Special Issue: Muslim Philanthropy in Japan.

Introduction to the Special Issue: Muslim Philanthropy in Japan

Samee Siddiqui
Assistant Professor of World History
Department of History, Philosophy and Religion
Drury University

This special issue presents new research on what we broadly describe as "Muslim philanthropy" in Japan: a diverse range of charitable practices undertaken by Muslims in accordance with their understandings of the Islamic tradition. The issue focuses primarily on the period from the end of the Second World War to the present, while also considering institutions and forms of organizing that connect Japan with the Muslim world.

At first glance, this may seem a surprising subject of inquiry, given Japan's relatively small Muslim population. Historically, Japan's interactions with Muslim-majority states have also been more limited than its interactions with China, Korea, Europe, and the United States. However, as this introduction and the issue's opening article illustrate, Japan has a deeper relationship with the Muslim world than is commonly recognized, both within and outside Japan. Moreover, Japan's Muslim population has grown steadily in recent decades through immigration from countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Bangladesh. This growth has been accompanied by the establishment of mosques across the country, making Islam an increasingly visible element of Japan's contemporary architectural and institutional landscape.

How are Muslim residents perceived by the non-Muslim Japanese public? How are Muslims portrayed in Japanese media? How have Muslims built and sustained institutions in Japan? How difficult is it for Muslim immigrants to integrate into Japanese society? How do Muslim communities mobilize charitable resources to support religious life and engage the wider society? These are among the central questions addressed in this special issue.

Although Muslim philanthropy in Japan is admittedly a specialized topic, this introduction provides a brief overview of the history of Muslims in Japan and of relations between Japan and the Muslim world before summarizing several key insights from the contributions to this issue. The breadth of the issue is reflected in the interdisciplinary scholarship discussed here, which draws on qualitative and quantitative methods and includes historical research, ethnography, and demographic analysis. Together, these

perspectives situate Muslim philanthropy within broader processes of migration, institution-building, minority integration, and transnational exchange.

Japan's Relations with the Muslim World (1868–1945)

The history of modern Japan's interactions with Islamicate states can be traced to the state established after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Japan's growing interest in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East formed part of its broader global outreach during the early Meiji period (1868–1890), marking the first phase of Japanese diplomacy with the region. Although scholarship on this period has largely focused on diplomatic missions to Europe and the United States, Selçuk Esenbel and Renée Worringer have examined how Meiji officials established informal and unofficial relations with leaders in Istanbul, Tehran, Cairo, and Baghdad. One of the earliest such exchanges involved two members of the Iwakura Mission, Fukuchi Gen'ichirō and Shimaji Mokurai, whom Iwakura Tomomi sent to the region in 1873 (Worringer, 2014, p. 4). Fukuchi was tasked with determining what Japan could learn from Ottoman and Egyptian experiences with "unequal treaties" and the extraterritorial jurisdiction granted to Europeans, whereas Shimaji was asked to examine religious culture and institutionalization.

The first major mission to the region—the Yoshida Mission of 1880, led by Ministry of Foreign Affairs official Yoshida Masaharu—followed shortly thereafter (Esenbel, 2011, p. 11). The mission was intended not only to gather information but also to initiate informal trade relations, and it included several Japanese merchants. It began in the Iranian port city of Bushehr and traveled to Istanbul through the Caucasus before ultimately reaching Europe. Worringer notes that Japanese authorities were already wary of the Russian military threat, and members of the mission spent time "inspecting the Persian and Ottoman border areas with Russia" (Worringer, 2014, p. 84). Esenbel similarly argues that a primary motivation for these interactions was Japan's effort to position itself within a global political order dominated by Euro-American imperial powers. The Ottoman Empire and other Middle Eastern states were important non-Western interlocutors whose experiences could inform Japan's efforts to renegotiate the so-called unequal treaties that it had also been compelled to sign with the United States and European powers (Esenbel, 2011, p. 108).

