

Challenge of Japanese-Peruvian descendent families in the XXI century,
Peruvian *dekasegi* in Japan: Overview of Socio Economic Issues of *Nikkei*

by

LAGONES VALDEZ Pilar Jakeline

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Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Naoko SHINKAI (Chairperson)

Sanae ITO

Hideto NISHIMURA

Tetsuo UMEMURA

Approved by the GSID Committee: March 07, 2016

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Abbreviations

NP	Nikkei Peruvian
NPFG	Nikkei Peruvian First Generation
NPSG	Nikkei Peruvian Second Generation
PNSR1	Peruvian Nikkei Survey for Returnees 1
JNS1	Japan Nikkei Survey 1
JNS2	Japan Nikkei Survey 2
JNS3	Japan Nikkei Survey 3

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

The main focus of the present dissertation lies in first and second generation of Japanese-Peruvian migration in Japan. In the 1980s, the Peruvian economy was unstable, and the situation became worse with the growth of the guerrillas group Shining Path (SL) and Tupac Amaru (MRTA). In the 1990s, added to these problems, the Peruvian economy was affected by the catastrophic repercussions of “El Niño”, followed by the financial crisis in Asia. In this situation, many Peruvians wanted to go abroad, but visa status and the economic situation were the main barriers for most of them. During this time, a man of Japanese descent, Alberto Fujimori, was elected President of Peru. On the other hand, in Japan in the 1990s, the changing of the demographic structure with the declining birthrate and an aging population became the main problem in this country. Therefore, the demand for foreign labor became pronounced in Japan, and part of this demand was covered by Nikkei Peruvians (Peruvians of Japanese descent).

The origin of this dissertation can be traced back to 1989, when the Japanese government revised the Immigration Act to permit Nikkei to obtain long-term resident visas, and one of this group was the Peruvian Nikkei. Therefore, the new policy in Japan and unemployment and poverty in Peru, along with other social and economic factors, led many Nikkei Peruvians decided to travel to Japan using this new status of visa. The main purpose of Nikkei Peruvians who traveled to Japan was working for savings, because they thought that the differences in wages between Peru and Japan would help them to save enough in a short time. Nikkei Peruvians thought that they could return to their country as a successful *dekasegi*¹ migrant

after some years in Japan. Nevertheless, after nearly three decades, they continue living in Japan. They did not return as they had planned.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to research the challenges to Japanese-Peruvian families in the 21st century through an overview of the socioeconomic issues of these Nikkei. Why have most of Nikkei Peruvians stayed in Japan, even after the world economic crisis happened in 2008 (the Lehman Shock). This dissertation argues that age, language, civil status and children are the main reasons for first generation Nikkei Peruvian returnees to continue in Japan. Furthermore, regarding the second generation Nikkei Peruvians, this dissertation argues that there are significant differences between factory and non-factory workers, and the main differences between these two groups have to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare. If we look at the overview of the odyssey between the first migration of Japanese people to Peru in the last century and the dekasegi migration of their descendants to Japan in this century, we see that in the last century, one of the settlement strategies for Japanese people who settled in Peru was to become entrepreneurs. However, in the case of first generation Nikkei Peruvians who stay in Japan in the 21st century, there has been no option than to continue working as unskilled workers at Japanese factories.

First, during the first stage of contact (Japanese in Peru), some of the Japanese people who decided to settle in Peru became successful entrepreneurs and professionals, overcoming the barriers of language and culture. Their strategy of using the *Tanomoshi*² system, and their endurance (*Gaman*) to continue their business by the transfer method (*Tensou*) with their descendants helped a group of them to become successful entrepreneurs and professionals in Peru. In the second stage (Nikkei Peruvians in Japan), poverty, inequality, and unemployment were the main factors to push Nikkei Peruvians to travel to Japan. Then, the revised law in the 1990s that permitted third generation Nikkei Peruvians to enter Japan was the key to their decision to travel to Japan as dekasegi. In the third stage (Nikkei

Peruvians in Japan and returnees to Peru), according to their demographic characteristics, Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan apparently did not have the savings to return to their country. The other group of Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru brought their savings from Japan, but according to some of them, their savings were not enough to open a big business compared to 15 or 20 years ago when they left Peru. Thus, they had to face other problems in Peru. Some difficulties that they found were: their reintegration into Peruvian society, the inadequate health insurance system, finding jobs, and low salaries. In addition, they found that the bureaucracy to open a business was also a limitation for them.

Second, one of the main focuses of this dissertation is to determine how the socioeconomic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian families evolved over time between 2009 and 2014, and which of these most influenced their decision to remain in Japan. During the crisis in 2009, marital status and Japanese language ability were the main variables to remain in Japan for Nikkei Peruvians. In contrast, age and children were the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians after the crisis in 2014. On the other hand, first generation Nikkei Peruvians did not condition their decision on an improving Peruvian economy, as claimed in other studies that migrants return to their country of origin if the economy improves. However, this study shows that economic factors did not condition Nikkei Peruvians to go back to their country of origin. Therefore, it is assumed that a first-generation Nikkei Peruvian family's, social and human capital interactions had important roles in their decision to remain or leave Japan during and after the Lehman Shock Crisis (2009-2014). On the other hand, the economic conditions of the country of origin do not influence the decision of first generation Nikkei Peruvian families to stay in Japan.

Third, the other main goal of this dissertation is to explain the impact of socioeconomic characteristics of second generation Nikkei Peruvians on their decision to remain in Japan and on their employment status. Therefore, this dissertation shows that the main characteristics for second generation Nikkei Peruvians living in Japan were gender, civil status, place of birth,

age group, studies, receipt of social welfare and employment status. There are also significant differences between factory and non-factory workers. In particular, the Chi-square test showed that the main differences between these two groups had to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare.

1.2 Research Objectives

The general objectives of this dissertation are:

Chapter 2

- To describe the odyssey of Japanese and their descendants' migration between Japan and Peru in three stages.
- To describe the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan or returned to Peru after the world crisis of 2008.

Chapter 3

- To determine how the socioeconomic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian families evolved over time between 2009 and 2014, and which of these were the most influential on the decision to remain in Japan.

Chapter 4

- To explain the impact of socioeconomic characteristics of second generation Nikkei Peruvians on their decision to remain in Japan and on their employment status.

Chapter 5

- To describe the lifetime achievement of first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians who stay in Japan.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions for each analytical chapter are as follows:

Chapter 2: Japanese Migration, Challenges and Settlement

- What are the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan during the 2008 world economic crisis?
- What are the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru since the first migration as dekasegi in the 1990s?

Chapter 3: The Main Characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians Who Stayed in Japan During and After the Lehman Shock (2009-2014)

- What are the socioeconomic characteristics and differences of Nikkei Peruvian families in 2009 and 2014 (after Lehman Shock) that make them continue to stay in Japan?

Chapter 4: The Challenges of Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan After the 2008 Crisis: Characteristics of Young Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians and their Differences in Employment Status

- Which are the main variables that influence the differences in employment status in the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvian?

Chapter 5: Lifetime Achievement of First and Second Nikkei Peruvians Who Stay in Japan.

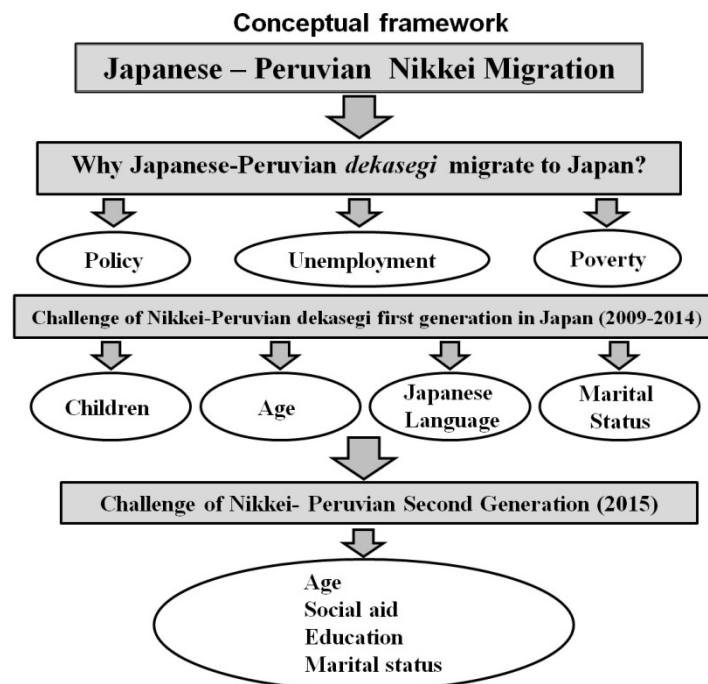
- How has the lifetime achievement of Nikkei families in Japan been?

1.4 Conceptual framework

The figure shows the structure of the dissertation (Figure 1.1) This dissertation presents two main analyses: a comparison of the socioeconomic characteristics and differences of first generation Nikkei Peruvian families in 2009 and 2014, to discover why many stayed after the 2008 world economic crisis; and the main variables that influence employment status in the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians.

The framework shows the results for the first main analysis. The main variables for Nikkei Peruvian families' decision to stay in Japan after the world crisis are children, age, Japanese language ability and marital status. In the second analysis, the framework shows the main variables for second generation Nikkei Peruvians and their differences in employment status, even after the world crisis. The main differences between factory and non-factory workers have to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare.

Figure 1.1 Framework of First and Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians Living in Japan



Source: Author

1.5 Research Methodology

To respond the first and second objectives of the dissertation I used surveys and interviews to first generation Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan or returned to Peru after the world crisis in 2008.

To answer the third main objective of the study the dissertation uses mixed methodology; quantitative research was undertaken in April and August 2009, and March and June 2014, consisting of 100 interviews with Nikkei Peruvian in Japan. Afterwards, I used regression analyze (Probit Model). This study also utilizes qualitative methods; snow balling and case study research with five in-depth interviews with Nikkei families. In 2009, the interviews were conducted between April and August in the target area of Aichi Prefecture and its surroundings. Interviews were carried out in Spanish. In 2014, the interviews were conducted between March and June in Aichi and the Tokyo area. The data collection method was two surveys, Japan Nikkei Survey 1 (JNS1) in 2009 and Japan Nikkei Survey 2 (JNS2) in 2014, created by the researcher. The aim was to understand the reasons Nikkei Peruvian continued living in Japan after the Lehman Shock, and their socioeconomic characteristics in 2009 & 2014, and any possible different characteristics. The exploration of the database was based on various types of analytical approach: descriptive, exploratory and interpretative.

I used the regression analysis (Probit Model). This study utilizes a logistic regression model to estimate the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians in making a decision to stay or not in Japan. That is, in this model, 1= if a Nikkei Peruvian stays in Japan, and 0 = if the reverse. Since the dependent variable is a binary, I have to use a qualitative response regression model, and under this model there are three possible approaches available: the Logistic model, the Probit model, and the Tobit model. However, the Probit Model has been widely used by many scholars for their studies; therefore, my studies also use the Probit Model. The independent variables are age, education, civil status, gender, Japanese language ability, employability, children, and visa type.

To respond to the fourth main objective, I used mixed methodology (qualitative and quantitative). The data collection methods were one interview questionnaire survey (Japan Nikkei Survey 3, JNS3-2015), observations, and in-depth interviews, prepared by the researcher. The objective was to describe the main characteristics of the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians and to find the main variables that influence the differences in employment status of these young people. The analysis of the database was based on various types of approach: descriptive, exploratory and interpretative. I also used the Chi-square test. This study uses two-way tabulation between the dependent variable (employment status) and the independent variable (age, receipt of social welfare, education, marital status, place of birth and gender). A statistical analysis of employment status is performed using six relevant variables from the case study: gender, civil status, place of birth, age group, education status and receipt of social welfare. Finally, to answer the fifth objective of the study, I use a survey, interviews and case studies of first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians.

The methodological approaches for each analytical chapter are listed as follows:

Chapter 2: Japanese Migration, Challenges and Settlement

- Interviews
- Survey
- Fieldwork in Japan and Peru

Chapter 3: The Main Characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians Who Stayed in Japan During and After the Lehman Shock (2009-2014)

- Interviews
- Snow balling
- Survey
- Case studies (five families); econometric analysis (Probit econometric model)
- Snow balling

Chapter 4: The Challenges of Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan After the 2008 Crisis: Characteristics of Young Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians and their Differences in Employment Status

- Interviews
- Snow balling
- Survey
- Case studies
- Chi-square test

Chapter 5: Lifetime Achievement of First and Second Nikkei Peruvians Who Stay in Japan.

- Interviews
- Survey
- Case studies

1.6 Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into six chapters, as follows:

Chapter 2: Studies the odyssey of Japanese-Peruvian migration in three stages, and describes the demographic characteristics of those who stayed in Japan and those who returned to Peru. First it explains how Japanese people in Peru, using the transfer method, the *Tanomoshi* system and their endurance (*Gaman*) became successful entrepreneurs in Peru. Then, using surveys in Japan and Peru, it first shows the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan and the Nikkei Peruvian returnees in Peru. Next, through interviews, it demonstrates that Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru took their savings from Japan, but their savings were not enough to open a big business compared to 15 or 20

years before when they had left Peru. Finally, it argues that Nikkei Peruvians who returned from Japan to Peru could not become successful entrepreneurs because of their low savings. In addition, Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan had different factors that influenced in their decision to remain.

