

Transnational Families in a Global Circulation Context : The Case of Cross-border Marriages between Japanese Women and Pakistani Migrants

著者(英)	Masako Kudo
journal or publication title	Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology
volume	40
number	1
page range	71-84
year	2015-06-12
URL	http://doi.org/10.15021/00003795

Transnational Families in a Global Circulation Context: The Case of Cross-border Marriages between Japanese Women and Pakistani Migrants

Masako Kudo*

グローバルな循環という文脈における超国境的な家族：
日本人女性とパキスタン人移住者との越境結婚の事例から

工藤正子

An increase in the number of cross-border marriages since the 1980s has added a new element to the growing cultural diversity in Japanese society. This paper focuses on the case of cross-border marriages between Japanese women and Pakistani migrants. Following the rapid rise in the number of Pakistani migrants during the late 1980s, the number of marriages between the migrants and local women increased. What are the challenges and dilemmas these mixed couples face during the process of raising the next generation and how do they try to overcome the difficulties in their given contexts? Of particular importance is the emergence of the transnational family in which the Japanese wives and their children move to Pakistan or a third country while their Pakistani husbands remain in Japan to continue their businesses. This phenomenon exemplifies a form of transnational practice that emerged in the global circulation context that characterizes the contemporary world. The paper sheds light on the processes in which families are formed transnationally with attention to the cultural resources utilized in such processes. The following discussion will first outline some of the basic socio-economic features observed among the Pakistani community in Japan after the late 1980s and then explore the differences in the meaning of Islam for the Pakistani husbands and their Japanese wives. This paper will then go on to examine an emerging pattern of transnational family and explore how

*Kyoto Women's University

Key Words : cross-border marriages, Japan, Pakistan, Islam, transnational family, cultural resources

キーワード : 越境結婚, 日本, パキスタン, イスラーム, 超国境的な家族, 文化資源

the cultural resources utilized to enable such a form of transnationalism are intertwined with the on-going processes of their identity building.

1980年代以降、越境結婚の増加は、日本社会の多文化化における重要な一要素となってきた。本稿は、日本人女性とパキスタン人男性移住者の越境結婚に焦点を当て、これらの夫婦が次世代を養育していくうえで、どのような課題を抱え、それらにいかに対応してきたのかを明らかにする。とりわけ、子の養育の過程で、日本人女性配偶者と子どもたちがパキスタンや第三国に移住し、パキスタン人男性が日本にとどまりビジネスをつづけるという超国境的な家族の出現に着目する。こうした現象は、現代世界を特徴づけるグローバルな循環という文脈で立ち現われてきたトランスナショナルな生活実践の一例を示すものである。本論文は、そうした家族形成のプロセスで動員される文化資源に着目しつつ、国境を越えて家族が形成されるプロセスを明らかにする。まず、1980年代後期以降に形成されてきた在日パキスタン人コミュニティやこれら夫婦の社会経済的な特徴を明らかにしたあとで、夫婦のあいだのイスラームへの意味づけの差異について議論する。そのうえで、超国境的な家族形成のプロセスを提示し、その過程で動員される文化資源がアイデンティティ形成といかに絡み合っているのかについて考察する。

1 Introduction: Transnational Families in Global Circulation	5 Crafting Religious Selves: The Discourse of “True Islam” among Japanese Wives
2 A Pakistani Community in Japan	6 The Process of Family-making across National Boundaries
3 The 1990s’ Transformation: From Migrant Worker to Transnational Entrepreneur	7 A Case Study: Mr. Naeem and His Family
4 Forming a Network as “Pakistanis”: Intersection of Religion, Nationality and Economic Activities	8 Discussion
	9 Concluding Remarks

1 Introduction: Transnational Families in Global Circulation¹⁾

Following the rapid rise in number of Pakistani migrants in Japan during the late 1980s, the number of marriages between the migrant men and local women increased. This paper explores the challenges and dilemmas that these mixed couples face, especially in raising the next generation, and how they try to overcome these difficulties in their given contexts through the mobilization of different cultural resources. Of particular importance is the emergence of the transnational family in which the Japanese wives and their children move to Pakistan or a third country, while their Pakistani husbands remain in Japan to continue their businesses.