During this period of early engagement, two parallel transnational movements emerged in Japan and the Muslim world: Pan-Asianism and Pan-Islamism, respectively. Aydın (2007) examines these intertwined movements comparatively in Japan and the Ottoman Empire. Their initial phase occurred between 1840 and 1882, when Japanese and Ottoman intellectuals recognized the industrial and military power of Europe and the United States. Aydın describes how both Ottoman and Japanese thinkers constructed an abstract conception of a universal "West" associated with liberal principles of modernity and progress rather than with race, religion, or ethnicity. During this period, both the Ottoman Empire and Meiji Japan introduced ambitious social reforms

in an effort to be recognized as equally "civilized" within the international political order.

The subsequent development of these transnational intellectual and political movements was shaped by the European scramble for Africa in the 1880s, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, and the growing disillusionment of reformers in Tokyo and Istanbul with their exclusion from the "liberal promises of the Enlightenment" (Aydin, 2007, p. 8) through ideologies asserting "the permanent racial and civilizational superiority of the West" (Aydın, 2007, p. 39).

Both movements sought alternatives to Western models of modernity, and this intellectual environment fostered dialogue between Pan-Asianists and Pan-Islamists. Pan-Islamists looked toward Japan, while Japanese Pan-Asianists looked toward the Muslim world. Pan-Asianists in Meiji Japan viewed the Muslim world through both the lens of "anti-Western" solidarity and their own expansionist imperial ambitions. Pan-Islamists regarded Japan as an "Eastern" model of modernity, and some even viewed it as a possible savior, particularly after Japan's naval victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 (Green, 2013; Laffan, 1996, 2001; Worringer, 2004).

After the October Revolution of 1917, Japanese government officials and elements of the military began to view Muslim subjects of the former Russian Empire, and later the Soviet Union, as a potential instrument in Japan's rivalry with the Soviets. During this phase, Japanese authorities increasingly drew on contacts between "Pan-Asianist figures and Muslims . . . to practice its Islam Policy politically and militarily in a more systematic way" (Esenbel, 2004, p. 1154).

The "Islam Policy"—or Isuramu Seisaku (イスラム政策) in Japanese—was also important to securing the "sympathies of important Muslim populations" in regions where Japan had expansionist ambitions, including China, Indonesia, British Malaya, and India (Kramer, 1986, p. 155). Kramer describes the Greater Japan Muslim League (GJML), established in Tokyo in 1938, as a creation of the Japanese government, with most of its first-year funding provided by the Foreign Ministry and the Navy. According to Kramer, the organization sought to coordinate with other Muslim institutions and to "inform the wider Muslim World of Japan's determination to defend Muslim interests." This objective was especially relevant to the Japanese Empire's engagement with Indonesian Muslims. Nevertheless, Kramer concludes that, apart from Japan's relative success among Indonesian Muslims, its policy of cultivating ties with Muslims in the region "yield[ed] few other appreciable results" (Kramer, 1986, p. 157).

As this brief overview illustrates, scholarship on Japan's relations with the world of Islam from the 1870s to 1945 traces a shift from dialogue and shared experience—particularly between the 1870s and 1890s—to the instrumental use of Islam in support of Japanese expansionism between 1917 and 1945. This shift became especially pronounced in the 1930s, when Japanese authorities began implementing the "Islam Policy" systematically. The Second

World War ended in the defeat and unconditional surrender of the Japanese Empire. Japan was subsequently governed under the U.S.-led Allied occupation from 1945 to 1952.

Muslims in Japan (1945–Present)

The existing scholarship does not establish with certainty when the first Muslim visited Japan. According to a letter written in 1555 by Luís Fróis, a Portuguese Jesuit missionary then in Japan, he encountered an Arab Muslim sailor preaching Islam (Lach, 1965, pp. 517–518). The accuracy of Fróis's account is difficult to establish, as are reports of a Muslim named "Abdel Kader" residing in Japan during the late Tokugawa period (Penn, 2008a, p. 10). Beyond these Tokugawa-era accounts, the most verifiable research on the earliest Muslim presence in Japan—by Claude Markovits, Takashi Oishi, and Michael Penn—points to the early Meiji period (1870–1890).