Chapter 3: Reports on the main characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan during and after the Lehman Shock. Using surveys, interviews, case studies, and the econometric analysis (Probit econometric model) this chapter notes that during the crisis in 2009, marital status and Japanese language ability were the main reasons for first generation Nikkei Peruvians to stay in Japan. Second, age and children were the main variables after the crisis in 2014. Finally, it argues that first generation Nikkei Peruvians did not condition their return to Peru on an improving economy in Peru. Others factors described in the chapter influence more in their decision to remain in Japan even after a world economic crisis.

Chapter 4: Studies the challenges of second generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan after the crisis in 2008 and their differences in employment status. Using surveys, interviews, case studies and a Chi-square test, this chapter shows that there are significant differences between factory and non-factory workers. Second, the Chi-square test shows that the main differences between these two groups have to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare. In particular, some percentage of second generation Nikkei Peruvians are doing the same job as the first generation., but unlike the first generation, most of them are not working as a *hakenshain*³, because they studied and grew up in Japan, so they can manage at least two languages (Japanese and Spanish). Most of them do not need an intermediary to find a job, as their first-generation parents did.

Chapter 5: Describes and analyzes the significance of the qualitative findings regarding the lifetime achievement of first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians who stay in Japan.

Using 17 case studies, this chapter describes the achievement of Nikkei Peruvian families which stay in Japan.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The results of this study present the socioeconomic characteristics of first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians who have been living in Japan since 1990, during and after the Lehman Shock. According to first generation Nikkei Peruvians, their future in Japan is uncertain. The study demonstrates, first, that although first generation Nikkei Peruvians think their future is not decided, their age, Japanese language skill, marital status and children are crucial factors for their decision to remain in Japan even when a crisis happens. On the other hand, the economic factor of the country of origin does not influence the decision of Peruvian Nikkei families to stay in Japan.

To solve the problem of the instability of first generation Nikkei Peruvians, local government and the Nikkei community can be sure that most of them will stay in Japan because of their age, Japanese ability, marital status and the connection with their children who are growing in Japan. In addition, their long stay outside their country makes it difficult to return.

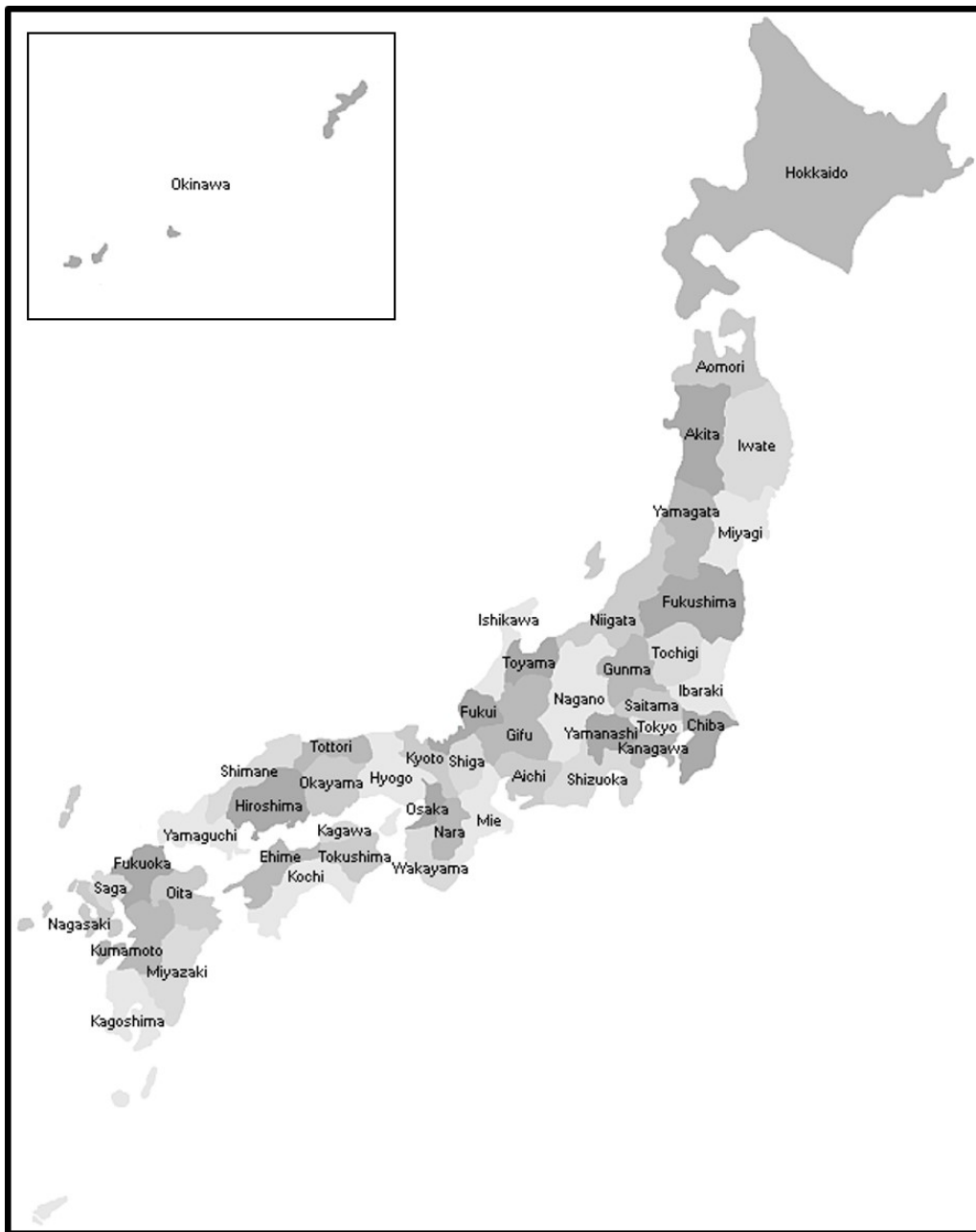
In another way, second generation Nikkei Peruvians and their problem of employment status after 2008 seem to be less severe than the first generation. Unlike the first generation of unskilled workers, second-generation employment status differs case by case due to their Japanese background. Even though some percentage of the second generation continues as unskilled workers in Japanese factories, their social and human capital differs from the first generation of Nikkei Peruvians. The main differences between factory and non-factory workers have to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare. The second generation, with backgrounds of two cultures and two languages, will be

undervalued if they become unskilled workers. Therefore, their social and human capital as a bridge between two cultures would be considered by local government in building programs to help the second generation integrate into the workforce.

1.8 The Research Sites

The field research for the main chapters was conducted in Japan, in Aichi and the Tokyo area (Figure 1.2). Both areas concentrate majority large number of the Nikkei Peruvian families which are living in Japan. "Japan, with a population of 128,056,026 in the 2010 census, was the tenth largest country in the world, but in 2014 its population declined to 127 million people" (World Population Review, 2015). Japan consists of forty-seven prefectures, and Aichi prefecture is located in the Chubu region. It is also known as the Tokai region. The capital of Aichi is Nagoya. Tokyo, Nagoya and Osaka are the three major metropolitan areas, so many foreign residents are living in these places, where there are many manufacturing industries.

Figure 1. 2 Map of Japan



Source: Adapted from Japan-Guide (n/d)

Notes

1. Stanlaw (2004, p. 123) points out that *Dekasegi* means "temporary migrant worker in Japanese, it commonly restricted to foreign nationals of Japanese descent (Nikkei) who return to Japan, in order to work temporarily as the unskilled employment sector to make money before they return home".
2. Dekle and Hamada (1999, p. 3) defined that "Tanomoshi provided financing without collateral and without interest payments. When commercial lenders did not provide sufficient lending to the poor, a group of people gathered, contributed a certain sum of money, and extended loans to the needy. Even during Japan's pre-Modern period, these rotating savings and credit associations were considered to be helpful, even ingenious, schemes of financing".
3. Hakenshain: An increasingly numerous new type of temporary worker are the so-called dispatch workers or temporary staff (*hakenshain*), who are 'brokered' by dispatching companies. They have either fixed term contracts or are employed by the day and are sent to companies needing unskilled labor on a temporary basis (Rebick, 2005, p. 60). In 2008, more than 3.2 million workers were outsourced via one of the more than 70,000 temporary staffing companies. From 2005 to 2006 alone, the number of dispatched workers rose by 26 percent. (Matsumoto 2008).

Chapter 2: Japanese Migration, Challenges and Settlement

2.1 Introduction

Most research on Japanese-Peruvian migration focuses on the first migration of Japanese to Peru due to the large population of their descendants in Peru, known as Nikkei Peruvians. They are a very well-organized community in Peru. Nowadays, research on the Nikkei population also has become transnational due to the increased population of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan, even after 2008. Previous studies have primarily concentrated on the exodus of Japanese to Peru between 1889 and 1999, but there is not a more detailed study of the period from 1999 to the present day. First, this chapter will describe the odyssey of Japanese and their descendants between Japan and Peru in three stages. Next, this chapter focuses on the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian who have stayed in Japan and those who returned to Peru after the 2008 crisis.

The first stage started in 1899, with the first migration by contract from Japan, characterized by their success in small business in Peru. The establishment of the Japanese in Peru has to do with their *tanomoshi* system, the role of Japanese women inside the family and the *gaman* (endurance) of the Japanese character to continue their business by the transfer method (*tensou*). The second stage started during the Fujimori government, when the new law was revised in Japan in 1990, and it permitted people of Japanese descent to enter Japan with the visa status of long-term resident. This visa status was the key to Nikkei Peruvians in their decision to travel to Japan as *dekasegi* workers. Poverty, inequality and unemployment also were factors that pushed Nikkei Peruvians to travel to Japan. The third stage is the Nikkei family situation during the world economic crisis of 2008. This stage is divided into two groups: those who continue in Japan and those who made a return migration to Peru.

On one hand, using surveys and interviews in Japan with Nikkei Peruvians who continue in Japan, this chapter describes the demographic characteristics of the Nikkei Peruvians who remained in Japan during and after 2008. On the other hand, also using surveys and interviews in Peru, this chapter describes the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru from Japan since the first migration as *dekasegi* in the 1990s.

Overall, this chapter argues that Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru did so due to their savings in order to establish businesses. However, opening a business was not as easy as it had been 20 years before when they left Peru. On the other hand, Nikkei Peruvians who remain in Japan are more numerous despite the 2008 economic crisis. This group will be analyzed in the next chapter.

2.2 The Japanese in Peru

Most of the first generation of Japanese who traveled to Peru in the last century decided to settle there. One of the main reasons they traveled to Peru was because of the Agriculture Revolution in Peru. As Takenaka (2004) has described that:

The “Agriculture Revolution” on the Peruvian coast created the need for numerous laborers to cover the demand of exports (sugar and cotton) to the European market. Peruvian landlords who had covered their labor need with Chinese workers turned to Japanese workers after the abolition of the “coolie” trade in 1874 (as cited in Shintani, 2007, p.81).

First, the purpose of Japanese migrants was to finish their contract as a laborers in agriculture companies. However, while they were working in Peru many incidents happened and their determination to return to Japan changed. Some of them got married to Peruvians, others decided to open small businesses in Peru, and only a small group returned to Japan. Most of the Japanese who decided to stay in Peru had to overcome different barriers. Many of

their problems were generated by the economic activity and the language barrier (Gardiner, 1975).

2.2.1 First Stage: The success of Japanese immigrants in Peru in small business

(1899- 1989)

As Gardiner (1975) affirmed, since the first group of Japanese arrived in Peru in 1889, they had to overcome language, culture, education, food, social and political problems to become an acceptable group in the Peruvian community. One of the most important roles to support the Japanese family in Peru was done by women. “In the early years of Nikkei migration to Peru, between 1899 and 1909, women constructed the symbolic world of the Nikkei community. Their perfect dedication helped the Japanese community to become the most numerous and economically successful foreign group in the country” (Moromisato, 2002, p.192).

Another important factor that helped successful Japanese in Peru was the strategy that they brought from Japan called *tanomoshi*. “The monetary basis, small capital for investment, was provided through the *tanomoshi* (small rotating credit unions) within the group because Japanese did not have access to loans from Peruvian banks” (Shintani, 2007, p.82). *Tanomoshi* was introduced to Peru in 1906 by an immigrant from Okinawa (Herrera, 1991, p.27). Therefore, Japanese society became successful in different ways. One of the Japanese stereotypes in Peru is that they are considered serious, smart and very hard working because of their successful history.

