising until 2010 as indicated above.

On the other hand, as indicated by the second column in the left-hand panel of

Table 2, 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 in cross-border marriages with a Japanese man. This may be due to religious constraints imposed on Muslim women on their spouse's religion, but it may be also 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 in cross-border marriage with a Japanese man, possibly because some 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 the similar levels between men and women from each country of nationality.

The top right-hand panels of Table 2 present the ratio of original population figures (absolute numbers are not presented here) between 1995 and 2000 (2000 figures/1995 figures) to show the changes during the 5-year period. The first column reveals that the population aged 15 and above increased significantly among Indonesian men and women between 1995 and 2000 partly due to the trainee scheme, and that the increase tends to be larger among women than among men in each country. Between 1995 and 2000 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 between 1995 and 2000. 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 number of couples in cross-border marriages between a "Muslim" man and a Japanese woman doubled, but that the number of couples in cross-border marriages between a Japanese man and a Bangladeshi, Iranian or Pakistani woman decreased in the 5-year period. This may suggest the difficulty of adaptation by Muslim women to Japanese men or the Japanese society.

### 3. Data and Methods

#### 1) Data

The following section presents the analysis results of the microdata of male Muslim migrants in Tokyo Metropolitan Area, drawing on the Social Survey of Muslim Population in Japan conducted in 2005 and 2006 by Prof. Hirofumi TANADA and his survey team at Waseda University. The survey was conducted between November 2005 and June 2006 through the 7 large masjids (mosques) in Tokyo and Kanagawa Prefecture, using mainly self-enumerated questionnaires in 7 languages. Usable cases turned out to be 149.

This is not a representative sample of male Muslim migrants in Tokyo Metropolitan Area. A high proportion of respondents were university graduates. The respondents were possibly more religious than the average due to the nature of survey channels (masjids). There were no Iranians among respondents possibly due to the nature of survey channels (Sunnite masjids). For details, please refer to the first survey report (Waseda University 2006).

In spite of these problems, there are no other comparable surveys of Muslim migrants in Japan, where only a few small-scale surveys were conducted on Muslim migrants. The pioneering works by Tsukuba University's Sociology Department (1995) and Chiba High School (1998) had a sample size of one to two hundred. Others mainly studied foreign Muslim students with an even smaller sample size (e.g., Mizobe 1990, Mori & Sugiman 1993, Inoue 1997, Onishi 2003). There are only a few qualitative studies including Sakurai (2003). A few Japanese studies on ethnic business of Muslim migrants, including second-hand car dealers and halal restaurant/shop owners, and their Japanese wife (Higuchi 2006, Takeshita 2004, 2010, Fukuda 2007) also had a small sample size. Even Muslims in Europe Study in 2004 had a similarly small sample size (225 Turkish in Berlin by Bruess & Kollman/135 Bangladeshis in London by Karlsen & Nazroo/203 Moroccans in Madrid by Alvarez-Miranda) (Bruess 2008).

In a way, we modeled on the Muslims in Europe Study and asked Prof. Hee-Soo Lee of Hanyang University to conduct the Survey on Muslims in Korea in the Seoul Metropolitan Area. Japan and South Korea are similar in the sense that most "born" Muslims are international migrants and that the Muslim population is estimated to be 71,000 in South Korea (Pew Research Center 2009: 27). The survey was conducted between April and September, 2011 in Itewon District (a city center with the Seoul Central Masjid) and Ansan City (a suburban city with a few smaller masjids). The survey was conducted through interviews by graduate students, using the comparable questionnaire (with that of Tokyo) in four languages and the translators if necessary. The usable cases turned out to be 148. For details, please refer to Lee (2012).

## 2) Methods

The dependent variables for marriage are marital status and the nationality of the partner (if married). They derive from the following questions:

Q3 Are you currently married? (1. Yes → SQ1, 2. No)

SQ1 Where is your partner from? (1. Japan/S. Korea, 2. Same country, 3. Other country)

The dependent variables for having children derive from the following two questions:

Q5 Which family members do you have in your home country? Choose as many as apply.

(1. Grandparents, 2. Father, 3. Mother, 4. Spouse, 5. Brother, 6. Sister, 7. Child, 8. Other)

Q6 Who lives with you currently? Choose as many as apply.