The family practices of these mixed families exemplify a form of transnationalism which “does not fit into the expected research categories of “immigrants” and those “remaining behind” (Basch, Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994: 5). The women of the host society who married “Pakistani migrants” now cross national boundaries while their migrant husbands send remittances to their Japanese wives and children who become “immigrants” themselves. Thus the line between the “immigrant” and the “native” is blurred as the family becomes intertwined in an increasingly complex web of relationships across national boundaries. These mixed couples build transnational social fields (Basch, Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994: 5–7) that cross geographic, cultural and political borders while developing and maintaining multiple relationships that span national boundaries.

Circulation is an important notion to consider here²). As the mixed couples studied in the present paper disperse across national borders, they frequently move across national borders and/or interact with those who do so. As Guarné and Yamashita state in the introduction to this volume, at the core of the notion of circulation lies a paradoxical interaction that brings together dimensions of continuity and dislocation in relation to the issues of “culture” and “identity.” This paper intends to capture this complex and paradoxical dynamic by following the trajectories of family-making across national boundaries.

In describing the lives of the mixed couples, the paper pays attention to the cultural resources that they activate in pursuing their goals and dreams. Tessa Morris-Suzuki’s discussion on cultural resources is particularly useful when considering the politics of culture, identity and difference observed among transnational migrants. She argues that “Human beings do not belong to a single set of identity such as ‘Muslim,’ ‘Chinese’ or ‘middle class,’ but take positions to adapt to (or escape from) shifting socio-historical contexts in which they find themselves.” She claims that this kind of “position taking”—a concept borrowed from Bourdieu—is both enabled and constrained by the set of cultural resources available (Morris-Suzuki 2002: 246–248). Her discussion allows us to understand not only the practical aspect of cultural resources, but also the ways in which they are utilized to forge one’s identity in multicultural environments where various sets of differences intersect in complex manners.

How do Japanese-Pakistani couples mobilize their religio-cultural resources to take positions in their transnational social fields and in what way are their identities reshaped by such processes? Also, what possibilities and challenges do they face in trying to mobilize their resources? In attempting to answer these questions, I will first outline some of the basic socio-economic features observed among the Pakistani community in Japan from the late 1980s onwards, and then discuss the differences in the meaning of Islam for the Pakistani husbands and their Japanese wives. Finally, I will examine an emerging pattern of transnational family and the different resources used in the new phase of the lives of the family members. In

the Discussion section, I will try to draw on some of the implications the case of Japanese-Pakistani mixed marriage and their transnational practices may have for the notion of “cultural resources” in a context of global circulation.

The following discussion is based on data from interviews with the Japanese wives which I have collected since the late 1990s, both in Japan and other countries to which these women migrated with their children. The data obtained through participatory observation in the religious meetings at mosques were mainly collected between 1998 and 2001.

2 A Pakistani Community in Japan

According to Sakurai (2003), there were approximately 70,000 Muslims in Japan in 2000. She further estimates that 80 to 90 percent of them were foreign born³⁾. Of those born abroad, about 70 percent were from Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran (Sakurai 2008). Apart from the Indonesians, many of whom stayed in Japan as “Trainees and Technical Interns,” the rest were mostly “foreign workers” who arrived during the late 1980s and early 1990s and who worked in small to medium-sized factories and construction sites. The status of these migrants within Japan was marginal as they mostly worked illegally and overstayed their visas, particularly after the visa exemption agreements were rescinded by the Japanese government in 1989 for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and in 1992 for Iranians.

Although Japan’s economic decline during the 1990s led to a wave of return migration, a considerable number remained and legalized their status by marrying Japanese nationals. The number of marriages between Pakistani men and Japanese women increased steadily during the 1990s⁴⁾, which resulted in a division among the Pakistanis in Japan between those who remained illegal and those who secured themselves a spousal visa. During the 1990s many spousal visas held by those who married local women were converted to the permanent resident visa, as indicated by an increase in the number of those holding permanent visas and a decrease in the number of those holding spousal visas. In 2012, those with either of these two categories of visas accounted for 42 percent of the total 10,597 Pakistanis registered in Japan (JIA 2013). In addition, extrapolating from the fact that many of the husbands of my interviewees acquired Japanese citizenship, the number of Pakistani migrants who did so appear to have increased after 2000.