As Altamirano (2010) reported, in Lima the Japanese ethnic community increasingly became small-scale entrepreneurs in different areas (Altamirano, 2010). In the 21st century, Japanese in Peru are successful entrepreneurs (Figure 2.1). Some scholars have used the interview method to study successful businesses in Lima founded by first generation Japanese in the last century. They found that most of the large, successful companies use the transfer

method, meaning that Nikkei families continue doing the same business of the first generation, linking it with their professional studies in Peru (Morimoto & Araki, 2004). Table (2.1) shows the owners of Japanese ancestry in the services sector according to the 1989 census.

Table 2.1 Nikkei business in Peru 1989

Owners of Japanese ancestry in the services sector – Census1989				
Category	Lima city	Other provinces	Total	%
Restaurants and similar	1,032	310	1,342	62.94
Tires and automobiles reparation	127	32	159	7.46
Photography studios	93	37	130	6.10
Barbershops and beauty parlors	66	26	92	4.31
Transportation and travel agencies	16	35	51	2.36
Electric appliances repair shops	31	11	42	1.97
Hotels and lodges/pensions	31	10	41	1.92
Laundry shops	26	1	27	1.27
Printing house	21	4	25	1.17
others	99	28	126	10.5

Source: Adapted from Morimoto (1991)

Between 1950 and 1970, new companies emerged in the import, export, and industrial sectors. They were based on trade with Japan, and sometimes in the introduction to new technologies (Morimoto & Araki 2004). Later, replacing the import sector and to supply the domestic market, micro, small and medium industry emerged in different fields. The employers of Japanese origin started businesses and became entrepreneurs. In 1989, there were approximately 4,823 enterprises of Japanese origin (Morimoto 1991). Most of the Japanese were settled in Lima, the capital of Peru (Table 2.1).

Morimoto and Arakaki researched the most successful Nikkei companies in Lima, such as Furukawa Corporation, Miyasato Corporation, Hiraoka Importing, the Matusita Group and

San Fernando. Most of these companies have used the transfer method to become successful entrepreneurs in Lima. These companies were started by Japanese migrants and the second generation in Peru and continue growing year by year as family projects. In the last census in 1989, about 45,644 Nikkei Peruvians were living in Peru (Table 2.1).

Table 2.2 Comparative table of the 1966 and 1989 censuses

Census of Nikkei Population in Peru (1966-1989)				
Province	Year 1966		Year 1989	
	Total	Percentage (%)	Total	Percentage (%)
Ancash	383	1.20	677	1.48
Arequipa	74	0.23	357	0.78
Ayacucho	-	-	36	0.08
Cajamarca	-	-	10	0.02
Cerro de Pasco	51	0.15	2	0.00
Cuzco	90	0.28	117	0.16
Huanuco	276	0.86	109	0.24
Ica	559	1.75	457	1.00
Junin	891	2.78	726	1.59
La Libertad	1,428	4.46	1,633	3.58
Lambayeque	531	1.66	759	1.66
Lima	26,975	84.29	38,492	84.33
Loreto	72	0.22	401	0.88
Madre de Dios	434	1.36	856	1.87
Moquegua	-	-	39	0.08
Piura	187	0.58	293	0.64
Puno	25	0.08	-	-
San Martin	-	-	404	0.88
Tacna	23	0.07	30	0.06
Tumbes	3	0.01	20	0.04
Ucayali	-	-	205	0.45
S/I	-	-	22	0.05
Total	32,002	99.99	45,644	99.97

Source: Adapted from Morimoto, 1991

The life of Japanese descendants in Peru as a successful entrepreneurs or professionals continued for most of them until the 1980s, when social and economic instability in Peru was

aggravated. Brody indicated that “The situation in Peru prompted a ‘return’ migration to Japan during the late 1980s and 1990s, which increased in number after the amendment of the Japanese Immigration Control Act and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990” (as cited in Shintani, 2007, p.87). The number of Peruvians in Japan in 1990 was approximately 10,279, but this number increased surprisingly in 1991 (26,837), and in 1997 there were about 40,394 Peruvians were living in Japan (Aquino, 1999, p.6).

2.2.2 Second Stage: Nikkei Peruvian Migration to Japan (1990s)

On the other hand, second and third generations of Nikkei also became successful professionals in Peru, one of whom was Alberto Fujimori, who became president of Peru in 1990. In 1990, Japanese law changed to permit the spouse of a second-generation Japanese, third generation Japanese and their spouses, and fourth-generation Japanese who were minors, unmarried, and dependent on their parents to enter Japan (Tanno, 2010). Therefore, many Nikkei Peruvians traveled to Japan during the 1990s.

2.2.2.1 Immigrant and visa status for entering Japan

Some migratory policies in countries of origin and destination, such as the right to family reunion and the kinship right, or *jus sanguinis*, have contributed to the increased immigration to Europe from Latin America and to Japan from Peru. The difference for migration by Peruvians to Japan over other countries is Japanese law, while in other countries acquiring legal status or nationality is not difficult compared to Japan.

In 2010, Aeran published a book on immigration and citizenship in Japan, in which she described that the fact that Japan’s citizenship policies are anachronistic and out of step with other advanced industrial democracies. No country in the world has a pure system of *jus soli*, or birthright citizenship (Aeran, 2010). For example, the United States grants U.S. citizenship to all individuals born in U.S. territory regardless of their legal status and to children born

overseas to U.S. citizens. Australia and the United Kingdom's system of limited *jus soli* are examples of cases in which birthright citizenship is contingent upon the certain condition being met by specific populations. Those systems that combine elements of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* make second-generation citizenship attribution contingent on particular requirements but do not require second generation immigrants to undergo the formal process of naturalization. For example, minors born in Sweden can acquire Swedish citizenship through a notification procedure after residing in the country for five years. These systems grant citizenship automatically to third generation immigrants.

In contrast, citizenship policies based on *jus sanguine*, such as those of Japan extend the descent requirement beyond the second generation and require all native-born generations of immigrants to undergo the formal process of naturalization to become full citizens. Applicants for permanent residency in Japan must meet the more stringent requirement of ten-year continuous residence, and Japan has no official integration programs at the national level. This makes Japan is the only advanced industrial democracy to host a foreign community that spans four generations. Japan also became the only former imperial power to unilaterally strip its former colonial subjects of their Japanese nationality after the end of the Second World War.

There are now 27 visa categories that are broadly divided into permanent and nonpermanent residents. Permanent foreign residents are further divided into two subcategories; general permanent foreign residents and special permanent foreign residents. The category of special permanent residents in Japan is on par with those of the other democracies with relatively generous provisions including, but not limited to, access to most state-administered social welfare benefits, residential security, and limited political rights. They can represent their interests through representative assemblies and councils established

specifically for foreign residents as well as through local. However, these rights are generally limited to non-temporary foreign residents.

Therefore, it is not difficult for Nikkei Peruvians to obtain a visa to enter Japan. In 1990, the law for Japanese descendants was revised, and it permitted Nikkei to obtain the visa status of long-term resident. The law and other socioeconomic factors encouraged Nikkei to travel to Japan. The second stage started when the descendants of Japanese could travel to their ancestral land. Altamirano claimed that migrants carry their human, social and cultural capital to the country that receives them in this global context (Altamirano, 2009). Many Nikkei Peruvians came to Japan in the 1990s, but nearly all of them became unskilled workers regardless of their previous background. The majority of Peruvian *dekasegi* who entered Japan on a descendant visa started to work at Japanese factories.

2.2.2.2 Economy in the 1990s in Peru: Unemployment, Poverty, and Inequality

During the 1980s, Peru was going through social, economical, and political difficulties. Right after a harsh military dictatorship, which ended in the last years of the 1970s, terrorism became a daily threat for locals. In addition, unemployment levels were disturbingly high, and wages were far from enough to make a decent living.

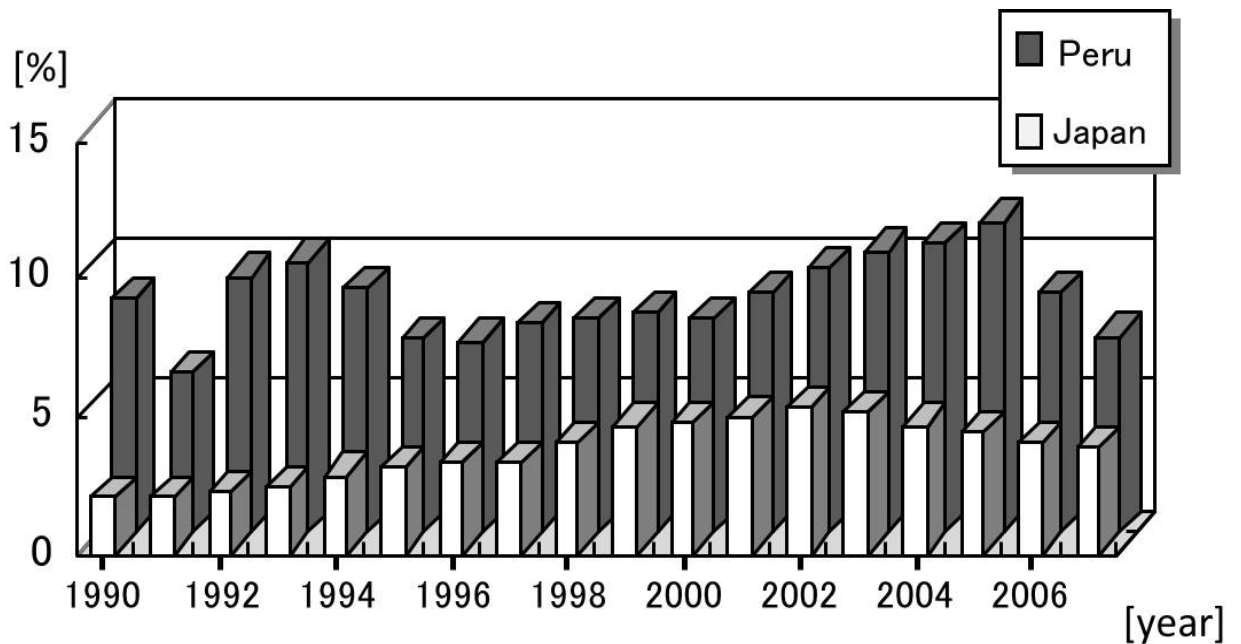
On the other side of the world, Japan seemed like a utopian dream due to its recent economic boom, its working force deficit, and an average monthly income of 250,000 yen for unskilled workers in factories.

For these reasons it did not come as a surprise that after the revision of the immigration laws in 1990, thousands of Nikkei Peruvians decided to venture to Japan in the hopes of escaping unemployment, poverty, and inequality.

2.2.2.3 Unemployment

If we compare the unemployment rate between Japan and Peru from 1990 (Figure 2.1), we can observe that the Peruvian rate unemployment was higher than Japan. This was one of the biggest reasons that Peruvian Nikkei decided to go to Japan as *dekasegi* returnees to their ancestral land.

Figure 2.1 Peru and Japan: Unemployment (% of total labor force)



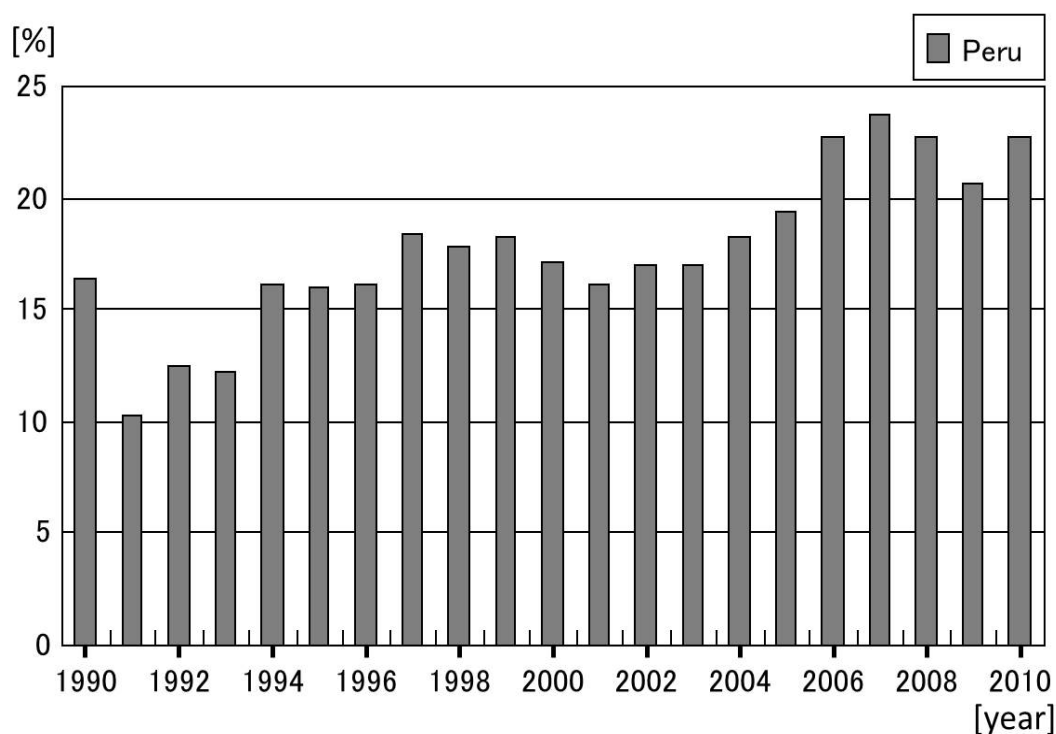
Source: Adapted from World Bank (2012)

In this situation, many Peruvians decided to create their own businesses, the best way to maintain their family even if the earnings were low. The Nikkei Peruvians who were residing in Peru has long experience in creating their own businesses. In Peru, especially in Lima, many Japanese companies are still run by people of Japanese descent.