Research by Markovits (1999, 2000) and Oishi (2004) on the movement of Indian merchants in the nineteenth century shows that many firms had reached the Japanese ports of Yokohama and Kobe by the late 1870s and early 1880s. Some of these merchants were Muslim. During this "experimental" period, Indian merchant migration accelerated not only in pace and volume but also in geographic reach (Oishi, 2004, p. 58). Whereas Markovits examines Indian merchant migration broadly through newspapers, government censuses, shipping lists, and merchant accounts, Oishi focuses specifically on Indian Muslim trade with Japan using trade directories, government records, and interviews.

Penn's research indicates that Muslims of Indian and Malay backgrounds were present in Japan in the 1870s and 1880s, working as "humble sailors, drifters, or petty merchants" aboard British and Dutch merchant ships in the treaty port of Yokohama (Penn, 2008a, p. 10). This research draws on newspaper reports of trials involving Malay sailors in British and Dutch consular courts while the sailors were stationed in Yokohama. Because only those involved in court cases were documented, it is difficult to estimate the total number of Malay sailors in the city during this period. Despite increased merchant migration and stronger trade networks between Indian Muslims and Japan from the 1890s through the 1920s, Tatar Muslims fleeing the Russian Revolution likely constituted Japan's largest Muslim ethnic group by the 1930s.

Most Muslims living in contemporary Japan are immigrants, and much of the research on Muslims in postwar Japan has therefore examined Muslim migration since the 1980s. Sugimoto (2021) explains that the population of foreign workers increased during the late 1980s and early 1990s as visa-waiver programs were introduced amid an aging Japanese workforce and labor shortages in unskilled, manual, and physically demanding sectors (p. 216). These arrangements allowed Iranians and Pakistanis, for example, to enter Japan for stays of up to three months without obtaining visas in advance. The Bangladeshi population also increased. Many Bangladeshi migrants came from upper-middle-class families and entered on precollege student visas, but the costs of living and education led some to remain and work beyond their

authorized periods of stay (Sakurai, 2008, p. 74). Sugimoto notes that many visa overstayers and undocumented migrants found construction and factory jobs described through the "three undesirable K's (or D's in English)": kitanai (dirty), kitsui (difficult), and kiken (dangerous) (2021, p. 216). The prospect of earning comparatively high wages and sending substantial remittances home led many migrants to overstay their visas and work without authorization.

Determining the number of Muslims in Japan—including both Japanese citizens and non-Japanese residents—is difficult because the national census does not ask about religious identity. Demographers have therefore developed indirect methods for producing plausible estimates. A study by Hiroshi Kojima, published in 2006, estimated that approximately 60,000 Muslims lived in Japan in 2004, based largely on the number of legal migrants from Muslim-majority countries. Kojima identified the largest foreign Muslim populations by nationality as Indonesian (20,832), Bangladeshi (9,469), and Pakistani (8,180) (Kojima, 2006, p. 118). Other scholars, including Michael Penn, Hidenori Komai, and Keiko Sakurai, estimated the Muslim population at between 70,000 and 100,000, approximately 10% of whom were Japanese Muslims (Komai, 2011; Penn, 2008b; Sakurai, 2008). A more recent estimate places Japan's Muslim population at approximately 350,000 as of early 2024 (Tanada, 2024). It is important to note that this significantly increased population estimate is likely a result of not only an increase in Muslim immigration to Japan, but also a different model for estimating populations.

Important sociological studies have also examined the national and gendered experiences of Muslims in Japan. For example, Naoto Higuchi's transnational study analyzes the effects of undocumented migration on "social mobility after repatriation," drawing on fieldwork in Bangladesh and Iran and identifying distinctive features of migration to Japan (Higuchi, 2007, p. 145). Immigration restrictions imposed in 1992 made circular migration—the repeated movement of migrant workers between home and host countries—virtually impossible for many migrants. Although many Iranians working in Japan experienced discrimination in society and the workplace, interviews with returnees indicated that their experiences were generally positive and that they would have been willing to return had the opportunity arisen. One explanation is that, despite their undocumented status, both Bangladeshi and Iranian migrants "earned relatively good salaries," often above the minimum wage (Higuchi, 2007, p. 147). Higuchi also notes that, although limited Japanese-language proficiency initially constrained Iranian migrants, many improved their circumstances by learning Japanese and developing social networks.