3 The 1990s’ Transformation: From Migrant Worker to Transnational Entrepreneur

How did the lives of Pakistani migrants become transformed after they married Japanese women? At least two socio-economic changes bear mention.

First, there was a strong tendency for those married to Japanese women to start

their own businesses. Becoming self-employed was a way for the men to overcome their marginal position in Japan as “foreign worker.” The prolonged economic recession had caused the men to feel they would be the first to be made redundant. Aside from the existing discrimination against foreigners in the job market, their lack of competence in written Japanese also hindered them from being promoted within Japanese companies. Some of the men opened a Pakistani restaurant or a *halal* food shop, but many others became engaged in the business of exporting used cars, an economic niche formed among Pakistanis in Japan.

Securing their legal status in Japan undoubtedly helped their businesses⁵. In addition, they tended to use their socio-cultural resources in three ways. First, while competition among Pakistanis intensified within the same business, there also existed a network of mutual help among compatriots which was activated in order to consolidate the base of their businesses. For example, when someone first sets up his business, he may ask an already established compatriot for advice and practical help.

A second resource comes from the Japanese wives themselves. When a business is in the start-up phase, the Japanese wife often helps take care of official documents written in Japanese. The wife may also ask a relative to become a guarantor so that her Pakistani husband can acquire membership to car auctions, which is crucial for maintaining the business. Additionally, since the majority of the wives quit their jobs upon marriage or when they had children, their help in their husband’s business is crucial for the economic survival of the household⁶.

Third, the Pakistani husbands may utilize their own extended family network for their businesses. Acquiring legal status in Japan meant that the husbands could resume face-to-face relationships with relatives in their home country⁷. They may either bring male kin to Japan to help or send male kin abroad to set up and run an overseas office⁸. Moreover, having a transnational network of Pakistanis overseas may help expand the husband’s business connections beyond national boundaries.

4 Forming a Network as “Pakistanis”: Intersection of Religion, Nationality and Economic Activities

The rise in number of entrepreneurs among Pakistanis is closely linked to another change that took place in Japan, the considerable increase in mosques built there during the 1990s. Foreign Muslims—Pakistanis in particular—took a major role in this grass-root effort to expand Muslim space within the outskirts of Tokyo and beyond. The growth in number of mosques in Japan is interwoven with the increase in number of Pakistani entrepreneurs in at least three ways.

First, Pakistani businessmen became important contributors to fundraising for the construction of a mosque. Second, becoming self-employed meant that the men could organize their daily routine more flexibly in order to attend Friday prayer or

to practice fasting during Ramadan; this made it much easier for them to practice Islam than when they were employed by Japanese companies. Third, local mosques provided a venue for the new entrepreneurs to meet and exchange information about their businesses.

Although the men are from various cultural backgrounds within Pakistan, a country composed of Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu and other groups, they tend to form a common network beyond the ethnic and linguistic divides. This may be attributed to: (1) the fact that many of the Pakistani men married to Japanese women go into the same business, (2) the relatively new history of Pakistani settlement in Japan, and (3) the small number of compatriots in Japan as compared to the large Pakistani communities in other countries such as the UK.

5 Crafting Religious Selves: The Discourse of “True Islam” among Japanese Wives

The majority of the Japanese women married to Pakistanis converted to Islam upon marriage. In order for the Pakistani men to obtain a spousal visa, they had to follow the matrimonial laws of both Japan and Pakistan. This included a religious marriage (□□) (*nikah* □□), required by Pakistan, prior to which the bride must convert to Islam⁹⁾. While most of the wives I interviewed did not think deeply about Islam at the time of conversion, they came to question the meaning of becoming Muslim upon forming an intimate social network with other women “in the same (marital) circumstances.” At women’s gatherings in mosques and elsewhere, the women discussed the issues that emerged after marriage. Importantly, through building relationships with other women, many started to try to discover for themselves what “true Islam” is and to distinguish “Pakistani culture” from the teachings of Islam (Kudo 2007; 2008).