(1. Grandparents, 2. Father, 3. Mother, 4. Spouse, 5. Brother, 6. Sister, 7. Child, 8. Other)

The categorical variables for having children were constructed, drawing on the choice of '7. Child' in each question. All the categorical dependent variables used in the analysis are binary as follows: Married vs. Not married; Married with a Japanese/a Korean vs. Others; Married with a compatriot vs. Others; Married with a person from the other country vs. Others; Having kids vs. No kids; Having kids in Japan/South Korea vs. Others; Having kids in the home country vs. Others; Having kids in both/ Others; Having kids only in Japan vs. Others; and Having kids only in the home country vs. Others.

The methods used in this study are the bivariate analysis and the binomial logit analysis with stepwise selection. For the bivariate analysis, independent variables are categorical ones for age and the year of first entry to Japan/South Korea. For the binomial logit analysis of marital status with stepwise selection, the following nine categorical independent variables are entered for selection: age, year of first entry to Japan/South Korea, nationality, education, employment status, housing type, proficiency in speaking, reading and writing Japanese/Korean. For the binomial logit analysis for having children with stepwise selection, the following independent variables for marriage are added: married, married with a Japanese/a Korean, married with a compatriot and married with a person from the other country. The LOGISTIC procedure in the SAS package was used for this analysis.

**Table 3a Family Status of Muslim Migrants by Age in Tokyo**

Age	Married				Having Kids			
	Subtotal	Japanese	Compatriot	Other	Subtotal	in Japan	in Home C.	Both
Total	63.8%	18.8%	43.0%	2.0%	43.6%	33.6%	20.1%	10.1%
15-24	8.0%	4.0%	4.0%	—	4.0%	4.0%	—	—
25-29	36.4%	9.1%	27.3%	—	18.2%	15.2%	9.1%	6.1%
30-34	84.6%	28.2%	51.3%	5.1%	53.8%	38.5%	25.6%	10.3%
35-39	96.3%	25.9%	66.7%	3.7%	81.5%	55.6%	40.7%	14.8%
40+	90.5%	23.8%	66.7%	0.0%	61.9%	61.9%	23.8%	23.8%

(Source) Microdata of the Social Survey on Muslim Population in Japan (2005-2006)

**Table 3b Family Status of Muslim Migrants by Age in Seoul**

Age	Married				Having Kids			
	Subtotal	Korean	Compatriot	Other	Subtotal	in Korea	in Home C.	Both
Total	47.3%	5.4%	39.2%	2.7%	29.1%	11.5%	19.6%	2.0%
15-24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25-29	26.2%	—	26.2%	—	11.9%	4.8%	11.9%	4.8%
30-34	51.3%	7.7%	43.6%	—	25.6%	10.3%	15.4%	—
35-39	66.7%	12.5%	45.8%	8.3%	37.5%	16.7%	20.8%	—
40+	85.2%	7.4%	70.4%	7.4%	70.4%	25.9%	48.1%	3.7%

(Source) Microdata of the Survey on Muslims in Korea (2011)

**Table 4a Family Status of Muslim Migrants by the Year of Entry to Japan (Tokyo)**

Entry Year	Married				Having Kids			
	Subtotal	Japanese	Compatriot	Other	Subtotal	in Japan	in Home C.	Both
Total	63.8%	18.8%	43.0%	2.0%	43.6%	33.6%	20.1%	10.1%
Before 1990	88.2%	35.3%	52.9%	—	64.7%	58.8%	29.4%	23.5%
1990-1994	93.3%	46.7%	46.7%	—	60.0%	46.7%	26.7%	13.3%
1995-1999	69.6%	26.1%	39.1%	4.3%	43.5%	34.8%	13.0%	4.3%
2000-2004	52.3%	9.2%	41.5%	1.5%	36.9%	27.7%	20.0%	10.8%
2005-2006	53.8%	11.5%	38.5%	3.8%	38.5%	23.1%	19.2%	3.8%

(Source) Microdata of the Social Survey on Muslim Population in Japan (2005-2006)