During the decade of the 1990s, for Nikkei Peruvians in Peru who wanted to build their companies, their first difficulty was the first investment (savings). Therefore, after the new law for people of Japanese descent, many of them traveled to Japan from Peru with the idea of collecting savings to create and improve their companies. As we can see in Figure 2.2,

Peruvian people have a tendency to be self-employed, particularly in the time of economic crisis and the terrorist problem when poverty and inequality were two of the characteristics of Peruvian economy.

Figure 2.2 Peru self-employed, total (% of total employed) MSME (Micro, small, medium enterprises)



Source: Adapted from World Bank (2012)

2.2.2.4 Poverty and Inequality: Peru and Japan

Another factor for Peruvian Nikkei migration in the 1990s was the poverty and inequality in Peru. The study of Glewwe and Hall in 1992 describes the poverty and inequality of Peru between 1985 and 1990 as follows:

1. The average household in Lima experienced a drop of 55% in their per capita consumption.
2. Poverty rose from 0.5% in 1985 to 17% in 1990.

3. The 20% of poorest people, especially the poorest 10%, experienced further deterioration, with a fall of 60% in consumption per capita.
4. The unemployment rate rose significantly in this period.

In March 2012, the INEI (National Institute of Statistics and Informatics) presented to the public a new measurement of the monetary poverty because the indicator of monetary poverty by INEI until 2012 had been the national household survey from 1997. In that year INEI defined the base poverty line, and it was constant year by year. In 15 years, the economy and Peruvian society changed in different ways.

For this reason, from 2007 the INEI, along with the Advisory Committee on Poverty, were working to improve the methodology to measure the poverty line according to reality. According to the 2007 census, Peru then had a rural population of 28% and an urban population of 72%.

The INEI measure the incidence of poverty using 3 characteristics:

- a) Monetary poverty, which does not consider other non-monetary dimensions of poverty, such as malnutrition, unsatisfied basic needs, and social exclusion, among others.
- b) Objective poverty, because the standard of measuring poverty is not the result of the subjective perception of individuals, it comes from a set procedures that determine if an individual is under the threshold that classifies someone as poor or not.
- c) Absolute poverty, which uses two types of line, poor and extremely poor. The extreme poverty line is a monetary value necessary for the acquisition of the food basket to satisfy the minimum nutritional needs of people (2000 kilocalories/adult man). The line of poverty is the value of the extremely poverty line plus the monetary value necessary to satisfy a group of non-food needs such as transport, clothes, housing, education, and health (INEI, 2012).

As shown previously in the chapter, unemployment, inequality and poverty were some of the reasons that encouraged Nikkei Peruvian to look for a new horizon in Japan. Therefore,

saving and sending remittances became two of the main purposes for Nikkei Peruvians in Japan.

2.2.2.5 Nikkei Peruvian in Japan: Remittances

The socio-economic problems in Peru as I described above regarding unemployment, poverty and inequality pushed many Nikkei Peruvians to Japan. In Japan, they started to work at Japanese factories. First of all, the majority of them focused on saving and remittances as goals to improve their standard of life and then return to Peru. Consequently, some researchers have argued that Japan became one of the most important countries from where dekasegi send remittances to Peru, which has a big impact on Peruvian economy. (Vela, 2006; Aquino, 2011). As shown in Table 2.3, the biggest amount of remittances was sent by Peruvian migrants from United States (33.5%), next from Spain (15.9%), and from Japan (9.2%). Even the Peruvian migrant population in Japan was not the biggest; the amount of remittances that was sent by Nikkei Peruvian was considerable high.

Table 2.3 Remittances sending by country to Peru

Remittances sending by country to Peru	Amount
United States	902 million dollars (33.5%)
Spain	430 million dollars (15.9%)
Japan	248 million dollars (9.2%)
Chile	161 million dollars (6.0%)
Italy	221 million dollars (8.2%)
Other countries	735 million dollars (27.3%)

Source: Adapted from Sanchez Aguilar. (2012)

Table 2.4 International Peruvian Emigration, country of residence, (2011 %)

Country of residence	%
1. United States	31.5
2. Spain	16
3. Argentine	14.3
4. Italy	10.1
5. Chile	8.8
6. Japan	4.1
7. Venezuelan	3.8
8. Canada	1.7
9. Brazil	1.5
10. France	0.9
11. Germany	0.8
12. Swiss	0.7
13. Bolivia	0.7
14. Mexico	0.5
15. Ecuador	0.5
16. Australia	0.4
17. Britannia	0.4
18. Colombia	0.4
19. Panama	0.3
20 Sweden	0.3
Others	2.2

Source: Adapted from OIM (2012)

According to the RENIEC (Peruvian statistics), Japan is in the fifth most common place chosen by Peruvian for emigration, and the third in importance for sending remittances. In 2011, more the 4% of the Peruvian emigrate group were living in Japan. In the next stage, I will describe the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who remained in Japan as well as those who returned to Peru during the world crisis 2008.

2.2.3 Third Stage: Demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan and returnees to Peru: significance of return migration, overview of savings, human and social capital.

2.2.3.1 Nikkei Peruvian Demographic Characteristics

“Foreigners with Japanese ancestry were accepted as ‘long-term residents’ after 1990...they are permitted to stay for six months and one year, after which they must apply for a visa extension” (Terasawa, 2000, p.219). Because of this law, many Nikkei Peruvians started to travel to Japan. First, they traveled alone, and later called their families, without considering the Japanese language, Japanese education system for their children and other important aspects of the considerable gap between their type of employment in Peru and their future job in Japan. Peruvian Nikkei only compared the large difference between their wage in Peru and the wage in Japan. In Japan it is very difficult to find a professional job without a good command of the Japanese language. Therefore, Nikkei Peruvians in Japan had to work at factories, even if they had never done this kind of job in Peru.

In 2009, the Nikkei Peruvian family had two dilemmas: to stay in Japan and overcome the consequences of the world crisis, or to make a return migration to Peru. According to the 2011 data of the immigration office in Japan, there were about 52,843 Peruvians in all Japan, the most populated prefecture is Aichi (7,582) (Table 2.5). Therefore, I conducted interviews in Aichi Prefecture in 2009 to discover the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan during the world crisis.

Table 2.5 Number of foreign residents by prefecture and nationality in 2011

Prefecture		Perú	Brazil	China	Philippine	South Korea
total		52,843	210,032	674,879	209,376	545,401
1	Hokkaido	39	155	9,560	1,259	5,226
2	Aomori	4	20	1,403	568	1,010
3	Iwate	4	68	2,298	885	1,055
4	Miyagi	41	138	5,679	974	4,109
5	Akita	5	11	1,700	631	711
6	Yamagata	8	111	2,652	668	1,965
7	Fukushima	48	215	3,686	2,160	1,844
8	Ibaraki	1,932	7,427	14,401	7,944	5,470
9	Tochigi	3,643	5,688	7,694	3,736	2,959
10	Gumma	4,708	12,909	7,350	6,036	2,887
11	Saitama	4,178	9,123	47,816	16,552	18,377

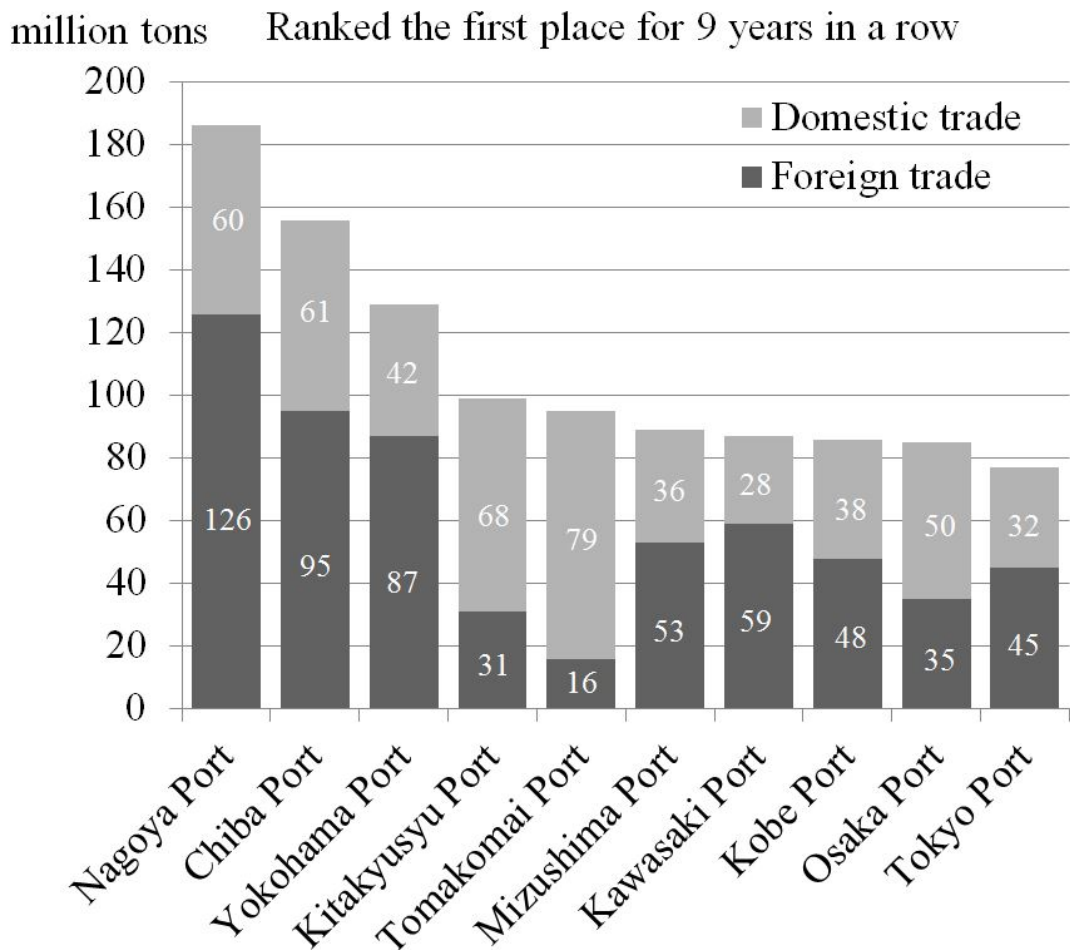
12	Chiba	3,258	4,289	43,581	16,433	17,630
13	Tokyo	2,109	3,476	164,424	29,878	104,915
14	Kanagawa	7,442	10,060	55,362	18,253	32,525
15	Niigata	73	373	5,342	2,169	2,150
16	Toyama	46	2,737	5,651	1,747	1,291
17	Ishikawa	67	1,181	4,906	637	1,913
18	Fukui	83	2,510	4,251	1,233	3,116
19	Yamanashi	947	3,311	4,119	1,920	2,290
20	Nagano	683	7,504	10,943	4,099	4,462
21	Gifu	945	13,327	14,884	8,971	5,275
22	Shizuoka	5,445	33,547	13,116	12,517	6,216
23	Aichi	7,582	54,458	47,313	26,636	38,438
24	Mie	3,389	14,986	9,362	5,419	5,751
25	Shiga	1,692	8,710	4,898	1,830	5,669
26	Kyoto	158	409	12,459	1,949	30,815
27	Osaka	1,237	3,001	52,392	6,177	124,167
28	Hyogo	906	2,872	25,253	3,477	50,438
29	Nara	211	515	3,523	557	4,405
30	Wakayama	16	88	1,485	597	2,672
31	Tottori	0	16	1,655	475	1,242
32	Shimane	2	1,125	2,080	832	841
33	Okayama	143	1,183	9,554	1,503	6,268
34	Hiroshima	670	3,043	14,559	5,145	10,334
35	Yamaguchi	31	154	3,735	1,101	7,288
36	Tokushima	11	41	2,956	632	379
37	Kagawa	437	252	3,935	1,241	1,016
38	Ehime	48	183	4,860	954	1,467
39	Kochi	6	21	1,356	534	648
40	Fukuoka	243	302	21,551	3,707	18,390
41	Saga	1	13	1,865	534	848
42	Nagasaki	7	31	3,598	718	1,276
43	Kumamoto	12	54	4,602	1,368	1,122
44	Oita	41	65	4,118	1,088	2,565
45	Miyazaki	7	26	1,902	591	639
46	Kagoshima	12	37	3,068	1,401	555
47	Okinawa	273	267	1,982	1,640	772

Source: Adapted from Portal Site of Official Statistics of Japan (2012)

2.2.3.2 Survey in Aichi Prefecture

I conducted interviews in Aichi Prefecture with about 50 families, using my survey (JNS1). My aim was to describe the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians in 2009 in Aichi Prefecture. The convenient location of Aichi Prefecture and the multiple industries with many factories built in this prefecture were one of the reasons that the majority of Nikkei Peruvian chose this place for working and living.