In the process of constructing “true Islam,” the Japanese wives tended to draw upon knowledge introduced by Japanese Muslims who studied outside of Pakistan. Although the female religious study groups I observed consisted mostly of Japanese women married to Pakistani labor migrants, the invited guest speakers were often Japanese who had studied Islam in the Middle East. Some of these speakers had encountered Islam while studying abroad, and maintained contact with religious ideas circulating globally.

My field notes suggest that the Japanese women’s quest for “true Islam” served to reposition them both within the private sphere and also in wider society. The women tended to voice opposition to their husbands or in-laws who expected them to behave as “Muslim women.” For example, one woman raised the question, “My husband tells me to keep my hair long. Is that the teaching of Islam?” Challenging the request of her husband by referring to “true Islam” may be seen as an attempt by the woman to question—whether successfully or not—the asymmetrical gender

relationships between the husband and the wife (Kudo 2007: 19–20). Also, some of the women emphasized that they had become “Muslim,” but not “Pakistani” upon marriage, hence redefining their identity within Japanese society as well.

6 The Process of Family-making across National Boundaries

As the children of the Pakistani-Japanese couples approached school age, there emerged a tendency for the family to disperse across national boundaries. In some cases, the Japanese wives and their children relocated to Pakistan or to a third country, while their Pakistani husbands remained in Japan to continue their businesses. The husbands visit their wives and children on occasions such as family events (weddings, etc) and business trips. The wives and children return to Japan during the summer months if economic and other circumstances allow. As I argued elsewhere, there are various rationale for this type of transnational dispersal of the family (Kudo 2008; 2009; 2012), and I would like to summarize the following two points.

One of the main reasons for family relocation is to educate children—girls in particular—in an Islamic environment. The desire of many husbands to bring up their daughters in Pakistan is linked to the notions of female modesty, widely held in Pakistan, which require women who have reached puberty to cover their bodies and be physically segregated from non-family related males¹⁰.

The Japanese mothers do not necessarily agree with their husbands’ view that Pakistan is the best place to nurture their children’s Muslim identity; some see “Islamic” practices in Pakistan may include a set of local customs that Pakistani Muslims tend to follow without reflecting on what “true Islam” is. However, Japanese wives of Pakistani migrants face various difficulties when they try to shape their children’s Muslim identities in non-Islamic Japan. Although Japanese society is becoming more aware of the emerging diversity within, the children of mixed marriages between foreigners and Japanese nationals are often under pressure to conceal their differences and conform to the discourse of homogeneity still prevailing in society.

Moreover, because the Japanese educational system has not yet taken steps to meet the needs of children with different religious backgrounds (Hattori 2009), the burden of developing a Muslim identity for the children falls mainly on the shoulders of the Japanese mothers. This is a responsibility that many of the women felt strongly about taking on, at least at the early stage of their child-raising; thus, they may agree, albeit sometimes reluctantly, to migrate to Pakistan or other countries despite the many problems they knew they would face there.

Other motivations for relocating abroad include the desire on the part of the Pakistani fathers for their children to acquire the English language. Many of those who move to Pakistan send their children to prestigious schools that offer an English-

mediated learning environment. This strong aspiration for upward mobility on the part of migrants is also discussed by Vuorela (2002: 80) and others. Although international schools exist in Tokyo, sending the children to prestigious schools in Pakistan is a much more affordable option, because the family can make the most of the favorable currency exchange rate between the two countries.

This type of transnational dispersal of families in my study has increased during the 2000s. My longitudinal research results reveal that among the 40 informants whom I initially interviewed, at least 12 have so far experienced living in Pakistan where their children went to local schools while their husbands remained in Japan to operate their businesses, and four have stayed in a third country, such as the UK, New Zealand, Malaysia and the UAE¹¹.

The priorities and circumstances of each individual family may vary and change over time. Moreover, the trajectories and the patterns of family-making across national boundaries are complex and fluid. Some of those who relocated abroad migrated to yet other destinations or moved back to Japan to reunite with their husbands¹². The fluidity of family-making reflects not only the changing socio-economic conditions of the families concerned but also the ongoing processes of negotiation between the family members.