Toyoko Morita, meanwhile, examines Iranian migration to Japan. This migration is notable because Iran, unlike Pakistan and Bangladesh, has not generally been regarded as a labor-exporting country whose government actively encourages citizens to seek employment abroad and send remittances home. Iranian migration to Japan increased sharply in the late 1980s and early 1990s after the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). Most arrived as economic migrants and later became visa overstayers. Following the deterioration of Iran's economy, many Iranians sought employment abroad, particularly in Europe

and the United States. The broader Iranian diaspora was not limited to lower-middle-class workers; it also included "musicians, filmmakers, and artists who were condemned as 'anti-Islamic'" (Morita, 2003, p. 159). Thousands of Iranians, mostly young men, traveled to Japan in search of employment. Although precise figures are unavailable, Japan's Immigration Bureau reported approximately 38,000 Iranian residents by the end of 1992.

Most Iranian migrants were men, in part because Iranian women faced legal and familial restrictions on traveling abroad without the consent of a husband or father. Few of the men were married or had children. Unlike Iranian migrants to Europe and the United States, more than half of those who migrated to Japan ultimately returned to Iran because of deportations and measures adopted by the Japanese government in response to the so-called foreign-worker problem. Although Iranian migration continued during the early years of Japan's economic recession, the prolonged downturn later in the decade affected migrant employment and encouraged return migration. As with other foreign workers, marriage to a Japanese citizen was one of the few pathways through which Iranians could regularize their residence. By 1998, approximately 8% of Iranian migrants had obtained residency through marriage.

Hiroki Fukamachi (1990) examined the motivations of Pakistani men who migrated to Japan. During Japan's economic bubble in the 1980s—with its high wages and favorable exchange rate for remittances—thousands of Pakistanis migrated to the country, particularly as unemployment rose in Pakistan during the latter part of the decade. Most were single men in their thirties. Under the immigration regime introduced in the early 1990s, marriage to Japanese women became one route through which some could remain in Japan legally (Takeshita, 2008).

Although conversion to Islam in Japan dates to at least the late Meiji era, a substantial population of Japanese Muslims emerged only relatively recently (Brandenburg, 2020; Koyagi, 2013; Misawa & Akçadağ, 2007). As marriages between Japanese women and Pakistani men increased, Masako Kudo examined the experiences of Japanese women who converted to Islam in connection with marriage. Kudo describes how many developed an identity as "converted Muslims," distinguishing themselves from "born Muslims," whom they sometimes viewed as following cultural practices rather than "real Islam." For women who developed a stronger sense of Muslim identity, conversion could involve "a departure from their former lives when they were Muslims 'in name only'" (Kudo, 2008, p. 116). Questions of identity are central to these accounts. Some Japanese Muslim converts reported rejection or suspicion in mainstream society, particularly when wearing the hijab, a visible marker of religious identity.

In a recent study, Elif Büşra Kocalan (2025) examines Japanese Muslims' experiences of being both Muslim and Japanese. Drawing on interviews with 62 Japanese Muslim men and women between the ages of 19 and 81, Kocalan identifies a range of subtle challenges, from being misrecognized as foreign to navigating Japan's workplace drinking culture.

Consistent with other scholarship, Kocalan finds that Japanese Muslims encounter relatively little overt racism but often experience "a kind of benign neglect or a lack of recognition that can be just as trying in its own way. The expectation of being normal or like everyone else can pressure them into invisibility" (p. 68).