Figure 2.3 The total quantity of cargo in Nagoya Port 2010



Source: Port of Nagoya (2011)

Aichi Prefecture was chosen for the research because Peruvian Nikkei can find a lot of factories, and as we can see in Figure 2.3 showing the total quantity of cargo in Nagoya Port, it ranked in first place for nine years in a row. The Peruvian *dekasegi* are working in factories because it is a kind of job in which they do not need to have knowledge of the Japanese language. The salary of the majority of *dekasegi* in Japan is about 200,000 yen (approximately \$2,000 US dollars), a wage that in Peru it would have been impossible for them to obtain working in their jobs there. The research used interviews and a survey to obtain the demographic and economic characteristics of *dekasegi* in Japan in 2009.

According to the economic aspects of the survey, 52.5 % of respondents were working but 47.5% lost their jobs after the Lehman shock. The salary per month was between 100 and 149 thousand yen (17.5% of respondents); between 150 y 199 thousand yen (17.5%); and between 200 and 249 thousand yen (7.5%). The difference in salaries is because some of the workers worked as machine operators who have more experience at the factory and some technical preparation to work at Japanese factories; usually people who work in this area are men. The other workers' salaries are between 800 or 900 yen per hour.

2.2.3.3 Questionnaire

Next is the questionnaire survey regarding economic conditions in 2009 asked of Nikkei Peruvians. (Created by the Author, 2009).

1. Do you receive some financial help from the government? What kind of help?
2. Why did you immigrate to this country? 2.1 Work /2.2 Study /2.3 Family.
3. Are you working in Japan now? 3.1 Yes /3.2 No.
4. What is your current situation during the economic crisis 2008-2009?
 - 4.1 Do you still have your job? / 4.2 Have you been dismissed? /4.3 Have reduced your working hours? /4.4 Do you have unemployment insurance? /4.5 Did you change your job? /
 - 4.6 Was your salary reduced? /4.7 What was your salary per hour before the economic crisis?

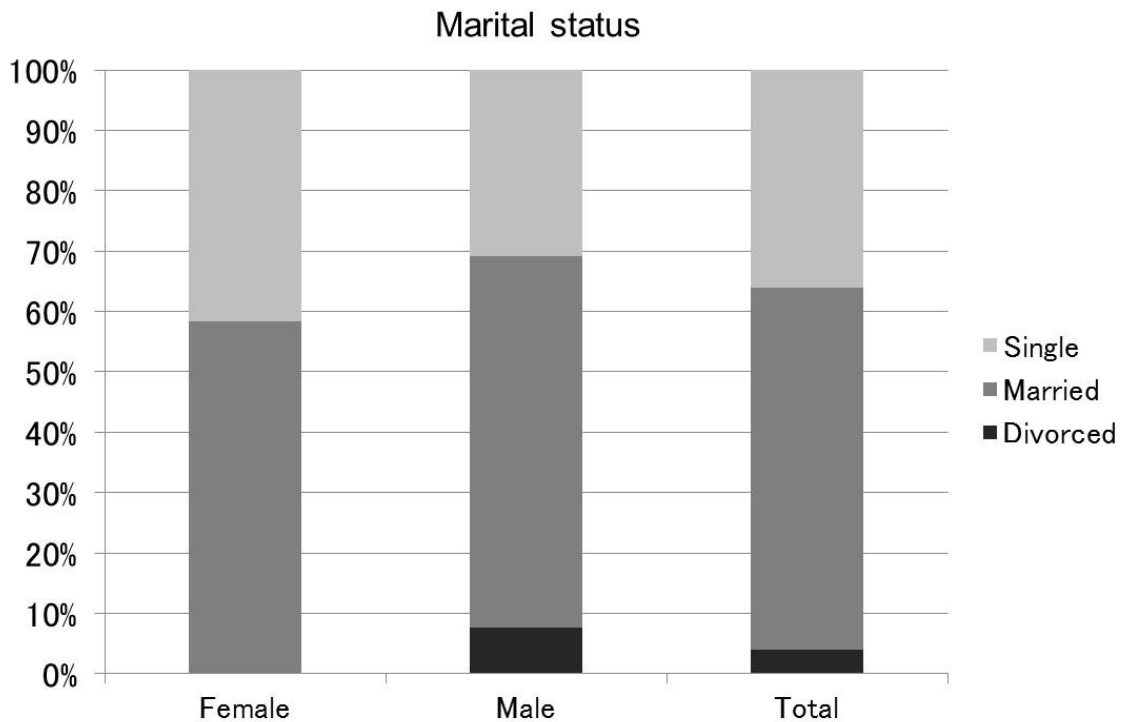
/ 4.8 What is your salary per hour now during the economic crisis? / 4.9 What was your monthly salary before the economic crisis? / 4.10 What is your monthly salary now during the economic crisis?

5. Do you send remittances to Peru?

5.1 How much did you send between June 2007 and June 2008? /5.2 How much did you send between June 2007 and June 2009? /5.3 To whom did you send the remittances? 5.4 For what did you send the remittances? /5.5 How much money do you usually save every year?

Regarding their demographic characteristics, in terms of marital status 5% was divorced, 55% was married, and approximately 40% was single.

Figure 2.4 Marital Status



Source: Author

The result of the survey indicates that some *dekasegi*, even though they have lived in Japan for more than 15 years, still do not have ability in the Japanese language, a factor which pushes the community closer together. There are two Peruvian consulates in Japan, one in

Nagoya and the other in Tokyo. The majority of the Peruvian *dekasegi* are living near these regions. There are small Peruvian communities in those cities, and according to the interview data, they try to leave near the Peruvian community because of the networking factor, and because the majority of them cannot speak Japanese. As a result, daily life would be more difficult if they were far from the community network.

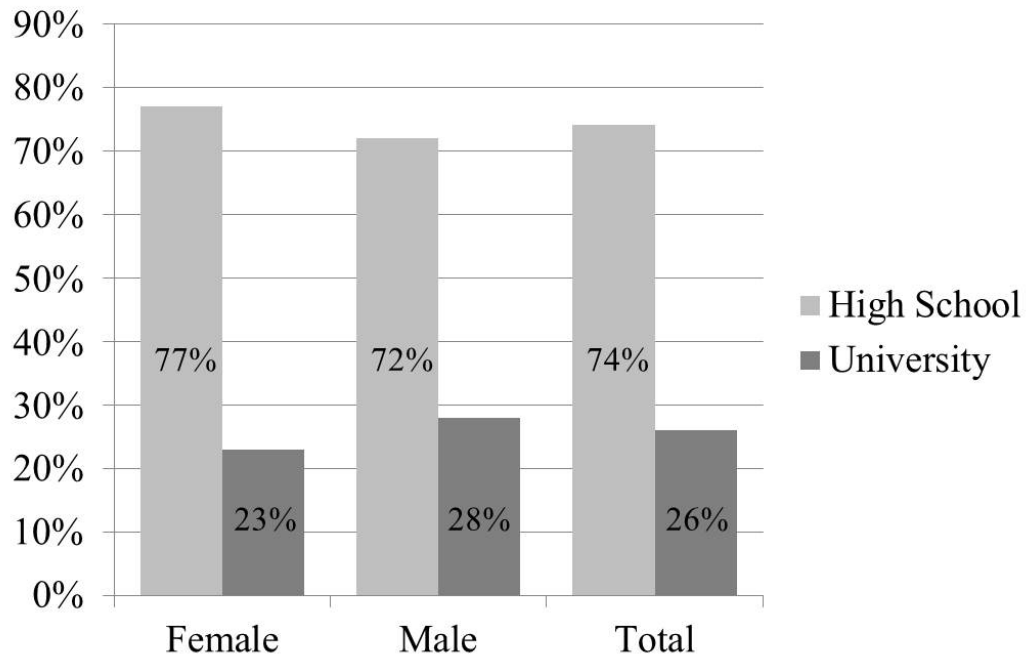
Table 2.6 Interviewees in 2009 by area of Residence

	Female [%]	Male [%]	Total [%]
Aichi	33	42	38
Chiryu	0	4	2
Fukui	0	4	2
Hamamatsu	4	4	4
Hiroshima	4	0	2
Hyogo	0	4	2
Inuyama	4	0	2
Komaki	4	8	6
Kyoto	4	0	2
Mie	29	12	20
Nagoya	0	8	4
Osaka	0	4	2
Shizuoka	13	4	8
Toyohashi	0	4	2
Toyokawa	4	0	2
Toyota	0	4	2

Source: Author

Regarding their educational background, 74% of *dekasegi* came to Japan with only high school studies, while 26% of them entered Japan with a university degree. Most of the *dekasegi* who have a university diploma or degree feel frustration because they cannot use their knowledge or skills acquired in Peru. The first limitation for them is the lack of the Japanese language. Most of them came with their children, so the first priority for them is to maintain their family. On the other hand, people who want to continue their studies have to study the Japanese language and then try to obtain at least a master's degree to be considered for applying for a proper job in Japan.

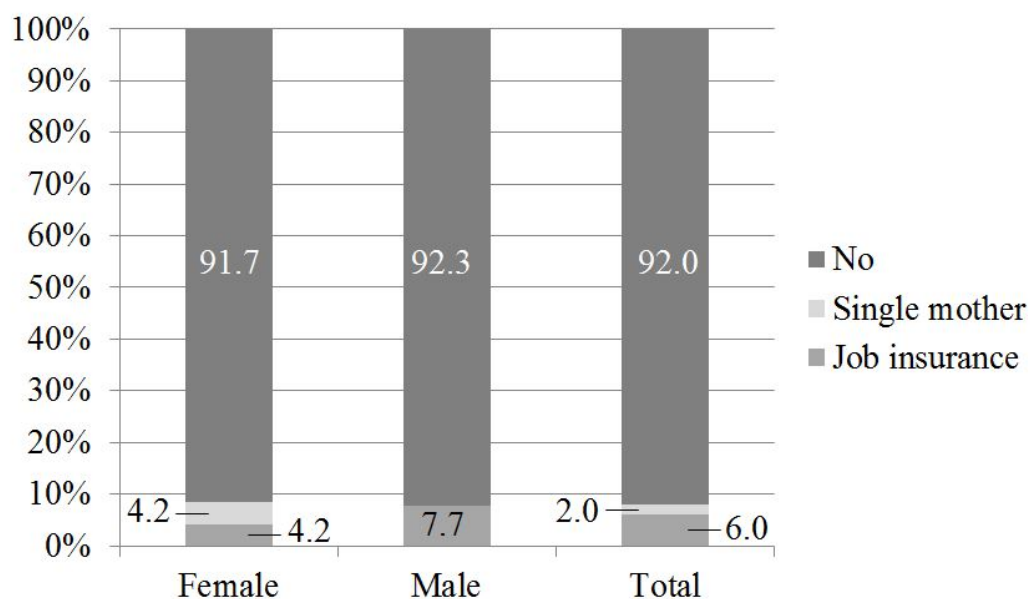
Figure 2.5 Education



Source: Author

In Peru, it is hard to obtain unemployment insurance after people lose their jobs, but in Japan this is one of the advantages that Peruvian *dekasegi* find. The next figure shows us that 6% of the interviewees were receiving employment insurance and 2% some insurance as a single mother. It is possible that one of the reasons that Peruvians decided to stay in Japan was the different kind of insurance that would be impossible to obtain in Peru.

Figure 2.6 Unemployment insurance



Source: Author

The result of the survey reveals that Nikkei Peruvians continued saving even during the world crisis, and also they keep sending remittances to Peru in 2009.

Table 2.7 Salary, Remittances, and Savings from Interview Data

	Male			Female			Total		
	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Mean	Maximum	Minimum
Salary (in JPY)	161,940	250,000	70,000	246,760	390,000	125,000	203,140	390,000	70,000
Remittances (in JPY)	31,690	60,000	10,000	45,210	110,000	18,000	38,700	110,000	10,000
Saving (in JPY)	250,000	500,000	50,000	887,500	3,000,000	100,000	675,000	3,000,000	50,000

Source: Author

According to the survey, after 2008 most of Nikkei Peruvians continued residing in Japan. Hence, the demographic characteristics of the survey that I described and the results of more interviews with first generation Nikkei Peruvians will be analyzed in the chapter 3 of this dissertation. On the other hand, there is a small group who did return to Peru before and after the world crisis. For this topic I conducted six interviews in Peru with six returnees. The aim is to describe their demographic characteristics after returning to Peru.