How have these relocations across national boundaries been made possible? The challenges and difficulties the families face and the resources they mobilized in the processes of resettlement may vary greatly depending on the destinations as well as individual family circumstances. While the women who relocated to Pakistan (most of whom lived in the joint families of the husbands) encountered certain problems, as I discussed elsewhere (Kudo 2012), they may face other obstacles when they move to a third country. In order to consider this question, I will now limit my discussion to the cases where the family moves to a third country, and examine the types of religio-cultural resources activated in the process of relocation across national boundaries. To illustrate this process, I draw on a case study of Mr. Naeem and his family.

7 A Case Study: Mr. Naeem and His Family

Mr. Naeem is in his mid-forties and now resides in an English-speaking country, which I call “Country A,” with his Japanese wife and their children¹³. He migrated to Japan in the mid 1980s and got married a few years later.

He and his family moved to Country A in the late 1990s. According to him, the main purpose was to educate his children. Although one can study Islam in Pakistan, Mr. Naeem wanted to give his children good academic qualifications so that they can earn their living without having to work at strenuous menial jobs like he did. He also commented that if they had stayed in Japan his children could only have learnt Japanese which is not so useful outside of Japan.

His wife's version of the reason for their relocation is a little different. In addition to the reasons her husband stated, she emphasized that going to Country A rescued her daughter from the racial and religious discrimination she suffered at a nursery school in Japan.

The family found an opportunity to migrate to Country A when Mr. Naeem joined the missionary activities of Tablighi Jamaat, a non-political and global grassroots movement started in India in 1926. The group mainly engages in missionary activities to support fellow Muslims, especially those who neglect their religious duties or seem on the verge of losing their religious identity (Sakurai 2008: 84). Mr. Naeem became a devout Muslim only after he was strongly influenced by an African Muslim of Pakistani descent brought to Japan by Tablighi Jamaat. Although Mr. Naeem experienced Islam from his parents, it was only after he began to participate in Tablighi Jamaat in Japan that he realized how important Islam was to him.

When Mr. Naeem and his family arrived in Country A, they stayed with a Muslim family in the capital city whom they knew through Tablighi Jamaat. Through the same religious network, they found a suitable Islamic school for their children. The wife told me that women who belonged to Tablighi Jamaat helped her settle down in the new neighborhood. Although the wife did not speak English well, she managed to communicate with the women who helped her. In the town where they live now, Indian Gujarati Muslim women of the same religious group have provided support to her and she now considers these women as part of her family.

The family now receives income from the used-car business that Mr. Naeem started in Japan. He buys used cars in Japan and sells them in Country A while his nephew looks after his business in Japan.

When I first interviewed the Naeem family, they had been in Country A for seven years. By that point, the wife had obtained a guardian visa and their children had been granted student visas. The husband was travelling between Country A and Japan frequently partly because he needed to renew his tourist visa periodically. By the time I interviewed them a second time a few years later, the children and the wife had been granted permanent residence¹⁴). The husband himself had managed to secure a guardian visa.

8 Discussion

Global networks of Muslims, such as Tablighi Jamaat and others, have become important in facilitating the development of Islamic organizations within Japan. This means that practicing Islam in a migratory context did not necessarily involve reproducing Islam exactly as the men experienced it in Pakistan¹⁵). Global Islamic movements influenced people like Mr. Naeem to discover a new religious awareness as a Muslim situated in a migratory context. Further, a global religious network gave Pakistani businessmen the opportunity to expand their lives beyond Japan.

Because Mr. Naeem and his wife did not have a good command of English nor knowledge of the social system in Country A at the time of their first arrival there, without access to a global link of Muslims the couple would not have been able to settle in the country. In this sense, Islam became an indispensable resource for navigating life in Country A.

As seen in Mr. Naeem's case, a migrant's cultural and linguistic resources are used for running a business in both Japan and beyond. Mr. Naeem mainly conducts his business within a Pakistani community in Country A. He can use either his mother tongue, or Urdu, Pakistan's official language.

