

Adaptation to the Local Community of Foreign Residents in Japan

— From the viewpoint of Muslims living in Japan —

在日外国人の地域社会への適応

— 在日ムスリムの視点から —

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Abstract：エスニックコミュニティが形成され、そのコミュニティ属性を有するエスニック集団が地域社会に適応する過程で、エスニック集団内部に社会経済的格差が生じると考えられる。本研究では、エスニック集団の地域への適応過程と社会経済的格差の関係について考察を行っている。本研究で検証に用いる調査データは早稲田大学人間科学学術院アジア社会論研究室が実施した在日ムスリム調査の個票データである。在日ムスリムの滞在目的、生活志向別によるタイプ分類をクラスター分析により行う。次に在日ムスリムの適応過程については、適応要因を順序ロジット回帰分析により適応確率という視点から析出する。適応要因の1つの重要な視点として、生活志向別のタイプ分類を独立変数の一つとして投入する。これにより、在日ムスリムの内部格差と適応過程についての関係についての考察を行う。解析の結果、3つのクラスターを析出した。各クラスターをタイプ別に命名すると、次の通りである。タイプⅠ：〈知識吸収型〉、タイプⅡ：〈豊かな暮らし・事業志向型〉、タイプⅢ：〈お金・仕事模索〉。次に、在日ムスリムの地域社会への適応確率を順序ロジット回帰分析により検証を行った。従属変数である適応度に対して有意 ($P < 0.05$) であった項目は、日本語能力、臨時社員・パート・アルバイト（雇用形態）、5-9年未満（滞在年数）、タイプⅡ（在日ムスリム分類タイプ）であった。非常に適している、まあまあ適している、不適応の3つの予測確率で見ると、「非常に適している」を選択する確率が最も高い組み合わせは、日本語能力（very good）、滞在年数10年以上、正社員、タイプⅡ：豊かな暮らし・事業志向型のムスリムであり、選択確率は70%であった。「不適応」を選択する最も高い組み合わせは、日本語能力（good）、滞在年数5-9年未満、臨時社員・パート・アルバイト、タイプⅢ：仕事模索型のムスリムであり、選択確率は81%であった。分析結果からは、階層性と適応度には強い関係があることが、データにより示された。上位の階層にある者は適応確率が高く、下層の者では、不適応確率が高くなる。在日ムスリムタイプと滞在予定期間のクロス集計の結果からは、タイプⅡは適応確率が高く、永住志向が強いことがわかる。タイプⅠは滞在予定期間が短く、日本で技術、大学・大学院での学習を終えれば、本国に戻る意志が高いことがわかる。タイプⅢは取りあえず、5年を目途として、できるだけ長く滞在したいと考えているが、現在のところ、仕事に恵まれていないので、先行きは不透明な様子が見て取れる。ムスリム集団の中で、格差が存在し、その格差が適応度や滞在年数に影響を及ぼしていることが本研究の分析によって示されている。データ分析の結果では、事業意欲が旺盛でかつ日本での豊かな生活を楽しみたい在日ムスリムで地域社会への適応確率が高かった。在日外国人にとっては、日本の経済力や文化が一つの魅力になっており、単なる出稼ぎ志向だけでなく、適応度が高い在日外国人では出稼ぎから永住・定住化への志向変化があると考えられる。就労ビザを含む在留資格の緩和、積極的移民政策の推進を行

えば在日外国人はさらに顕著な増加をみるであろうことは容易に推測できる状況であるといえる。

I. Objectives and background

1. Objectives

As an ethnic community is formed and adapts to its local community, social and economic disparities are generated within the ethnic group that has the attributes of this community. For example, on the one hand, there may be people in this group who are successful in an ethnic business and who advance up the levels of their community. On the other hand, there may be those who are not given opportunities for social success, who remain incorporated within the lower levels of the labor market in their community, and who have no choice but to live an unstable life.

In this research, the relationship between the process by which an ethnic group adapts to its local community and identifies social and economic disparities within the group is considered.