Table 2.8 Interview results: 6 Nikkei Families returnees to Peru after the crisis

Nikkei Peruvian Returnees situation: Before traveling to Japan	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sex	male	male	female	male	female	male
Year of birth	1970 (traveled to Japan March 1990)	1949 (traveled to Japan March 1989)	1957 (traveled to Japan 1993)	1974 (traveled to Japan 1994)	1964 (traveled to Japan 1990)	1976 (traveled to Japan 1995)
Nationality	Peruvian	Peruvian	Peruvian	Peruvian	Peruvian	Peruvian
Education	accountant	tertiary education		tertiary education	tertiary education	high school
Languages	Spanish, Japanese	Spanish, Japanese	Spanish, Japanese	Spanish, English	Spanish, Japanese	Spanish, Japanese
Occupation before traveling to Japan	student	entrepreneur	housewife	social communicator student	salaryman (Secretary)	student
Civil Status	single	married	married	single	single	single
children	no	yes (4)	yes (5)	no	no	no
Family members	4 (father, mother brother)	5(spouse and 3 oldest sons)	7			4(2 sisters, father)
Experience in Japan						
Reason to travel	Job, family,	better salary	better salary,	Better job, salary and	Better job,	family

	savings.		life, and family	life	salary and life condition	
Difficulty in Japan	no permanent job	discrimination	access to housing			housing, discrimination, not permanent job.
Civil status	married	married	married	single	married	married
Children	no	no	no	no	yes (1)total 3	yes
Job Type before return	SHAIN (auto parts)	Wage part-time employment	SHAIN	SHAIN(auto to parts)	Small restaurant(own)	SHAIN (auto parts)
Remittances	1 per month (100,000, for house)	1 per year (200 dollars)	1 per year (200 or 500 dollars)	1 per year (500 or 1000 dollars)	1 per six months (500 or 1000 dollars (1000 dollars per year)	no
Visit Peru	1 per year	-----	sporadic	no	no	no
Return to Peru						
Date	2011	2010	1994	1998	2014	2010
Place of residence.	Callao	Lima	Lima	Lima	Lima	Lima
Reason for return	Own business, family	Lost job	Job insecurity, health, homesick.	Projects, studies, nostalgic	Job insecurity, create new projects, nostalgic	Family problem, health, education of children
Wants to return Japan	never	certainly	Not now	Not now	yes	Not now
About Japan	Good for work	Suitable for living	Suitable for life, small salary and health		Suitable for living	Suitable for work
About Peru	Suitable for living	-----	No job		Peru improves (credit from banks, projects	I feel better in my country

					and benefits customs)	
Civil status	divorced	married	married	married	married	married
Children	no	3	5	yes	no in Peru	yes
Occupation	small-scale entrepreneur (sales)	cannot find job	housewife	teacher of photography since 2008	housewife	small-scale entrepreneur since 2012
Financial situation now	it has decreased	bad	better	-----	bad	bad
Amount of initial investment	20,000 dollars (savings from Japan)		----- -	-----	looking for restaurant	5,000 dollars
Are you happy to be back in Peru	Japan social life system better than Peru	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Difficulty after coming back	reinsertion, bureaucracy, "criollada."	yes, finding job.	access to house, small salary, bad health insurance, bureaucracy	reinsertion,	reinsertion, level of life is bad compared to Japan	reinstate, low salary, health insurance bad system, bureaucracy.

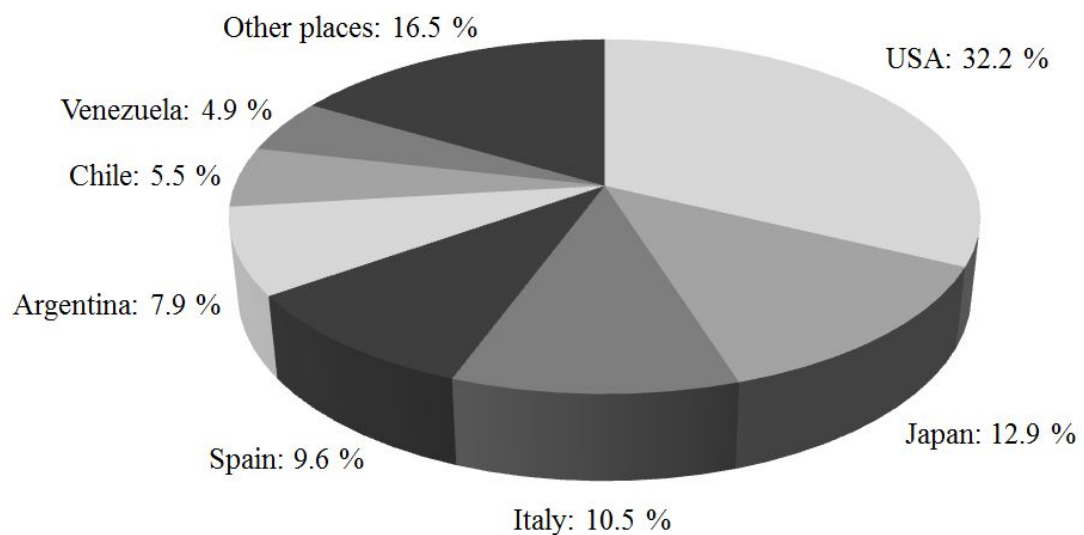
Source: Author

2.2.3.4 Significance of return migration

Some immigrants return to their country of origin after realizing that the conditions in the host country are very different than what they imagined before migration (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2009). Even though in the case of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan only a small percentage returned to Peru since they arrived Japan in the 1990s, according to the DIGEMIN Peruvian data, 12.9 % of *dekasegi* from Japan returned to Peru between 2007 and 2009

(Figure 2.7). In 2009, Gubert pointed that “While remittances fill a central role in providing foreign exchange and lowering poverty... migration can lead to other forms of beneficial transfers back to home countries, in the form of technological, managerial, and entrepreneurial know-how”(Gubert, 2009, p.103). There is the possibility that the *dekasegi* returnees to Peru are using their savings to become entrepreneurs in Peru. As a consequence, migration and development have an important connection with return migration (Cassarino, 2004). Therefore, another possibility is that Nikkei Peruvians who return to Peru could be contributing to the economy of Peru through savings, human capital, and networks acquired in Japan. Thus, migration from Peru to Japan could lead to increased income for Nikkei Peruvian families in Peru.

Figure 2.7 Peruvian returnees with residence in a foreign country, according to the main resident country 2007-2009 (%)



Source: Adapted from OIM (2010)

2.2.3.5 Return migration in the world

Regarding studies of return migration in South America, I could not find any research related to return migration and its relationship to entrepreneurship. Some studies have attempted to explain return migration and the entrepreneurship relationship. Medrano in 1987 studied the migration and household characteristics of return migrants to Puerto Rico, and this author found that return migrants have slightly lower annual family incomes compared to non-migrants.

On the other hand, other researchers have argued that emigrants can increase their skills and savings to start a business after returning because they are carriers of capital, technology, and entrepreneurship that could have significance for their country of origin (Mc Cormick & Wahba, 2001). Nicholson extended this work to Albania, where he has demonstrated that returnees use their savings to establish micro and small businesses using a kinship network (Nicholson, 2004). Furthermore, other researchers concluded that returnees who become entrepreneurs used their previous experience from the host country in their home country. (Gubert & Nordman, 2008; Mc Cormick and Wahba, 2001; Ilahi 1999). Therefore, as Nicholson concluded, “the costs of migrating are an investment of a small sum so that the migrant can earn enough to make bigger investments possible” (Nicholson, 2002a:4)

In contrast, Lipton (1980) concluded that the benefit of return migration makes the distribution of income unequal in the home country. In the case of Peruvian Nikkei, there are no studies regarding Peruvian returnees and the entrepreneurship relation as of yet. According to the interviews that I did with six returnees from Japan to Peru, some of Nikkei Peruvian returnees become small-scale entrepreneurs because of their savings. Second, they cannot use their human capital acquired in Japan in Peru because there is not the same technology that Japan has in its factories. Therefore, the knowledge learned in Japan is difficult to use in Peru by Nikkei Peruvian returnees.

2.2.3.6 Savings

Many migrants prefer to use their savings than obtain financing from the bank because of the high rates of interest. On the other hand, “some outsiders, notably in migrants host countries, tend to be skeptical of the likelihood of success of businesses started by migrants who return to poor countries” (Nicholson, 2002, p.100).

2.2.3.7 Human Capital

The negative point of migration is in regard to human capital, because, as Nicholson reported, sometimes the migrants’ human capital becomes devalued in the host country because they cannot use their qualifications on the job (Nicholson, 2004). For the first generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan, their human capital was devalued through becoming unskilled factory workers regardless of the experience acquired in their home country.

However, many scholars found that returnees from Albania learned and used new skills in their country of origin running their businesses (Kule, et al., 2002; Nicholson, 2001; Nicholson 2004). Migration facilitates small enterprise start-up and development by helping overcome barriers to entry. A 2003 study entitled *Migration, Return, and Small Enterprise Development in Ghana* found that “to the extent to which shortages of start-up capital and technical know-how constitute a barrier to starting or improving small enterprises, international migration and return can represent a significant source of such capital” (Black *et al.*, 2003, cited in Johnson, 2009).

In the case of Peruvian Nikkei who migrated to Japan, their human capital was devalued. In spite of this, they acquired new skills working at the Japanese factories. Nevertheless, these new skills are only useful in Japan, especially in Japanese factories where most of them worked. If Peruvian Nikkei return to Peru, they cannot use these new skills there because of the technology gap between Peruvian and Japanese factories. In this case, their new skills acquired in Japan became useless in Peru.

2.2.3.8 Social network

Migration in the era of globalization encompasses all types of migration. Networks and transnationalism join people by networks, using also technological developments of the information revolution (Altamirano, 2007). Not only savings and new skills, but also networking with potential suppliers helps to expand returnee business (Nicholson, 2002a). With regard to the case study from my interviews of "Family A", since they came to Japan, the social networking between their *dekasegi* family and friends helped them to easily integrate. This does not mean integrate into Japanese society, but rather into the Peruvian community in Japan. Some Nikkei Peruvian returnees also used their savings, human and social capital when they returned to Peru.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter set out with two aims. The first was explaining the odyssey of Japanese and their descendant migration between Japan and Peru in three stages, and the second to describe the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who remained in Japan and also those who returned to Peru up until 2014. This study used two surveys: one in Peru to Nikkei Peruvian returnees and the second to Nikkei Peruvians who are still in Japan.

This study has shown that during the first stage, some of the Japanese people who decided to settle in Peru became successful entrepreneurs and professionals, overcoming the barriers of language and culture. One of the positive things for them was the period in Peru. At that time opening a new business with a small amount of capital was possible and easier, but to maintain the business was a challenges and achievement. Their Japanese strategies of using the *tanomoshi* system, and their perseverance to continue their businesses by the transfer

method (*tensou*) with their family helped them to become successful entrepreneurs and professionals in Peru.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from the second stage is that although, poverty, inequality and unemployment were the main factors to push Nikkei Peruvians to travel to Japan, the revised migration law of 1990 that permitted to third generation Nikkei Peruvians enter Japan was the key to their decision to go to Japan as *dekasegi*. Successful Nikkei Peruvian entrepreneurs, however, do not belong to this group. In the third stage, regarding the people who stayed in Japan, it seems that they did not have savings to return to their country, according to their demographic characteristics.

On the other hand, Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru brought their savings from Japan, but their savings were not enough to open a big business compared to 15 or 20 years prior when they left Peru. Other problems for returnees after living a long time in Japan were their reinsertion in the Peruvian society, the inadequate health insurance system, findings jobs, and low salaries. On top of this, they found that the bureaucracy to open a business was a limitation for them.

This chapter described only the demographic characteristics of some Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan or who returned to Peru. Further research needs to use a larger sample to expand and corroborate the findings regarding Nikkei Peruvian return migration.

The following chapter will analyze in-depth how the main characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians in an initial period changed over the time (2009~2014).

Chapter 3: Main Characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians Who Remained in Japan During and After the Lehman Shock (2009-2014)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on Peruvian Nikkei families who migrated to Japan, a country that has significant differences in culture, language and distance for them. Moreover, this section will answer the question why Nikkei Peruvians continue living in Japan. The main focus of the present research lies in Peruvian Nikkei as an ethnic group. After the Japanese law was revised in 1990, Nikkei Peruvians were able to enter Japan as people of Japanese descent. Their main purposes were to work and save the money and then return to Peru. However, after two decades, they have continued working and residing in Japan with their families. Most of them work in factories. Despite the world crisis in 2008, they did not return to their country; thus this chapter describes the reasons they continue residing in Japan.