**Table 4b Family Status of Muslim Migrants by the Year of Entry to South Korea (Seoul)**

Entry Year	Married				Having Kids			
	Subtotal	Korean	Compatriot	Other	Subtotal	in Korea	in Home C.	Both
Total	47.3%	5.4%	39.2%	2.7%	29.1%	11.5%	19.6%	2.0%
Before 1999	88.9%	22.2%	55.6%	11.1%	44.4%	11.1%	33.3%	—
2000-2004	73.7%	15.8%	52.6%	5.3%	52.6%	42.1%	10.5%	—
2005-2006	45.5%	9.1%	31.8%	4.5%	22.7%	9.1%	13.6%	—
2007-2008	48.8%	2.3%	46.5%	—	32.6%	4.7%	27.9%	—
2009-2011	30.9%	—	29.1%	1.8%	18.2%	7.3%	16.4%	5.5%

(Source) Microdata of the Survey on Muslims in Korea (2011)

#### 4. Correlates of Cross-Border Marriages among Muslim Migrants in Tokyo and Seoul

##### 1) Results of Bivariate Analysis by Age

Table 3a shows the results of bivariate analysis for the family status of male Muslim migrants by age in Tokyo Metropolitan Area while Table 3b shows the results of bivariate analysis for the family status of male Muslim migrants by age in Seoul Metropolitan Area. The proportion married in the total is 16.5% point higher in Tokyo (63.8%) than in Seoul (47.3%) partly due to the higher incidence of cross-border

marriages with local women. The left-hand panel of Table 3a for Tokyo reveals that the proportion married is naturally very low (8.0%) at ages 15-24, but that it tends to rise with age until ages 35-39 (96.3%). But it is a little lower at ages 40 and above (90.5%) possibly due to the effects of marriage dissolution and naturalization. On the other hand, the left-hand panel of Table 3b for Seoul reveals that the proportion married is nil at ages 15-24 but it continues to rise with age from 26.2% at the ages 25-29 to 85.2% at ages 40 and above.

Table 3a for Tokyo shows that the proportion in cross-border marriage with local (Japanese) women is 18.8% in the total. It is the highest (28.2%) at ages 30-34, but its share among the married is the highest (almost a half) at ages 15-24 but the lowest at ages 25-29. The proportion married with compatriots is 43.0% in the total and generally rises with age, but its share among the married is the highest (three quarters) at ages 25-29. The proportion in cross-border marriage with women of other nationalities is 2.0% in the total, but nil at younger age groups and the oldest age group.

On the other hand, Table 3b for Seoul shows that the proportion in cross-border marriage with local (Korean) women is only 5.4% and 13.4% point lower than the proportion married with local (Japanese) women in Tokyo, while the proportion married with compatriots (39.2%) and the proportion in cross-border marriage with women of other nationalities (2.7%) are not too different from Tokyo. The proportion in cross-border marriage with local (Korean) women and the proportion in cross-border marriage with women of other nationalities are the highest at ages 35-39 in Seoul. The share of cross-border marriages with local women in the total marriages is about 30% in Tokyo but less than 12% in Seoul.

The right-hand panel of Table 3a for Tokyo reveals that the proportion having children is 43.6% in the total and that it rises with age. It is naturally very low (4.0%) at ages 15-24, low at ages 25-29 and a little lower at ages 40 and above possibly due to the effects of marriage dissolution and naturalization. The proportion having children in Japan is 33.6% in the total. It is the highest (61.9%) at ages 40 and above, and its share among those having children is the highest (100%) at the lowest and highest age groups but the lowest at ages 25-29. The proportion having children in the home country is 20.1% in the total and generally rises with age except in the highest age group, but its share among those having children is the highest (a half) at ages 25-29 and 35-39. The proportion of those having children in both Japan and the home country is 10.1% in the total, but nil at the youngest age group, while it rises with age.

On the other hand, the right-hand panel of Table 3b for Seoul reveals that the proportion having children is only 29.1% in the total and it is 14.5% point lower than in Tokyo, corresponding to the difference in the proportion married. It is nil at ages 15-24 but it rises from 11.9% at ages 25-29 to 70.4% at ages 40 and above. In Seoul the

proportion having children in South Korea is 11.5% and much lower than the equivalent in Tokyo, while the proportion having children in the home country is 19.6% and very close to the level of Tokyo. This is also reflecting the differences in the proportion married with local women and compatriot women. The proportion having children in both South Korea and the home country is also very low at 2.0%, reflecting the low proportion having children in Seoul. Both the proportion having children in South Korea and the proportion having children in the home country naturally rise with age. While about three fourths of those having children live with their children in Tokyo, only about one third of those having children live with their children in Seoul.