The Institutionalization of Islam in Japan

Although both the Kobe Mosque and the Tokyo Mosque survived Allied bombing during the Second World War, most mosques in contemporary Japan were established during the past several decades. As Muslim migration increased from the 1970s onward, religious organizations emerged to serve the needs of growing communities. Tanada (2024) estimates that approximately 150 mosques were operating in Japan as of 2024.

Because immigrants constitute the majority of Japan's Muslim population, mosques and Islamic centers function as both religious institutions and ethnocultural spaces. Unlike Japan's earliest mosques, many contemporary mosques occupy buildings that were renovated rather than purpose-built, often with donations from local Muslims. Komai describes the decentralized development of Muslim institutions, which emerged "spontaneously in former pachinko parlors or as prefab buildings in parking lots, using donations" (2011, p. 81). Kawakami (2007) and Sakurai (2008) explain that these institutions serve not only as places of congregational worship but also as venues for social gatherings, weddings, funerals, religious education, and business meetings. Research by Hitomu Kotani and colleagues further demonstrates the important roles that mosques and Muslim organizations have played during national emergencies, including infection prevention and community support during the COVID-19 pandemic and disaster relief following earthquakes (Kotani et al., 2022, 2024).

Research by Penn, Toru Miura, and Hideki Maruyama highlights the need for Muslim institutions to address the negative stereotypes of Islam encountered by Muslims in Japan (Maruyama, 2007; Miura, 2006; Penn, 2008b). The September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States further intensified negative perceptions of Muslims in Japan. Penn argues that terrorism came to dominate Japanese public understandings of Islam. In addition to receiving negative media attention—including unsubstantiated reports about terrorist cells in Japan—the Muslim community faced increased government scrutiny by the National Police Agency and other authorities. The Japanese Diet passed the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law on October 29, 2001, as part of a broader international wave of counterterrorism legislation. In October 2010, leaked documents revealed extensive surveillance of Muslims by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department (McNeill, 2010). Authorities defended this profiling and blanket surveillance as a "necessary measure," a rationale echoed in portions of the Japanese press. As Saul J. Takahashi observes, this "dominant narrative was eventually ratified by the Japanese judiciary, which accepted the surveillance as 'necessary measure' to prevent terrorism, and belittled its negative impact on human rights. This final judgment sets a worrying precedent

for human rights protection in Japan" (2018, p. 196). As some of the contributions to this issue demonstrate, Islam being associated with terrorism in Japanese society is something that continues to haunt Muslims living in Japan today.

Conclusion

This special issue presents four original scholarly contributions by academics based in Japan, Turkey, and the United States. Although the issue focuses primarily on contemporary Muslim philanthropy in Japan, it opens with Sinan Levent's article on the postwar career of the conservative Japanese politician Nakatani Takeyo (1898–1990). Levent provides an important bridge between prewar Japanese-Islamic history and postwar Japan. By examining Nakatani's career as a diplomat to the Middle East and the Muslim world and as a leader of the Japan-Arab Association, Levent persuasively demonstrates the continuing relevance of Pan-Asianism to Japan's postwar foreign policy. Although Nakatani was not especially interested in Islam as a religion, his Pan-Asianism made him sympathetic to causes prominent in the Arab and Muslim worlds, including Palestinian liberation. Pro-Palestinian politics in Japan during the Cold War has often been understood primarily as a radical-left cause; Levent's analysis demonstrates that solidarity with Palestine also emerged among conservative Pan-Asianists.

The other three contributions address Muslims in contemporary Japan and focus on two broad themes: the motivations underlying charitable action within Muslim communities and the challenges Muslims face as a small and frequently misunderstood minority in Japanese society. In "He Who Gives to the Poor Lends to Allah: Analyzing Individual Motives for Muslim Philanthropy in Japan," Mao Takahashi and Naoto Higuchi examine charitable practices among members of the Otsuka Mosque community in Tokyo. Situated at the intersection of philanthropic studies, migration studies, and Islamic studies, their article challenges the assumption that Muslim volunteer activity is motivated primarily by a desire to counter Islamophobia or establish cordial relations with non-Muslim neighbors. Instead, they demonstrate that community members are motivated principally by a desire to fulfill what they understand to be their religious duties and obligations.