In 1990, the revised Japanese law permitted second and third generation Nikkei (people of Japanese descent) to stay in Japan with renewable visa. The negative economic situation in Latin American countries in the 1990s led many Nikkei, especially from Brazil and Peru, to come to Japan as unskilled workers. They expected to obtain a good salary and stayed as temporary residents. Unfortunately, the Nikkei considered only the wage factor in migrating to Japan. They did not look at the social, educational and cultural differences that would be serious problems for them and their family to stay in Japan. Related to these aspects, Japan and Peru have a large gap in education, culture and social issues. Therefore, many researchers focus on those problems regarding Nikkei families after 1990. Peruvian Nikkei have been living in Japan for more than two decades with their extended family (second generation). When the Lehman Shock happened in 2008, many Nikkei lost their jobs in Japan, and it was a significant reason to return to their countries. However, even though the Japanese government

offered benefits to encourage return, most Nikkei decided to stay in Japan. What the main variables were for them to make this decision is one of the issues that I will describe in this chapter.

Keiko Yamanaka (2000) analyzed, the “Labor migration and circular diaspora formation by Japanese Brazilians in Japan” in the book of *Japan and Global Migration*. She found that not only economic factors but also gender, age generation, class, and ethnicity were their major variables for Brazilian Nikkei to return to their ancestral land (p.139). She also emphasized the importance of historic and cultural as well as economic factors in analyzing the mechanisms by which 200,000 descendants of Japanese immigrants have returned from Brazil to Japan since the early 1990s and begun to circulate between the two countries (Yamanaka, 2000, p.146). The research could not deal with the new second generation of Nikkei children, who after two decades continue living in Japan. Yamanaka’s research focused only on the first generation Brazilian Nikkei returnees to Japan between 1990 and 1999, before the experience of the global economic crisis of 2008. Yamanaka’s findings suggest two major areas for future research: first, transnational family strategies as Nikkei men and women accommodate long-term migration between Brazil and Japan; second, the rapid development of Nikkei ethnic communities in non-metropolitan, primarily working-class cities. To tackle the problems confronted by the previous studies, this chapter looks at the characteristics and differences between the Nikkei Peruvian ethnic group in Japan in 2009 and 2014, during and after the global economic crisis. The findings were compiled from surveys and interviews in 2009 and 2014.

3.2 Peruvian Nikkei affluence & outflow

This chapter discusses which variables are significant in the decision of Nikkei Peruvians to go back to Peru or to stay in Japan in 2009 and 2014 after living more than two decades in

Japan. In particular, this research will be presented in the following way: in section 2, I shall present the background; in section 3, I will explain the social and economic characteristic of five Nikkei Peruvian families who stayed in Japan, describing the methodology of research and data sources. Finally, this study shows the results of the research, describing the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians who remain in Japan after the world crisis of 2008.

3.2.1 Nikkei Family

The term Nikkei commonly refers to people of Japanese descent who are living abroad. This paper uses the term for people of Japanese descent who were residing in Peru and returned to Japan as *dekasegi* from 1990. However, after they arrived in Japan and started to work and live there, Nikkei Peruvians noticed that their situation as foreign workers in Japan and the cost of living was not what they had imagined.

Compared to other foreigners in Japan, as people of Japanese descent, Peruvian Nikkei had the right to work legally. At that time, they thought they would be treated as Japanese in all ways, but as Kondo claimed, "Japan's ancestry-based policy for ethnic repatriates constitutes a rare front door opened to immigration." (Kondo, 2008, p. 25). Nikkei could work legally in Japan, whereas other migrants were working illegally in many cases because of visa problems. As Kenny mentioned that:

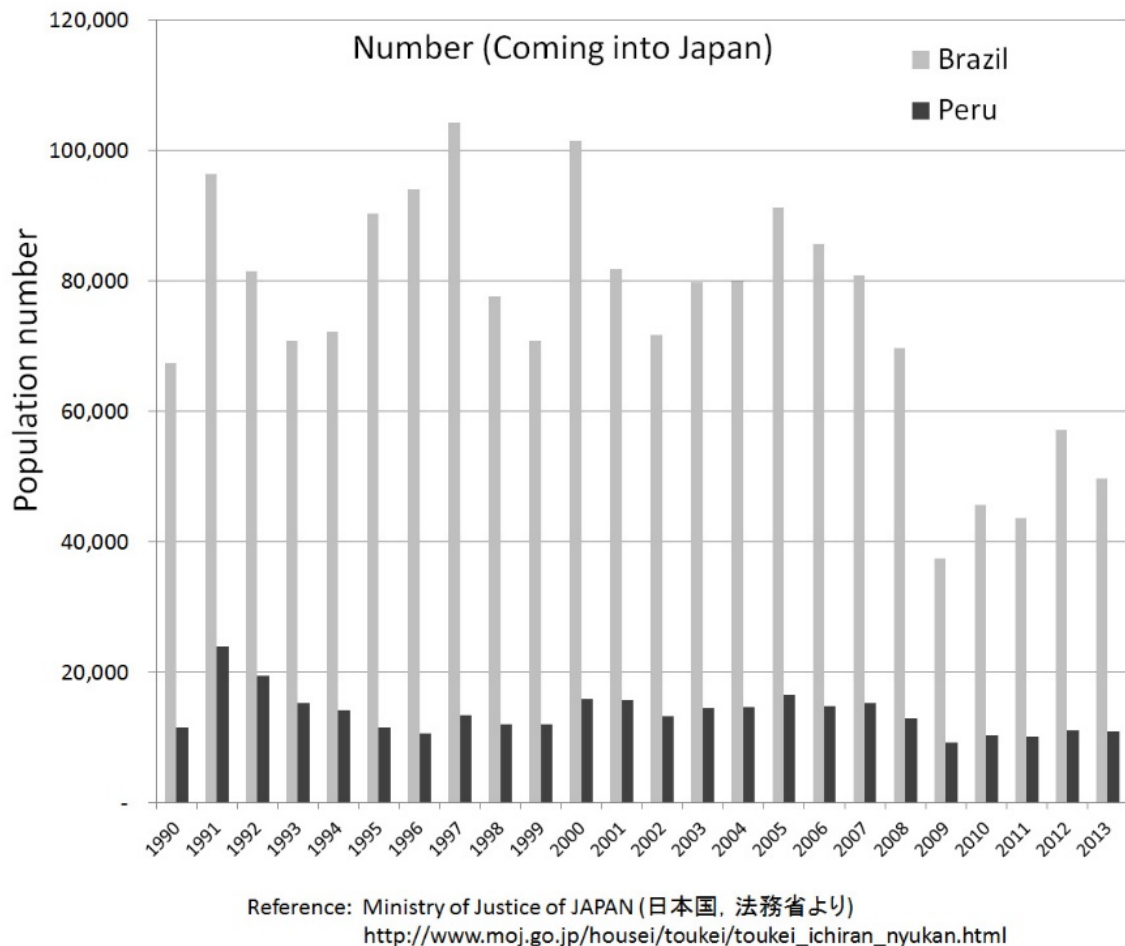
"One big social dilemma, however, are illegal foreigners working in Japan. The number is also steadily increasing, from 166,080 illegal immigrants in 1989 to 416,040 in 1997. For the past ten years, about 28 percent of all foreign workers in Japan have either been working on an expired visa or have entered the country illegally" (Kenny, 2004, p.119).

On the other hand, Nikkei were treated as foreigners, not as Japanese.

After the immigration law reform, in 1990 approximately 11,478 Peruvian Nikkei and 67,337 Brazilian Nikkei entered Japan. As of December 2007, there were 316,967 Brazilians and 59,696 Peruvians (2.8% of the total population registered foreigners; Immigration Bureau

of Japan, 2008). In 2009, the Ministry of Justice reported 230,917 Brazilian and 54,636 Peruvians living in Japan.

Figure 3.1 Numbers of Peruvians and Brazilians Entering Japan (1990-2013)

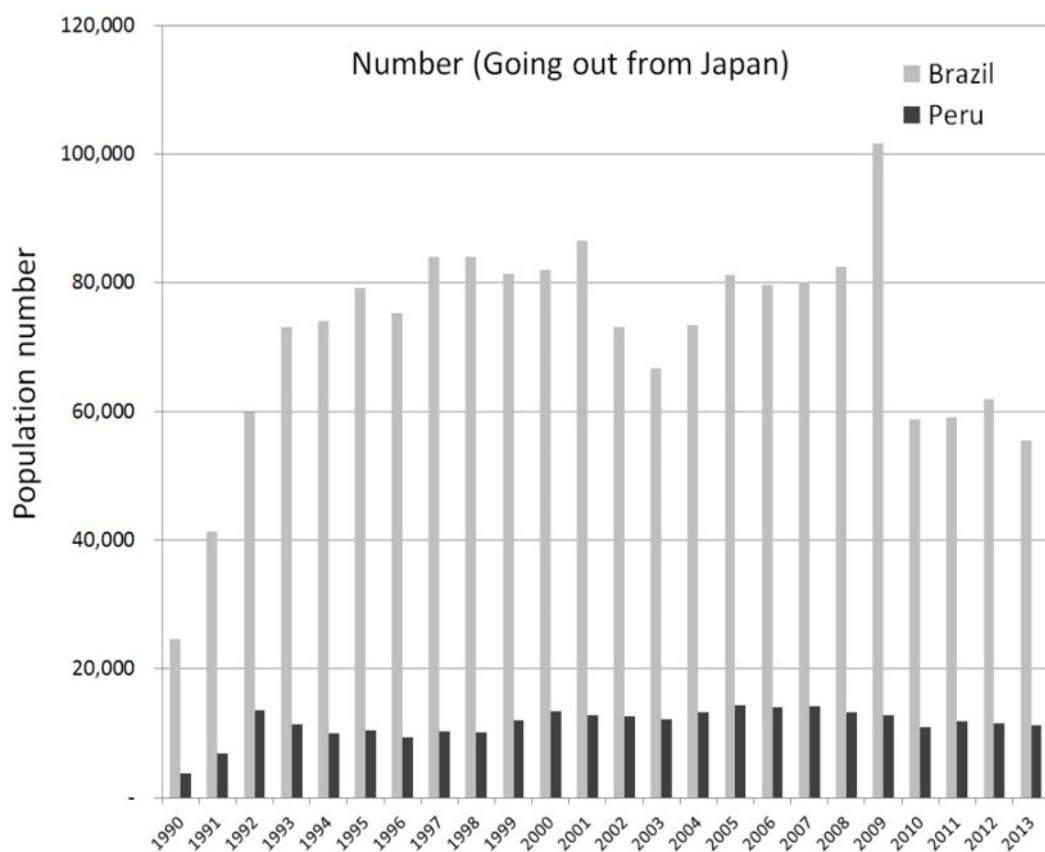


Source: Compiled by the author using data from Ministry of Justice of Japan.

Two decades after the first Nikkei group arrived in Japan, the economic crisis started, and affected the entire world, especially migrants around the world. As an example, in Spain many Latin American immigrants returned to their countries of origin, such as many Peruvians who were living in Spain. The same situation happened in Asia. In Japan, many Nikkei Brazilians decided to return to their country during the world crisis 2008, but this situation was different for Peruvian Nikkei. According to the information of the regional

immigration office of Japan most Nikkei Peruvians decided to continue living in Japan during the world crisis (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare [MHLW], 2010). If we compare Nikkei Peruvians with other migrants there is some difference regarding their visa situation, but when we compare them with Nikkei Brazilians, they have similar characteristics. However, there was a difference in their decision to return or not to their country of origin during the economic crisis. In this section, using interviews, case studies and an econometric model, I will describe how Nikkei Peruvians were living in Japan during 2008, and how lifestyle influenced their decision to stay or not during the global crisis.

Figure 3.2 Numbers of Peruvians and Brazilians Leaving Japan (1990-2013)



Source: Adapted from Ministry of Justice of Japan (2014)

3.2.2 Japan's new immigration policy in 1990

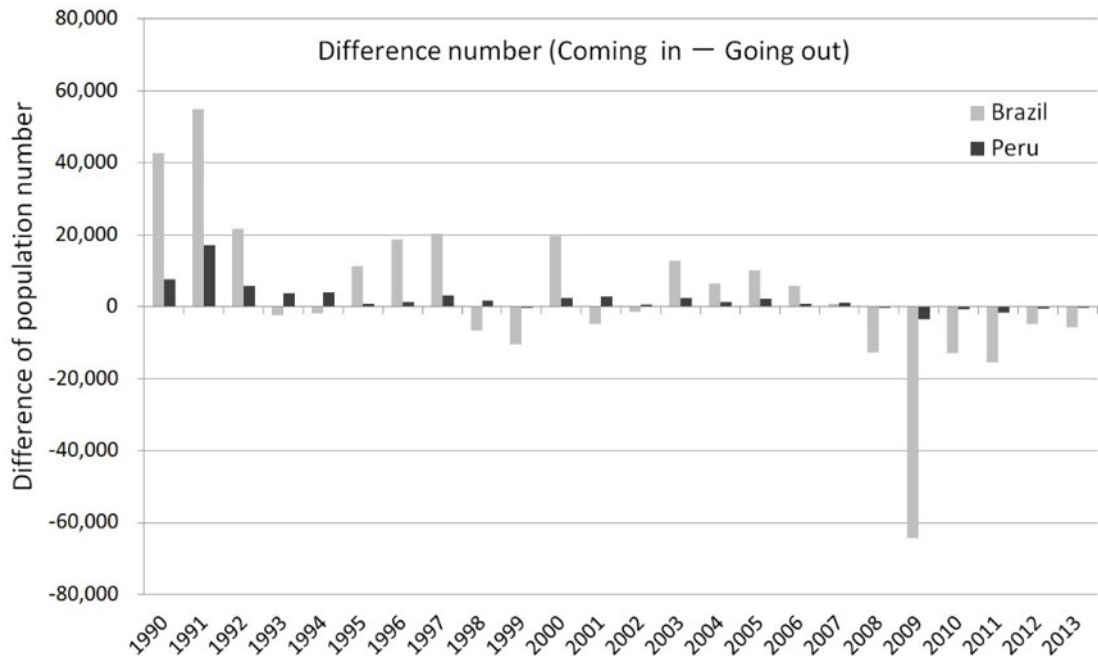
According to Asis and Piper, "Recent research on the growth of labor migration systems has included considerable research into the political, economic and population influences on changing migrations patterns in Asian region" (cited in Lai, Collins & Yeoh, 2013, p.5).