The ethnic group under observation in this research is Muslims living in Japan. Members of this group, who have a solid religious foundation in Islam, experience independent adaptive processes in the places around the world to which they have migrated while they practice their religion at mosques. The emergence of “internalized Islam” in Europe is considered a classic example of this phenomenon. Conversely, to the members of this group, the strength of this independence has promoted their adaption in the places to which they have migrated. Although there is research on the adaptation process of an in Japan Muslim partly including Higuchi(2007), those results are not necessarily reflecting the adaptation process in recent years from which the situation of surrounding a Muslim in Japan changed sharply fully.

Kojima(2009) showed that the odds of the full-time job and self-management in comparison with un-starting work were low at a 15-24 years old person by the logit analysis result of the employment system (full-time job and self-management, emergency and part part-time job, un-starting work) of 3 classification. Moreover, the odds of emergency and

part part-time job in comparison with un-starting work are high at Indonesians, and it clarifies the low thing by the 15-29 years old person, a 35-39 years old person, and those that have married the compatriot.

2. Background: Increase in heterogeneity in local communities and number of Muslims

Based on recent trends in the registration of foreign residents in Japan (Figure 1), the number of foreign residents increased by around 80% in 17 years: from 1.22 million people in 1991 to 2.22 million people in 2008. The increase has been particularly noticeable since 2000. An increase of 630,000 people occurred between 1999 and 2008. Moreover, in a long-term time series (Figure 2), the increase in the number of foreign residents has accelerated since 1990, and this trend is more pronounced in recent years.

In terms of the breakdown of nationalities of foreign residents, Japan has become increasingly multinational since 1990, with emigrants arriving from China, Brazil, the Philippines, and various other countries. In terms of numerical scale, the increase in the number of Chinese residents stands out. The number of South Americans of Japanese descent from countries such as Brazil and Peru, who are known in Japan as “newcomers,” is also rapidly increasing. They were granted a new “permanent resident” qualification following revisions to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act of 1990 and have been mainly employed at automotive-related companies.

As regards the trends from a Muslim perspective, a rapid inflow of emigrants from countries such as Iran and Pakistan occurred in 1990, and problems relating to foreign laborers became manifest in Japan in the first half of the 1990s. The second half of the 1990s saw an increase in the inflow of emigrants from countries within Asia, including Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Malaysia. However, the numerical scale of the inflows from each of these countries does not come anywhere close to those of countries such as China and Brazil. Meanwhile, emigrants collectively known as Muslims have come to have a

growing presence in Japan in recent years.

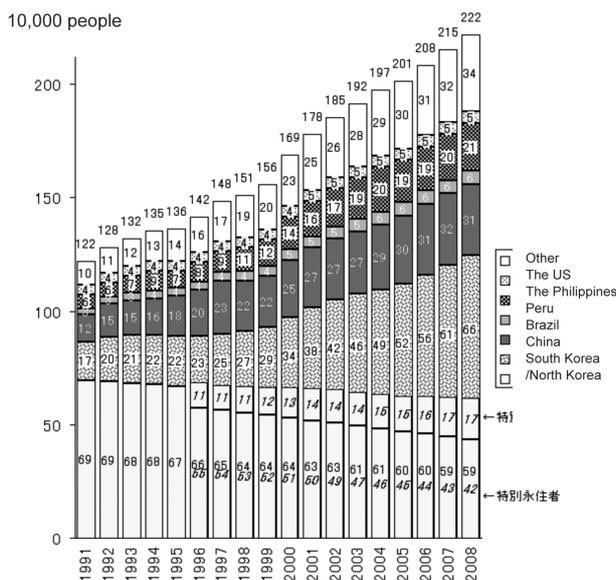
When describing Muslims in Japan, a feature that must be emphasized is the major impact of the religious influence of Islam. Since the 1990s, mosques have been built in many regions throughout Japan, but particularly in the Kanto Metropolitan area. Solely in terms of confirmed numbers, around 40 mosques have been built nationwide, and the population of Muslims has been provisionally calculated at around 100,000 people. As their places of worship, mosques are nodal points for Muslims in Japan, and they can be thought of as creating an independent social network. Currently, this social network is being further established through circulating-type activities, and the number of mosques in Japan is dramatically increasing. This trend is considered as “priming the pump” that will encourage the further inflow of Muslims into Japan. Through this sort of globalization that has developed since the 1990s, various ethnic groups have appeared in local communities in Japan in a short period of time. Consequently, opportunities for ethnic groups to meet with their host society, such as in residential areas, places of work, and schools, have been increasing. As a result, there has been more than the occasional instance of serious

conflicts arising between the host society and ethnic groups. Understanding the adaptive processes of ethnic groups and disseminating such knowledge is extremely significant to achieve a more harmonious shared existence between the host society and ethnic groups.