Muslims in Japan live not only in major metropolitan centers such as Tokyo and Osaka. John Ostermiller's article, "Street Fighter Multiculturalism: Legibility and Muslim Experiences in Japan," examines how Muslims in Shizuoka navigate negative representations of Islam. Ostermiller argues that, in seeking to avoid being either ignored or portrayed as violent extremists, the Muslim community in Shizuoka attempts to make itself legible to the wider Japanese public by presenting Islam as "custom"—that is, as a form of culture—within the framework of "multiculturalism." Although this strategy is understandable and not unique to Muslims in Shizuoka, Ostermiller cautions that it may inadvertently reinforce stereotypes by presenting Islam as a monolithic culture. Finally, Anderson Villa's "Commentary on Muslim Communities and Multiculturalism" examines the difficulties that many

Southeast Asian immigrant communities encounter as they integrate into Japanese society. Focusing on the Filipino community in Shizuoka Prefecture, Villa highlights effective collaborations that Muslim and non-Muslim communities have developed with local officials and civil-society organizations. Because immigration will remain important to addressing the demographic consequences of Japan's aging population, Villa argues that the national government must develop a strategic program to foster a more inclusive society.

We hope this special issue provides readers with both an introduction to Islam in Japan and an overview of emerging English-language scholarship on the subject. Collectively, the contributions illustrate the resilience and ingenuity of Muslims in Japan in the face of substantial social challenges. They also demonstrate how charitable practice, institution-building, and public engagement help minority communities sustain religious life while contributing to the wider society.

References

Aydın, C. (2007). *The politics of anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of world order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian thought*. Columbia University Press.

Brandenburg, U. (2020). Imagining an Islamic Japan: Pan-Asianism's encounter with Muslim mission. *Japan Forum, 32*(2), 161–184. https://doi.org/10.1080/09555803.2018.1516689

Esenbel, S. (2004). Japan's global claim to Asia and the world of Islam: Transnational nationalism and world power, 1900–1945. *The American Historical Review, 109*(4), 1140–1170.

Esenbel, S. (2011). *Japan, Turkey and the world of Islam: The writings of Selçuk Esenbel*. Global Oriental.

Fukamachi, H. (1990). The Pakistani labor pool. *Japan Quarterly, 37*(4), 479–483.

Green, N. (2013). Forgotten futures: Indian Muslims in the trans-Islamic turn to Japan. *The Journal of Asian Studies, 72*(3), 611–631.

Higuchi, N. (2007). Remittances, investments and social mobility among Bangladeshi and Iranian returnees from Japan. In *Proceedings of the 8th Asia Pacific Migration Research Network Conference on Migration, Development and Poverty Reduction* (pp. 145–157). Fujian Normal University.

Kawakami, Y. (2007). Local mosques and the lives of Muslims in Japan. *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus, 5*(5). https://apjjf.org/2007/5/kawakami-yasunori/2436/article

Kocalan, E. B. (2025). Negotiating belonging: Japanese Muslim experience. *Eskiyeni, 60*, 49–72. https://doi.org/10.37697/eskiyeni.1790923

Kojima, H. (2006). Variations in demographic characteristics of foreign "Muslim" population in Japan: A preliminary estimation. *The Japanese Journal of Population, 4*(1), 115–130.

Komai, H. (2011). *Foreign migrants in contemporary Japan* (J. Wilkinson, Trans.). Trans Pacific Press. (Original work published 1999)

Kotani, H., Tamura, M., & Nejima, S. (2022). Mosques in Japan responding to the COVID-19 pandemic: Infection prevention and support provision. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 69*, Article 102702. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2021.102702

Kotani, H., Okai, H., Nejima, S., & Tamura, M. (2024). Initial responses of mosques in Ishikawa and Toyama after the 2024 Noto Peninsula earthquake, Japan. *Journal of Disaster Research, 19*(6), 1006–1015. https://doi.org/10.20965/jdr.2024.p1006

Koyagi, M. (2013). The Hajj by Japanese Muslims in the interwar period: Japan's Pan-Asianism and economic interests in the Islamic world. *Journal of World History, 24*(4), 849–876.