Further, the Pakistani husband's kinship network is activated to run his business across national boundaries. Pakistanis in Japan have told me that kin are the only ones who can be trusted in business, although reality may prove otherwise.

Mr. Naeem's link to Japan through marriage was essential to his subsequent move to Country A¹⁶). It is unlikely that Mr. Naeem would have been able to move directly from Pakistan to Country A had he not possessed a Japanese permanent resident visa. His trajectory amply demonstrates that migration to Japan served as a stepping stone for migrating to a Western country.

As Mr. Naeem's migratory process demonstrates, the family's religio-cultural resources were activated to realize the dream of achieving upward mobility in the next generation by giving the children the opportunity to develop their competence in English. Importantly, the use of religio-cultural resources not only brought about the practical outcome of enabling the family to migrate to Country A, but it also reshaped their religious identity. For example, by activating ties with a global Muslim network such as Tablighi Jamaat, Mr. Naeem articulated his Muslim-ness and began practicing Islam in a way that is different to how he used to do it in Pakistan. More importantly, the couple's migration enabled them to forge their children's religious identities as they desired. Thus, activating religious resources resulted in symbolic as well as practical outcomes for the couple in their navigation of the transnational social space.

Having described the different resources that the Japanese-Pakistani couples possess and activate and the various outcomes that were brought about, I would like to point out that the resources of the Pakistani husbands and their Japanese wives are not always employed to achieve common aims, but can also be activated to fulfill different and sometimes conflicting interests of the couple. For example, Islamic knowledge circulating globally may be utilized by the wives in order to distinguish their husband's "customs" from the "true" teaching of Islam. The wife, a convert to Islam, is thus able to challenge the husband's version of Islam and negotiate their roles as mothers and wives, as well as their children's education. In such a context, Japanese women define themselves as converts who follow a "true Islam" they consider to be distinct from their husbands' "customs." Islamic knowledge circulating globally is a resource that may enable them to challenge the existing religious

authority determined by asymmetrical gender relationships within private spheres. For some women, therefore, knowledge of Islam which they were able to access through participating in religious gatherings was indispensable for forging their religious identities and taking positions in a given social context. As Morris-Suzuki suggested (2002: 249), identities are negotiated through symbolically controlling available resources to navigate their transnational social fields where gender, religion and other differences play out in a complex manner.

Finally, the seemingly successful story of Mr. Naeem's family in fact points to their vulnerable position in transnational space. The family had to struggle to secure legal status to remain in Country A. The wife once emphasized that she did not wish to return to Japan until their legal status within Country A became more secure because of a "scary" experience with immigration officers the previous time they reentered the country after returning to Japan. Also, the Japanese wives and their children who live in a third country may have issues with health insurance, depending on the systems of welfare provided by the receiving country, as well as the economic state of the family concerned.

Aside from legal issues and civil rights, the transnational families may continue to feel socially excluded after they migrate, although the logics of exclusion may be different in a new context. Some Japanese women who moved to a third country stated that they felt discriminated against as "Asian" and/or "Muslim." Mr. Naeem's 11-year-old daughter also recalled experiencing discrimination when she arrived in Country A although she now feels that she has been accepted by her friends. The isolation that his daughter felt in Country A is shared by Mr. Naeem whose business is mostly confined to the Pakistani community. He does occasionally sell his cars to a "white" person, but says, "If there is no need, people here are not interested in building long-lasting business relationships with me."

Further, the transnationally dispersed families may have economic issues. One Japanese woman who resides in a third country lamented that her husband cannot visit her and her children as often as before because the global economic recession had negatively affected his business.

9 Concluding Remarks

Japanese-Pakistani mixed couples make use of their religio-cultural resources to respond to various evolving needs that arise during their lifecycle. As the husbands shifted from factory workers to entrepreneurs, their economic activities increasingly became embedded in the web of Muslim networks which provide them with a source of mutual assistance. As the case of Mr. Naeem amply illustrates, migrants may make use of their religio-cultural resources in order to migrate yet again in the future.