## 2) Results of Bivariate Analysis by the Year of Entry

Table 4a shows the results of bivariate analysis for the family status of male Muslim migrants by the year of first entry to Japan in Tokyo Metropolitan Area while Table 4b shows the results of bivariate analysis for the family status of male Muslim migrants by the year of first entry to South Korea in Seoul Metropolitan Area. The left-hand panel of Table 4a for Tokyo shows that the proportion married generally rises with the duration of stay in Japan, while it is the lowest among those who first entered Japan between 2000 and 2004 and somewhat lower among those who first entered Japan before 1990 possibly due to the effects of marriage dissolution and naturalization. It is true for the proportion in cross-border marriage with Japanese women, and the proportion married to compatriots also tends to rise with the duration of stay in Japan, but it is somewhat higher among those who first entered between 2000 and 2004, resulting in its highest share among the married in the period. The proportion in cross-border marriage with women of other nationalities is nil among those who first entered before 1995. The left-hand panel of Table 4b for Seoul shows the rising trend in the proportion married and the proportions married with women of each nationality with the duration of stay in South Korea even though the length of period is different from Tokyo.

The right-hand panel of Table 4a shows that in Tokyo the proportion having children rises with the duration of stay in Japan, while it is the lowest among those who first entered Japan between 2000 and 2004 possibly due to the lower proportion married. While the proportion having children in Japan rises with the duration of stay in Japan, the proportion having children in the home country is the lowest among those who first entered Japan between 1995 and 1999. The proportion having children in both Japan and the home country rises with the duration of stay with the exception of those who first entered in the 2000-2004 period. The patterns by the duration of stay in the proportions having children are even more irregular in Seoul (Table 4b). The proportion having children in the total for Seoul is relatively high among those who first entered South Korea between 2000 and 2004, reflecting the very

high proportion having children in South Korea. The proportion having children in the total is also somewhat higher among those who first entered South Korea between 2007 and 2008, reflecting the higher proportion having children in the home country.

### 3) Results of Logit Analysis for Marital Status

The first panel of Table 5 for the results of binomial logit analysis with stepwise selection shows that the self-employed and those living in public housing are more likely to be currently married in Tokyo, while those in their teens and twenties, those with lower education (high school or less) and those proficient in reading Japanese are less likely. On the other hand, only those aged 40 and above are more likely to be currently married in Seoul.

The second panel of Table 5 shows the results for correlates of being married by the wife's nationality. The first column reveals that partly similar variables have positive effects on cross-border marriages with local women in Tokyo and Seoul. In Tokyo those aged 30-34, those who first entered in 1990-1994, the self-employed and those with a monthly income of 200,000-299,999 yen are more likely to be in cross-border marriage with local (Japanese) women, while in Seoul those who first entered in 1990-1999, the self-employed, those with a monthly income of five million won or more, and those proficient in writing Korean are more likely to be in cross-border marriage with local (Korean) women. On the other hand, the second column shows that totally different correlates have effects on marriage with compatriots in Tokyo and Seoul. In Tokyo university graduates are more likely to be married with compatriots, but those in their teens, twenties and early thirties, Africans and the self-employed are less likely. In Seoul those aged 40 and above are more likely to be married with compatriots, while West Asians are less likely. The third column reveals that those living in own housing are more likely to be in cross-border marriage with women of other nationalities in Seoul, while no variables have significant effects on this type of cross-border marriages in Tokyo.

### 4) Results of Logit Analysis for Having Children

The first panel of Table 6 for the results of binomial logit analyses with stepwise selection reveals that the odds of having children are naturally higher among Muslim migrants who are married in both Tokyo and Seoul. In the case of Tokyo, it is particularly high among those who are married with compatriots. Those aged 35-39 in Tokyo and those aged 40 and above in Seoul are more likely to have children possibly because these age groups have the highest proportion married in each city. In the case of Tokyo the odds are also higher among those whose monthly income is between 200,000 and 299,999 yen, but lower among South Asians (except Bangladeshis and Pakistanis).