II. Method

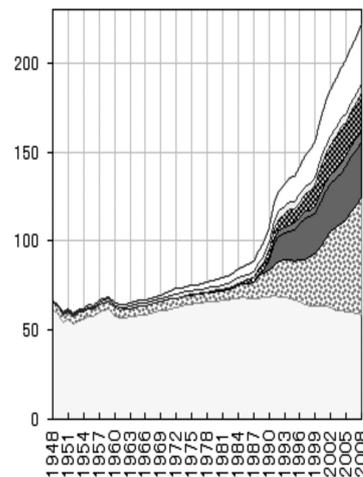
The survey data used for the verification in this research were gathered from a survey on Muslims living in Japan carried out by the Laboratory on Asian Societies, the Faculty of Human Sciences, Waseda University.

A cluster analysis was carried out on the type classifications according to the purposes for residing in Japan and life intentions of the respondents, who were Muslims living in Japan. Within the framework of Muslims living in Japan are various types of people with different lifestyles and life intentions. Through type classifications, internal disparities among members of this group were examined. Next, the adaptive processes of Muslims living in Japan were extracted using an ordered logit regression analysis of the adaptive factors, from the perspective of ascertaining the probability of adapting. As



Source: Ministry of Justice, “Registered Foreign Residents’ Clock”

Figure 1 Trends in the numbers of registered foreign residents



Source: Ministry of Justice, “Registered Foreign Residents’ Clock”

Figure 2 Long-term time series of registered foreign residents

one important aspect of the adaptive factors, type classifications according to life intention were introduced into the analysis as one of the independent variables. Hence, the relationship between the internal disparities and adaptive processes of Muslims living in Japan was considered.

1. Summary of the implementation of the survey

Organization carrying out the survey: Laboratory on Asian Societies, Faculty of Human Sciences, Waseda University

Survey period: November 2005 to June 2006

Survey subjects: Muslim men aged 18 years old and above who attend a mosque in the metropolitan area

Method of carrying out the survey: Face-to-face survey using a questionnaire in English, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Indonesian, and Malaysian

Number of responses: 149 questionnaires

As previously mentioned, the population of Muslims living in Japan has been provisionally calculated at between 92,000 and 102,000 people. Calculating the Muslim populations according to prefecture, and then examining their nationwide distribution, revealed a large-scale concentration of this population in the region from Kanto to central Tokai. Based on this finding, the area selected to carry out this survey was the Kanto metropolitan area, or in other words, the metropolitan area and its surroundings where the Muslim population in Japan is concentrated. Specifically, the survey was carried out in a total of seven locations, Tokyo Camii, Hachioji Mosque, Ohanajiyaya Mosque, Otsuka Mosque, Balai Indonesia School, Ebina Mosque, and the Arabic Islamic Institute.

Although there are also Muslim women living in Japan, the researchers had practically no opportunities to come into contact with them for this survey. Further, the number of responses that could be collected from them was envisaged to be extremely small. Therefore, from the start, the researchers decided to exclude them from the subjects to be surveyed.

2. Attributes of the survey subjects

The ages of the respondents ranged from 19 years to 67 years, and their average age was 32.2 years. Their distribution according to age is shown in Figure 3. Majority of the respondents were in their twenties and thirties. The composition of the respondents' countries of origin is shown in Figure 4. Specifically, they came from 20 countries, with the most coming from Indonesia, at 35.6%, followed by Bangladesh, at 16.1%, then Pakistan, at 11.7%, Malaysia, at 5.4%, and Turkey, at 4.7%. The respondents' civil status was as follows: 63.8% were married and 36.2% were not married, and of those married, around 30% were married to Japanese women. The respondents' average length of stay in Japan was six years.