While these mixed couples may effectively use religio-cultural resources

available to them and forge their identities in response to shifting socio-economic contexts, their struggle to overcome marginality in transnational space continues. Within the realm of possibilities and limitations, Pakistani migrants and their family try their best to respond to changing global and local economies, as well as the tightening of immigration policies in the countries they cross.

At some point the couples start to face new issues such as caring for the aging parents of the Japanese wives (Kudo 2014)¹⁷⁾. Therefore, it remains to be seen how the “family” will evolve across national boundaries in the next stages of their life cycle and what resources and strategies are used to maximize the opportunities of the family members in the shifting contexts.

Notes

- 1) This paper was presented at the 109th American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting held in November 2010 in New Orleans, Louisiana (USA). I wish to thank Professors Blai Guarné and Shinji Yamashita who organized the panel “Politics of Migration in the Age of Global Cultural Circulation: Japan as an Ethnographic Focus” at this conference. Also, I have greatly benefited from the helpful and constructive comments made by the discussant, Professor Glenda S. Roberts and the above-mentioned organizers of the panel, Professors Guarné and Yamashita, as well as the anonymous reviewers, to improve the final version of this paper.
- 2) The notion of “circulation” was the main topic of the 109th Annual Meeting of AAA, where this paper was originally presented to. My conceptual approach to its definition is in accordance with the AAA proposal (Heller 2009), and with its theoretical development proposed by Guarné and Yamashita in the introduction to this volume.
- 3) Kojima’s recent study on the “foreign Muslim” population in Japan indicates that the number of “foreign Muslims” in Japan may have decreased to a certain degree because of the lower number of new entrants from Islamic countries as well as an increase in number of those who returned to their home countries (Kojima 2012: 1).
- 4) The Pakistanis and the Iranians in Japan are particularly noted for their high ratio of cross-border marriages with Japanese (Kojima 2006).
- 5) On the other hand, the base of a business set up by those who overstay their visa can be fragile. A person I knew was deported to Pakistan after he was found overstaying his visa when he got into a minor traffic accident while carrying a vehicle to the nearby port.
- 6) Only seven out of the 40 women stayed in their full-time jobs and the rest became housewives although they helped their husbands’ businesses to varying degrees (Kudo 2012: 153–154).
- 7) They could now return home and their kin could also enter Japan, although these visits could be constrained by economic reasons and the visa application turned down by the authorities.
- 8) The visit by kin has gendered meaning, as male kin may work in Japan to contribute to transmittance to the extended family in Pakistan, while, in some cases, female kin arrive to help with housework when the Japanese wives give birth.
- 9) Male Muslims are permitted by Islam to marry the people of the Book, generally meaning Christians and Jews. My interviewees included two women who were formerly Christians and converted to Islam upon marriage. However, there may be cases in which women who were Christians prior to meeting their prospective husbands did not convert to Islam upon marriage.
- 10) The practices in which this form of female modesty is emphasized are called *parda*. The forms of practices of *parda* within Pakistan are undergoing a dynamic change and vary according to class, region, ethnicity, and other factors.
- 11) For the detailed discussion on the relocation to the UAE, see Takeshita (2008).
- 12) Among the 12 women who had relocated to Pakistan, seven returned to Japan with their children,

- among whom three migrated to a third country and three got divorced. Among the total of four women who relocated to a third country, one has returned to Japan. In addition, there are also five cases in which only the children experienced living with extended families in Pakistan.
- 13) I would like to express my feelings of gratitude to all those who have participated in my study. In this paper, I am particularly grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Naeem (pseudonym) and their children who shared with me their experiences of transnational migrations. In order to protect their anonymity, their personal details are partially altered to the extent to which it will not hinder the understanding of the socio-cultural contexts in which they live. My interviews with them in Country A, undertaken in 2006 and 2008, were made possible by the research grants provided by the Inter-University Research Institute Corporation—The National Institutes for the Humanities (the study group “Migration and the Nation States” led by Professor Shoichiro Takezawa).
 - 14) They managed to go through the procedure by following advice provided by a free legal consultation service at a local community centre.
 - 15) The religious ideas and practices of Pakistani men in Japan are shaped by complex factors including their experiences of being socio-economically marginalized in Japan, their occupational shift to being entrepreneurs and becoming “the husband” and “the father.” Consequently, the process of restoring one’s identity as a Muslim is dynamic and the importance of being Muslim varies greatly among individuals.
 - 16) Importantly, Sakurai (2003: 127) points out in her discussion on the missionary activities of Tablighi Jamaat in Japan that those who travel abroad from Japan to carry out these activities can afford to do so in terms of money and time. They also hold legal visa status and therefore are able to obtain re-entry to Japan.
 - 17) For some Japanese women who relocated abroad, caring for their parents is one of the main reasons for visiting Japan, although the ways in which such transnational forms of care are practiced may depend upon the availability of economic and other resources including kin network across national boundaries.