**Table 5 Correlates of Marital Status among Muslim Migrants in Tokyo and Seoul: Results of Biomial Logit Analysis (Stepwise Selection)**

Metropolis Effects	Currently Married	Married with		
		Japanese/Korean	Compatriot	Other
Tokyo Positive	Self-Employed Public Housing	Age 30-34 Entry 1990-94 Self-Employed Income ¥200K-299K	University	-
Negative	Age 15-24 Age 25-29 Highschool or Less Reading Proficiency	-	Age 15-24 Age 25-29 Age 30-34 African Self-Employed	-
Seoul Positive	Age 40+	Entry 1990-99 Self-Employed Income ₩5M+ Writing Proficiency	Age 40+	Own Housing
Negative	-	-	West Asian	-

(Source) Microdata of the Social Survey on Muslim Population in Japan (2005-2006) and Microdata of the Survey on Muslims in Korea (2011)

**Table 6 Correlates of Having Children among Muslim Migrants in Tokyo and Seoul: Results of Biomial Logit Analysis (Stepwise Selection)**

Metropolis Effects	Having Kids	Having Kids in			Having Kids Only in	
		Japan/S. Korea	Home Country	Both	Japan/S. Korea	Home Country
Tokyo Positive	Married Married with Compatriot Age 35-39 Income ¥200K-299K	-	Married with Compatriot	Married with Compatriot	-	Married with Compatriot Employee High school or Less
Negative	South Asian	-	-	-	-	-
Seoul Positive	Age 40+ Married	Married with Korean	Married with Compatriot	Manager	Entry 2000-2004 Writing Proficiency Married with Korean	Age 40+ Public Housing Married with Compatriot
Negative	-	-	-	-	-	-

(Source) Microdata of the Social Survey on Muslim Population in Japan (2005-2006) and Microdata of the Survey on Muslims in Korea (2011)

The first column of the second panel shows that in Seoul children are more likely to live in South Korea when Muslim migrants are in cross-border marriage with Korean women, but that no variables are significant in Tokyo. In both Tokyo and Seoul children are more likely to live in the home country when Muslim migrants are married to compatriot women, which may be natural. The second column also shows that children are more likely to live in the home country among male Muslim migrants who are married to compatriots in both Tokyo and Seoul, which seems also natural. The third column shows that in Tokyo Muslim migrants married to compatriots are more likely to have children in both Japan and the home country, while in Seoul managers are more likely to have children in both South Korea and the home country.

The first column of the last panel of Table 6 also reveals that in Seoul children are

more likely to live only in South Korea when Muslim migrants first entered South Korea in 2000-2004, when they are proficient in writing Korean, and when they are in cross-border marriage with Korean women, while no variables have significant effects in Tokyo. The second column shows that in Tokyo children are more likely to live only in the home country among those who are married to compatriots, employees and those with lower education (high school or less). In Seoul children are more likely to live only in the home country when Muslim migrants are married to compatriots as in Tokyo. In addition, those aged 40 and above and those living in public housing are also more likely. Therefore, marital status always has a significant effect in Seoul, but it does not in Tokyo for having children in Japan. It is possibly because some couples in cross-border marriages between Muslim husbands and Japanese wives send their children to the husband's home country or other Islamic countries to raise them as Muslims (particularly, daughters as Muslimas) because Japan is too secular.

## 5. Conclusion

The high sex ratio of the "Muslim" population in Japan cannot always explain the relatively high incidence of cross-border marriages between male "Muslim" migrants 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 incidence of cross-border marriages 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 at 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 is related to the Japanese government's regulation regarding the residence status and work of foreigners. Thus, it may be a result of the compromise between migration strategy and marriage strategy under the changing demographic, religious and legal constraints.

This may seem to explain the difference in the prevalence of cross-border marriages between Muslim men and local women in Tokyo and Seoul. But the correlates of cross-border marriage suggest that similar structural forces and life course strategies are affecting these cross-border marriages. In both Tokyo and Seoul, the first entry in the 1990s is correlated with cross-border marriages, suggesting the demographic factors regarding the prime age at marriage and migration. In both Tokyo and Seoul the self-employment and a relatively high income are correlated with cross-border marriages, suggesting the compromise between migration and marriage strategies.