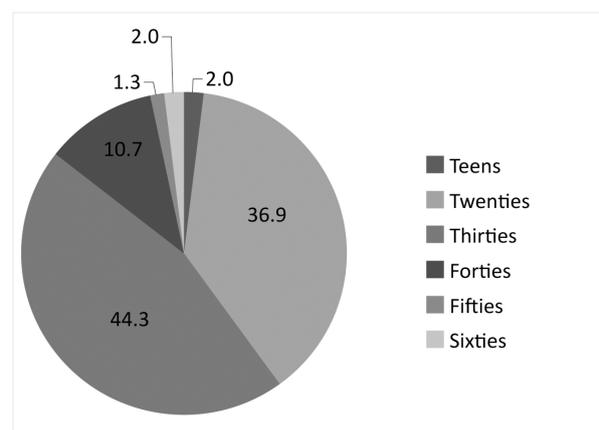


Figure 3 Age distribution of respondents

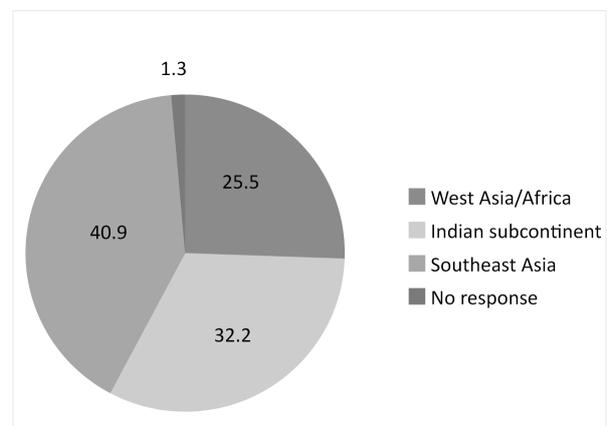


Figure 4 Respondents' countries of origin

III. Results of the analysis

1. Type classifications of Muslims living in Japan

Classifications according to type were carried

out using a cluster analysis (ward method) on the purposes of stay and uses of money for Muslims living in Japan. Specifically, the question items were designed to understand whether the respondents' objectives regarding their use of money obtained from work corresponded with the objectives of "to buy a house," "to fund a business," or to shoulder "entertainment costs," and also, whether the reasons they wanted to stay in Japan corresponded with "to find a good job," "to have a good life," "to earn money," "to start a business," or "to study and acquire specialist skills."

Three clusters were extracted from the results of the analysis, and the composition percentages of the clusters were as follows: Cluster I, 53.4%; Cluster II, 30.1%; and Cluster III, 16.5%.

Figure 6 shows the results of a cross-tabulation with the question items for the three clusters described above. The shaded cells indicate being selected as the highest percentage of times.

After extracting the characteristics of each cluster from these trends and then naming them according to type, they become as shown below.

Type I: Knowledge-absorption type

In Cluster I, "to study and acquire specialist skills" was selected the highest percentage of times. Further, high selection percentages could be seen for "entertainment costs" for uses of money and "to have a good life" for the purposes of staying in Japan. As such, although they zealously aim to absorb skills and knowledge, members of this type can also be seen as wanting to enjoy their lives in Japan to a reasonable extent.

Type II: Rich living/business-oriented type

In Cluster II, "to fund a business" and "to start a business" were selected the highest percentage of times. At the same time, the highest selection percentages were also observed for responses such as "entertainment costs," "to have a good life," and "to buy a house." These findings suggest that although members of this type want to enjoy a rich lifestyle, they also aspire to a lifestyle in which they launch or expand a business to make money.

Type III: Search for money/work type

In Cluster III, "to find a good job" and "to earn money" were selected the highest percentage of times, with "to find a good job" being selected by 100% of members of the cluster. This result suggests that they are not currently employed in their desired job or are searching for a job. Moreover, "to study and acquire specialist skills" had the highest selection percentage and from members of this type. They can be considered to prioritize finding a good job to obtain stability in their lives.

The characteristics of types I to III reveal a hierarchy that suggests groups with the following traits. Within the Muslim ethnic group, Type II people can be considered as succeeding to some extent in advancing up the levels of the hierarchy or that they are in the process of advancing. Type III people may be searching for work in the lower levels of the hierarchy. Type I people aim to move up the levels by absorbing knowledge and acquiring specialist skills; they also intend to study and conduct research within their respective universities and graduate schools or other organizations.