Kramer, M. (1986). *Islam assembled: The advent of the Muslim congresses*. Columbia University Press.

Kudo, M. (2008). Negotiation of difference in "multicultural" Japan: Japanese women converted to Islam through international marriage. In S. Yamashita, M. Minami, D. W. Haines, & J. S. Eades (Eds.),

Transnational migration in East Asia: Japan in comparative focus (pp. 113–122). National Museum of Ethnology.

Lach, D. F. (1965). *Asia in the making of Europe: Vol. 1. The century of discovery*. University of Chicago Press.

Laffan, M. F. (1996). Watan and negeri: Mustafa Kamil's "Rising Sun" in the Malay world. *Indonesia Circle, 24*(69), 156–175.

Laffan, M. F. (2001). Making Meiji Muslims: The travelogue of 'Ali Ahmad al-Jarjawi. *East Asian History, 22*, 145–170.

Markovits, C. (1999). Indian merchant networks outside India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: A preliminary survey. *Modern Asian Studies, 33*(4), 883–912.

Markovits, C. (2000). *The global world of Indian merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Cambridge University Press.

Maruyama, H. (2007). Diversity as advantage in a "homogeneous" society: The educational environment for Muslims in Japan. *Shingetsu Electronic Journal of Japanese-Islamic Relations, 1*, 57–78.

McNeill, D. (2010, November 10). Muslims in shock over police "terror" leak. *The Japan Times*. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2010/11/09/issues/muslims-in-shock-over-police-terror-leak/

Misawa, N., & Akçadağ, G. (2007). The first Japanese Muslim: Shotaro Noda (1868–1904). *Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies, 23*(1), 85–109.

Miura, T. (2006). Perceptions of Islam and Muslims in Japanese high schools. *Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies, 21*(2), 173–191.

Morita, T. (2003). Iranian migrant workers in Japan and their networks. In R. Goodman, C. Peach, A. Takenaka, & P. White (Eds.), *Global Japan: The experience of Japan's new immigrant and overseas communities* (pp. 159–164). Routledge.

Oishi, T. (2004). Indo-Japan cooperative ventures in match manufacturing in India: Muslim merchant networks in and beyond the Bengal Bay region, 1900–1930. *International Journal of Asian Studies, 1*(1), 49–85.

Penn, M. (2008a). Malay Muslims in early Meiji Japan. *Shingetsu Electronic Journal of Japanese-Islamic Relations, 4*.

Penn, M. (2008b). Private faces and public faces: Islam in the Japanese context. *Asia Policy, 5*(1), 89–104.

Sakurai, K. (2008). Muslims in contemporary Japan. *Asia Policy, 5*, 69–88.

Sugimoto, Y. (2021). *An introduction to Japanese society*. Cambridge University Press.

Takahashi, S. J. (2018). Muslim surveillance in Japan: A narrative aimed at trivialization. *Islamophobia Studies Journal, 4*(2), 195–209. https://doi.org/10.13169/islastudj.4.2.0195

Takeshita, S. (2008). Muslim families comprising Pakistani fathers and Japanese mothers: Focusing on the educational problems of their children. *HAWWA: Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World, 6*(2), 202–224.

Tanada, H. (2024). *Nihon no Musurimu jinkō 2024-nen [Muslim population in Japan, 2024]* (Research Paper No. 28). Institute for Multiethnic and Multigenerational Societies.

Worringer, R. (2004). "Sick man of Europe" or "Japan of the East"? Constructing Ottoman modernity in the Hamidian and Young Turks eras. *International Journal of Middle East Studies, 36*(2), 207–230.

Worringer, R. (2014). *Ottomans imagining Japan: East, Middle East, and non-Western modernity at the turn of the twentieth century*. Palgrave Macmillan.