The proportion of Muslim migrants living with their children in Tokyo is much

higher than in Seoul due to the much higher prevalence of cross-border marriages in Tokyo, while the proportions having children in the home country are not too different between the two. In both Tokyo and Seoul, being married naturally has positive effects on having children and being married with a compatriot have positive effects on having children in the home country and having children only in the home country. While being married with a Korean woman have positive effect on having children in South Korea, being married with a Japanese woman does not have a significant effect on having children in Japan. This result is consistent with the result of Takeshita and Hanaoka (2011) who, analyzing the Japanese 2005 Census microdata largely based on the model of Kojima (2009a), suggested that the male OIC country nationals have similar numbers of children in Japan whether their wife is a compatriot or a Japanese. They also found a positive effect of ages 35-39 on having children in Japan regardless of the nationality of their wife. They found that the white-collar job of male OIC country nationals have positive effects on having children, which may be in line with the positive effect of relatively high income on having children regardless of the nationality of their wife.

Even though it is not desirable for governments to interfere directly with marriages including cross-border marriages, they should give necessary support if cross-border marriages exhibit difficulties in mutual adaptation as in the case of Muslim-Japanese marriages (Takeshita 2004, 2010). Jasso and Rosenzweig (1990) argue that, if a country restricts the issuance of working visas for the unskilled, but not spouse visas, this may virtually encourage an increase in cross-border marriages of convenience between foreigners and citizens of the recipient 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 cross-border marriages of convenience (which are NOT “disguised marriages”) may continue to increase in the future (Kojima 1992). This may not be the case in South Korea any more where unskilled workers can enter more easily now, but the higher proportion of cross-border marriages for those who entered South Korea before 2005 may partly reflect previous legal constraints. In the case of South Korea, however, Christians have a relatively larger voice in public policies and the central and local governments have more explicit multicultural policies targeted towards cross-border marriages of Korean men and foreign women. Thus, there may be different kinds of difficulty in the support of cross-border marriages of Muslim men and Korean women and their children.

The Japanese Government should give necessary support to intermarried couples and their children like South Korean and Taiwanese (Chinese Taipei) Governments, particularly to Muslim-Japanese couples and their children for adaptation to the Japanese society and its Muslim communities. It is particularly because the Japanese society is more secular than South Korean and Taiwanese societies and because in

Japan Muslim communities are not organized under one federation as in South Korea or Taiwan. The Japanese Government should also consider giving support to Japanese spouses in cross-border marriages 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 the governments of Asian countries to have an intergovernmental arrangement to support couples in cross-border marriage and their children living in Asia with a particular reference to religions and their role in adaptation.

### Acknowledgments

The Social Survey on Muslim Population in Japan (SSMPJ-2005/2006) was designed and carried out by the Research Laboratory for Sociological and Area Studies, School of Human Sciences, Waseda University (Chief Conductor: Mr. Hirofumi OKAI) under the direction of Prof. Hirofumi TANADA. The survey was financially supported by the scientific grant (No. 17530394) to Prof. TANADA from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science for FY2005-2006 academic years. This research and the Survey on Muslims in Korea have been supported by the FY2010-2012 Waseda University Research Initiative Grant for the “Comparative Study on the Symbiosis of Muslim and Non-Muslims in Asia” as well as the FY2011-2013 JSPS Scientific Grant (Basic B, No. 23330170) for the Study on the “Symbiosis of Muslims and Non-Muslims in East Asian Societies” to Prof. Hiroshi KOJIMA. The author would also like to thank Prof. Hee-Soo LEE of Hanyang University for kindly conducting the comparable survey for the Institute for Asian Muslim Studies, Waseda University.

An earlier version of this article without comparison with Seoul was presented at the Seminar on Global Perspectives on Marriage and International Migration, organized by the IUSSP Scientific Panel on the Process and Dynamics of Cross-Border Marriages, Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs and Statistics Korea, Seoul, South Korea, 20-21 October 2011. The author would like to thank Prof. Doo-Sub KIM of Hanyang University who, as the Chair of the Panel, organized the seminar and those who kindly gave comments on the earlier version.