2. Adaptation probabilities of Muslims living in Japan

Next, the probabilities of Muslims living in Japan adapting to their local communities were verified using an ordered logit regression analysis. The results of a simple aggregation of scores of Muslims living in Japan on questions on adaptability to a Japanese lifestyle were as follows: "highly adaptable," 20.6%; "somewhat adaptable," 65.2 %; "not very adaptable," 10.6%; and "not adaptable at all," 3.5%. In this research, respondents selecting "not very adaptable" and "not adaptable at all" were set as the "not-adaptable group." The dependent variable was set as "adaptability," and the three categories of "highly adaptable," "not adaptable at all," and "not adaptable" were used as the ordered variables.

The independent variables used were form of employment, number of Japanese friends, Japanese language proficiency, number of years of stay, and

type classifications of Muslims living in Japan. The variables of number of Japanese friends and Japanese language proficiency were introduced as numerical data, whereas form of employment, number of years of stay, and type classifications of Muslims living in Japan were introduced as nominal scales.

In the goodness-of-fit test for the model through a chi-squared test, the significance probability was 0.598 ($p > 0.05$); therefore, the model used in this research was suitable. Table 1 shows the parameter estimation values from the results of the ordered logit regression analysis. The pseudo-coefficient of determination R^2 was 0.323 by Cox and Snell and 0.388 by Nagelkerke, and therefore, the model had a high interpretability. Items that were significant ($P < 0.05$) in terms of adaptability, which was the dependent variable, were Japanese language proficiency; temporary employees and part-time workers (form of employment), from five to less than nine years of stay (number of years of stay), and Type II (classification type of Muslims living in Japan).

In the three prediction probabilities of “highly adaptable,” “somewhat adaptable,” and “not

adaptable,” Muslims with very good Japanese language proficiency, who have stayed in Japan for at least 10 years, with full-time employment, and fell under Type II: rich living/business-oriented type had the highest probability of selecting “highly adaptable,” with a selection probability of 70%.

Meanwhile, the group that was most likely to select “not adaptable,” with a selection probability of 81%, was Muslims with good Japanese language proficiency, who have stayed in Japan for five years to less than nine years, have temporary or part-time work, and fall under Type III: search for money / work types.

Based on the overall trends, respondents with a high level of Japanese language proficiency, who have stayed in Japan for many years, who are full-time employees, and who are Type II tend to be highly adaptable, although some respondents are also highly adaptable despite their shorter stay in Japan. The probability of a respondent being in the prediction category of “not adaptable” is high even if their Japanese language proficiency is “good.” Further, the results showed that the number of Japanese friends and adaptability are not related.

Table 1 Results of the ordered logit regression analysis

	B		Standard deviation
Number of Japanese friends	-0.101		0.136
Japanese language proficiency	1.140	***	0.395
Form of employment			
Full-time employee	3.500	+	1.881
Temporary employee/part-time employee	4.119	*	1.951
In training	3.191		2.069
- Other	0		.
Number of years of stay			
Less than 2 years	0.250		0.822
2 to less than 5 years	0.391		0.681
5 to less than 9 years	2.790	***	0.892
- 10 years and above	0		.
Type classifications of Muslims living in Japan			
I Knowledge absorption type	0.889	+	0.562
II Rich living/business oriented type	1.981	***	0.710
- III Search for money/work type	0		.
Pseudo-coefficient of determination			
Cox and Snell	0.323		
Nagelkerke	0.388		

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.10$

- : Reference

A cross-tabulation was carried to consider in more detail the relationships between the prediction categories obtained from the prediction probabilities and the types of Muslim living in Japan. The results are shown in Figure 6. The probabilities are relatively high in that Type II will be “highly adaptable,” that Type I will be “somewhat adaptable,” and that Type III will be “not adaptable.”

Table 2 Results of the cross-tabulation of prediction-response categories and types of Muslims living in Japan

		Type I	Type II	Type III	Total
Prediction-response categories	Highly adaptable	40.0	60.0	0.0	100
	Somewhat adaptable	57.1	26.2	16.7	100
	Not adaptable	25.0	0.0	75.0	100

IV. Considerations

In this research, Muslims living in Japan were separated into type classifications. An analysis was carried out from the perspective of the probability that Muslims adapt to local communities according to their type. In the results of the analysis, the data showed a strong relationship between hierarchy and adaptability. People in the upper levels of the hierarchy had a high probability of being adaptive, whereas those in the lower levels had a high probability of not being adaptive. Further, respondents who came to Japan with the goals of studying and acquiring skills had a high probability of being in the “somewhat adaptive” category, which supports the hypothesis. The results also indicated that the length of the respondents’ stay in Japan and their Japanese language proficiency also have an effect. However, care must be taken in interpreting this finding, as it could also signify that because of their progressed adaption, the number of years of their stay has become longer and their Japanese language proficiency has improved.