References

- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc
 1994 Transnational Projects: A New Perspective. In Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc (eds.) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, pp. 1–19. New York; London: Routledge.
- Hattori, Mina (服部美奈)
 2009 「ムスリムを育てる自助教育—名古屋市における児童教育の実践と葛藤」 (Self-Help Education to Raise Muslims: Practices and Conflicts of Children’s Education in Nagoya-City) 奥島美夏編 『日本のインドネシア人社会—国際移動と共生の課題』 (Mika Okushima, ed., *Indonesian Community in Japan*), pp. 215–232. 明石書店 (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten)。
- Heller, Monica
 2009 Call for Papers, 109th Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association: Circulation. *Anthropology News* 50(9), 16–18.
- JIA (Japan Immigration Association) 法務省入国管理局 (入管協会)
 1985～2013 (editions) 『在留外国人統計』 (*Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan*) 入管協会 (Tokyo: Japan Immigration Association)。
- Kojima, Hiroshi
 2006 Variations in Demographic Characteristics of Foreign “Muslim” Population in Japan: A Preliminary Estimation. *The Japanese Journal of Population* 4(1): 115–30.
 2012 Correlates of Cross-Border Marriages among Muslim Migrants in Tokyo Metropolitan Area: A Comparison with Seoul Metropolitan Area. *Waseda Studies in Social Sciences* 13(1): 1–17.
- Kudo, Masako (工藤正子)
 2007 Becoming the Other in One’s Own Homeland: The Processes of Self-construction among Japanese Muslim Women. *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* 8: 1–28.
 2008 『越境の人類学—在日パキスタン人ムスリム移民の妻たち』 (*An Anthropology of Border-*

- Crossing in Japan: Japanese Wives of Pakistani Muslim Migrants* 東京大学出版会 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press)。
- 2009 Pakistani Husbands, Japanese Wives: A New Presence in Tokyo and Beyond. *Asian Anthropology* 8: 109–123.
- 2012 Mothers on the Move: Transnational Child-Rearing by Japanese Women Married to Pakistani Migrants. In David W. Haines, Keiko Yamanaka and Shinji Yamashita (eds.) *Wind Over Water: Migration in an East Asian Context* (Foundations in Asia Pacific Studies 2), pp. 150–160. New York: Berghahn Books.
- 2014 The Trajectories of Family-making through Cross-border Marriages: A Study of Japanese-Pakistani Married Couples. In Yuk Wah Chan, David Haines and Jonathan H.X. Lee (eds.) *The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity and Susceptibility*, Vol.1, pp. 46–59. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa (モーリス・スズキ, テッサ)
- 2002 『批判的想像力のために グローバル化時代の日本』 (*In Search of Critical Imagination: Japan in an Age of Globalization*) 平凡社 (Tokyo: Heibonsha)。
- Sakurai, Keiko (桜井啓子)
- 2003 『日本のムスリム社会』 (*Muslim Community in Japan*) 筑摩書房 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō)。
- 2008 Muslims in Contemporary Japan. *Asia Policy* 5: 69–87.
- Takeshita, Shuko
- 2008 Muslim Families Comprising Pakistani Fathers and Japanese Mothers: Focusing on the Educational Problems of their Children. *Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 6: 202–224.
- Vuorela, Ulla
- 2002 Transnational Families: Imagined and Real Communities. In D. Bryceson and U. Vuorela (eds.) *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, pp. 63–102. Oxford: Berg.