### References

- Bruess, Joachim. 2008. Experiences of Discrimination Reported by Turkish, Moroccan and Bangladeshi Muslims in Three European Cities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34 (6): 875–894.
- Chiba High School, Study Group on International Community. 1998. Survey of Foreign Workers 1995-1996, in H. Komai (ed.), *Materials on Settling New Comer Foreigners*, Vol. 2, Akashi Shoten, Tokyo, pp. 15–239 (in Japanese).
- Fukuda, Tomoko. 2007. Transnational Entrepreneur: Export Business of Second-Hand Cars by Pakistanis, in N. Higuchi et al., *Crossing Borders: Sociology of Foreign Muslims in Japan*, Aoyumisha, Tokyo, pp. 142–177 (in Japanese).
- Higuchi, Naoto. 2007. Food Culture Across Borders: Business by Foreign Muslims in Japan and Halal Food Industry, in N. Higuchi et al., *Crossing Borders: Sociology of Foreign Muslims in Japan*, Aoyumisha, Tokyo, pp. 116–141 (in Japanese).
- Inoue, Akiko. 1999. Stress Coping of Asian Muslim Workers: Focusing upon Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Iranian Male Workers. *Bulletin of the Graduate School, The University of Tokyo* 39: 255–264.
- Jasso, G., and M. R. Rosenzweig. 1990. *The New Chosen People: Immigrants in the United States*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Kojima, H. 1989. International Marriage. *Statistics* 40(2): 18–25 (in Japanese).

- Kojima, H. 1992. International Migrants and Marriage in Developed Countries. *Jinko Mondai Kenkyu* [Journal of Population Problems] 48(1): 38–48 (in Japanese).
- Kojima, H. 2001. Sustainable Urbanization and Religion in Southeast Asia. *Global Environmental Research* 5(1): 73–83.
- Kojima, H. 2006. Variations in Demographic Characteristics of Foreign ‘Muslim’ Population in Japan: A Preliminary Estimation. *The Japanese Journal of Population* 4: 115–130.
- Kojima, H. 2007. L’augmentation rapide de population musulmane au Japon: une dynamique démographique, in AIDELF (éd.), *Les migrations internationales: observation, analyse et perspectives*, AIDELF/PUF, Paris, pp. 433–439.
- Kojima, H. 2009a. Family Formation Behaviors of Couples in International Marriages: A Comparative Analysis of Japan and Taiwan, in H.-Z. Wang and H.-H. M. Hsiao (eds.), *Cross-Border Marriages with Asian Characteristics*, Academia Sinica, Taipei, pp. 107–146.
- Kojima, H. 2009b. Determinants of Work Behaviors among Muslim Migrants in Japan. *Waseda Studies in Social Sciences* 10(2): 21–32 (in Japanese).
- Lee, Hee-Soo. 2012. A Survey on Muslims in Korea-2011: For Institute for Asian Muslim Studies, Waseda University. Department of Anthropology, Hanyang University, Korea.
- Mizobe, Akio. 1990. Survey Report on Prayer and Eating and Drinking Behaviors of Muslim Foreign Students. Department of Sociology, Niigata University, Niigata (in Japanese).
- Mori, Hisatoshi, and Toshio Sugiman. 1993. A Comparison of Religious Behaviors and Attitudes between Japanese and Muslim Graduate Students. *Japanese Journal of Social Psychology* 9(3): 22–32 (in Japanese).
- Onishi, Akiko, and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu. 2003. Identity Narratives of Muslim Foreign Workers in Japan. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 13: 249–239.
- Pew Research Center. 2009. Mapping the Global Muslim Population. Pew Research Center, Washington D.C.
- Sakurai, Keiko. 2003. *Muslim Society in Japan*. Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo (in Japanese).
- Takeshita, S. 2004. Adaptation of Japanese Wives to Islam: Case Studies of Wives Married to Foreign Muslims, in S. Takeshita, *Various Aspects of International Marriages*, Gakubunsha, Tokyo, pp. 143–164 (in Japanese).
- Takeshita, S. 2010. Transnational Families among Muslims: The Effect of Social Capital on Educational Strategies, in W.-S. Yang and M. C.-W. Lu (eds.), *Asian Cross-Border Marriage Migration*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, pp. 221–239.
- Takeshita, S., and K. Hanaoka. 2012. Fertility Trends among Muslim Families Living in Japan: From a Comparison with Japanese Families. *Bulletin of Shigakukan University (Obu)* 45: 15–26 (in Japanese).
- Tsukuba University, Sociology Department. 1995. Iranian Migrants in Japan: Life and Work during Economic Recession, in Hiroshi Komai (ed.), *Collection of Materials on the Settlement of Foreigners*, Akashi Shoten, Tokyo, pp. 329–587 (in Japanese).
- Waseda University, School of Human Sciences, Research Office of Sociological and Area Studies (Hirofumi TANADA). 2006. Survey of Foreign Muslims in Tokyo Metropolitan Area: First Report. Waseda University, Tokorozawa (in Japanese).