Table 2 shows the results of a cross-tabulation

between the type of Muslims living in Japan and their scheduled length of stay. In the cells with an adjusted residual of 2 and above, the length of stay for Type I is around two years, and that of Type III is around five years, whereas Type II want to acquire permanent residency. From these results, a Type II person has a high probability of adapting and is strongly oriented toward permanent residence. Type I persons only plan on staying for a short time; after they finish learning skills or studying at a university or graduate school, they are highly oriented toward returning to their home country. Meanwhile, Type III persons seem to aim to stay for around five years in Japan, although they may want to stay for as long as possible; as they are currently unable to find work, their futures remain unclear.

The analysis in this research shows that disparities exist among members of the Muslim ethnic group, and that these disparities affect the members’ adaptability to their local community and the number of years of their stay in Japan. From the results of the data analysis, Muslims living in Japan who are strongly oriented toward running a business and who want to enjoy rich lives have a high probability to adapt to their local communities. One of the appeals of Japan for its foreign residents is its economic strength and culture. Foreign residents who not only emigrate to Japan with the intention of working but who are also highly adaptable may change their life plans in Japan: from intending to emigrate to Japan for work to intending to reside in and settle down permanently in Japan. As such, if Japan relaxes its requirements for foreigners to acquire residency status, including its distribution of working visa, and positively promotes an immigration policy, the number of foreign residents in Japan may have a remarkable increase.

After peaking in 2006, the total population of Japan began to decline for the first time in history. Doubts are being expressed about the sustainability of Japan’s social security due to the acceleration in the twin trends of a declining birthrate and an aging population. Further, concerns that Japan’s national power will weaken are shared by more people. A possible remedy to the problems of a declining

Figure 7 Results of a cross-tabulation of types of Muslims living in Japan and their scheduled length of stay

	Around 1 year	Around 2 years	Around 3 years	Around 5 years	Around 10 years	More than 10 years	As long as possible	I want permanent residency	Total
Type I	21.9	19.2	16.4	13.7	4.1	1.4	13.7	9.6	100
Adjusted residual	0.5	2.4	1.4	-0.5	-1.0	-0.2	-1.3	-1.5	
Type II	19.4	5.6	11.1	8.3	5.6	2.8	19.4	27.8	100
Adjusted residual	-0.2	-1.5	-0.4	-1.3	-0.1	0.7	0.4	2.9	
Type III	17.4	4.3	4.3	30.4	13.0	0.0	26.1	4.3	100
Adjusted residual	-0.4	-1.3	-1.3	2.2	1.5	-0.7	1.2	-1.4	
All types	20.5	12.9	12.9	15.2	6.1	1.5	17.4	13.6	100

birthrate and aging population is for Japan to accept emigrants and foreign workers.

For example, in its report entitled “The form an economic society should take and measures and policies for a new economic life” (1999), the Economic Deliberation Council advocated that, to “form a society with a diversity of wisdom,” Japan should “secure its diversity and vitality by accepting foreign workers.” Further, “within the advance of globalization and as an age of diverse wisdom approaches, for Japan to maintain its richness, it must expand its economic activity based on the positive utilization of various different talents and creative ideas. From this viewpoint, a desirable approach is to create a situation in which people and companies within Japan coming from different overseas cultural contexts cooperate with Japanese people and companies, or are active while competing with them.” In other words, the Council advocated pursuing a policy of actively accepting foreign workers in specialist and technical fields.

Since 1990, there has been a strong perception in Japan that overseas workers are to be accepted only as a supplementary force. However, as current administrations have shown no clear vision of the future in terms of measures or policies to deal with the problems of a declining birthrate and aging population, a change of perception is required; specifically, that overseas workers should be perceived as a valuable resource that will advance Japan’s industries and economy. An increasing number of citizens agree that this perception be disseminated widely such that it permeates all of Japanese society.

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