In the age of globalization, in Japan, as a country with an aging population, the Japanese government revised the job categories and introduced long-term visas for Nikkei in 1990. Tanaka confirmed that "Nikkei workers soon became one of the foreign groups in Japan. Due to their ethnic origin, they were regarded as Japanese by the government that, until 1990, had officially rejected any manual workers coming from foreign countries" (as cited in Takashi, 2000, p.183). Almost all Nikkei Peruvian who entered Japan after the new law started to work in Japanese factories doing "3D" jobs. As Stahl asserts:

Migrant workers are almost completely concentrated in sectors that are characterized by "3D" jobs that are dirty, dangerous and difficult and that attract the very minimum of wages; effectively parts of the economy that can no longer attract and retain members of the local population (as cited in Lai, Collins & Yeoh, 2013, p.5).

Since 1990, the number of Nikkei entering Japan increased rapidly. According to the information of foreign residents in 2012 from the Ministry of Justice [MOJ] (<http://www.moj.go.jp>), when the world crisis started in 2008, the number of Nikkei Peruvian residing in Japan was 56,052, and after four years, in 2012 the Nikkei Peruvian population shrunk to 49,483. This amount shows us that about 12 % of them returned to Peru between 2008 and 2012. Even though the Japanese government enacted an assisted return policy, most Peruvian Nikkei decided to continue residing in Japan compared to the Brazilian Nikkei, as we can observe in the next figure:

Figure 3.3 Difference in number of Peruvians and Brazilians Entering and Leaving Japan



Source: Adapted from Ministry of Justice of Japan (2014)

3.2.3 Nikkei Families in Japan: Newcomers in Japan After 1990

Ethnic groups like Peruvian and Brazilian Nikkei in Japan have not been the subject of considerable migration studies because they are newcomers. Newcomers in this case means new foreigners who have entered Japan since the 1980s as foreign workers, including Asian foreigners from China and Korea as well as Nikkei from Latin America. Peruvian Nikkei have continued living in Japan into the second, third and possible future generations, and it seems that this will continue. It is important to research the main variables for Nikkei who continue residing in Japan despite the distance, culture and language barriers. One of the most important academic works on this particular issue is Keiko Yamanaka's *I will go home, but when?* (2000). This work analyzed labor migration and circular diaspora formation by Japanese Brazilians in Japan, a group three times larger than the Peruvian population in Japan.

Because of the Aliens Registration Law 2011, Peruvians populations were 52,843 and Brazilian population were 210,032 (<http://www.stat.go.jp/English/data/nenkan/>). However, this academic work focused only on the Nikkei Brazilians ethnic group. Yamanaka (2000) asserted that:

The legalization of immigration in 1990 catalyzed massive, increasingly younger and feminized, flows of Nikkei migrants into Japan from Brazil. Although business interests were directly responsible for the recruitment of migrants, the migration process generated its momentum as the migrants brought the family- and community-based resources into play. Meanwhile, their cultural and material needs were met in the host society through extensive social networks and emerging ethnic entrepreneurship. An exploitative labor contract system, saddled with pervasive prejudice, reduced Nikkei to the status of temporary foreign workers living on the periphery of Japanese economy and society. Although discouraged and disoriented by the humiliation they encountered in Japan, many Nikkei none the less saw labor migration as the only means to maintain their middle-class lifestyles in Brazil under its worsening economy. Circulation between the two homelands, Brazil and Japan, thus became a way to secure a reliable source of income that was difficult to obtain in Brazil. (p.146).

In this work, Yamanaka showed the reason this ethnic group was motivated to come to Japan and described the living standard in the first decade after migration. The main variables found in the previous research regarding the motivation of Nikkei Brazilians to enter Japan in the 1990s were gender, age, generation, class, and ethnicity. However, there are large gaps in the situation before and after the world crisis in 2008 such as the variables for Nikkei after the second decade of residence in Japan and why they continued in Japan after the crisis. In fact, Yamanaka analyzed the diaspora of Brazilian Nikkei until 1999, one decade after the first migration to Japan. Therefore, Yamanaka's studies suggested two major areas for future

research regarding immigration and ethnic minority relations in Japan. One is transnational family strategies, as Nikkei men and women accommodate to long-term migration between Brazil and Japan, while the other is the rapid development of Nikkei ethnic communities in non-metropolitan, primarily working-class cities. This research focuses on the first suggestion, but examining Peruvian Nikkei who have continued to reside in Japan after the world crisis.

Based on the interviews with Nikkei Peruvians, most of them came to Japan without family for many reasons. As one of the interviewees, Martin, said “First I came to Japan alone because my wife and three children had to stay in Peru until I saved the money for airplane tickets to bring them to Japan and to accommodate us in a better place for living with a family. I also had to send remittances to them while saving money and covering my living costs in Japan too (Martin, personal communication, July 20, 2012).

Before the Lehman Shock, almost all the Nikkei living in Japan were employed, even if they had no Japanese ability. As the above interviewee explained, he could work many hours to cover his expenses, even just after entering Japan. He thought if he brought his family as soon as possible his wife could also enter the Japanese factory and help him with the living costs for their family.

At that time, in 2007, the wife came to Japan with two children because the youngest one was still a baby and he did not have enough money to cover all the airplane tickets (The cost of each ticket was about 2,000 dollars per person). In 2008, I met the wife of the interviewee, and we went together to meet a Brazilian contractor (an intermediary person between the factory and the workers). It was easy for her to enter the Japanese factory even though she could not understand any Japanese. After she started to work, the family savings increase and they could bring their daughter in 2008. During this period, the world crisis started, but for them the most important thing was the reunification of the family, and as they told me, “How can we think to go back to Peru after all the trouble that it cost to us to bring all the family to Japan” (Martin and Maria, personal communication, July 20, 2012). For them, a big family

with three young children, without savings and with the decision to settle in Japan, thinking of returning to Peru meant failure. The Japanese government offered Nikkei families some incentives to return to their native countries because most of them lost their jobs, but they decided to continue living in Japan. The question of why this decision was more common among Peruvian Nikkei than Brazilians is the point I wish to analyze.

3.2.4 The World Economic Crisis of 2008

During the world crisis, many Nikkei living in Japan lost their jobs. In 2009, the Japanese government helped with 300,000 Japanese yen for Nikkei who lost their jobs and wanted to return to their country of origin. Additionally, each member of the family who wanted to leave receive 200, 000 Japanese yen per member. The money was not a significant problem, the real problem was that they would not be allowed to return until economic and employment conditions improved. Even though many Brazilian Nikkeis returned to their country, Peruvians made different decisions, as we can observe in the next figure:

Table 3.1 Number of beneficiaries by prefecture where they had lived in Japan

Prefecture	No. by Prefecture	Brazil	Peru	Other
Aichi	5,805	5,547	150	108
Shizuoka	4,641	4,387	158	96
Mie	1,681	1,487	83	111
Gunma	1,458	1,298	94	66
Shiga	1,449	1,321	55	73
Nagano	1,345	1,266	47	32
Gifu	1,185	1,161	13	11
Ibaraki	633	589	29	15
Kanagawa	567	386	93	88
Saitama	506	450	44	12
Other	2,405	2,161	137	107
Total	21,675 (100 %)	20,053 (92.5 %)	903 (4.2 %)	719 (3.3 %)

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2010)

3.3 Main characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian residents in Japan, 2009-2014

Until 2008, the typical life of Peruvian Nikkei was as Pedro described:

Before the world crisis we had more working hours at the factories, we could work extra hours on weekends too. The language was not a big problem even though we couldn't speak Japanese, and we worked because of the lack of manpower. My wife and I worked together to increase our monthly income; we could send remittances to our family, but after the crisis we reduced the remittances, my wife lost her job, and I was unemployed (Pedro, personal communication, April 10, 2014).

Another interviewee Ricardo explained: "Before the crisis we could visit our country at least one time per year, we could save some money and send remittances to our family, sometimes we had to stop sending remittances or reduce it in some months" (Ricardo, personal communication, April 17, 2014). The interviewee touched on the important role remittances play in Peru, a point underscored by the International Organization for Migration (IOM):

Remittances are vital for families left behind. According to Peru's Central Bank, between 1990 and 2011, the country received a total of USD 24 billion in remittances. In 2011, remittances increased by 6.4 percent from the previous year to reach a total of USD 2.697 billion. Remittances were sent mainly by Peruvian migrants in the United States (33.5 percent), followed by Spain (15.9 percent), Japan (9.2 percent), Italy 8.2 percent, and Chile (6.0 percent)" (<https://www.IOM.int>).

Regarding education, the interviewee Erika explained: "Before the crisis my daughter was finishing high school, and we planned to send her to university, but during the world crisis we lost our jobs, and we were surviving on unemployment insurance and, as a result, our daughter could not continue her studies" (Erika, personal communication, April 28, 2014).

As I describe above, the financial crisis that the world has experienced since 2008 has had a great impact on labor migration for Nikkei living in Japan. There is an extensive body of

literature on Nikkei Peruvian families in Japan, but the determinants of staying in Japan so far have not been researched. For Nikkei Peruvian families, there are no studies of the dekasegi living in Japan during and after the Lehman Shock. The research objective of this study is to describe the characteristics and differences of Nikkei Peruvian families in 2009 & 2014 and answer the question of how these characteristics and differences affected the decision to remain in Japan.

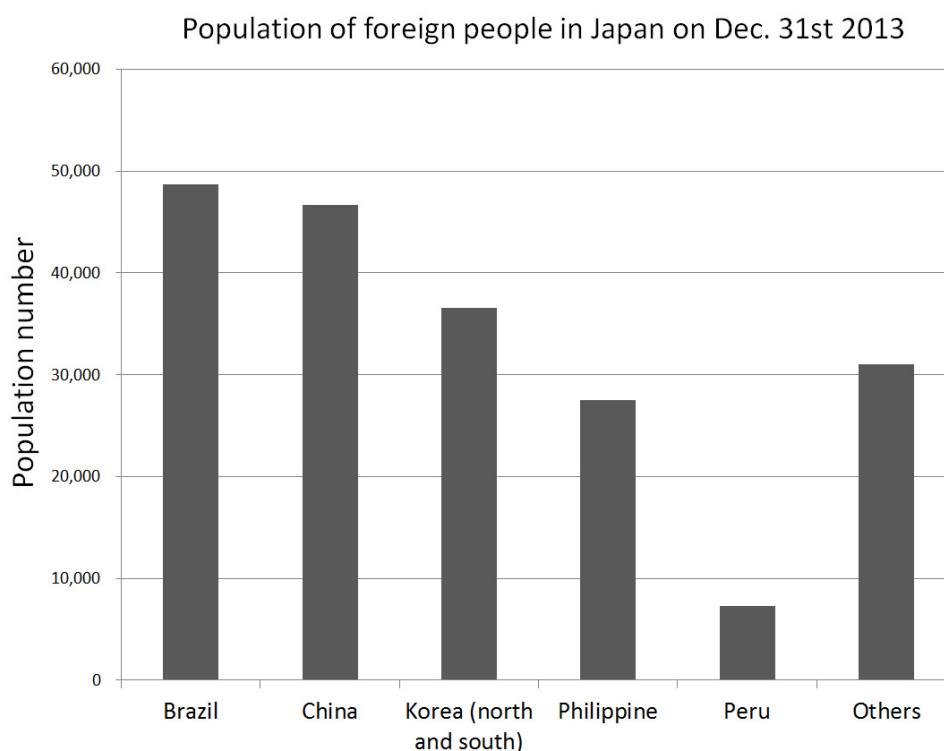
3.3.1 Methodology

To describe the characteristics I use the mixed method, because the quantitative methods, which are the most popular methods in migration research, cannot provide the necessary depth of analysis. On the other hand, qualitative methods, which are used more often in anthropological research, can provide a descriptive and analytical explanation to a single phenomenon, like the Nikkei Peruvian family. In the quantitative research one of the sources was data obtained in April and August 2009 and March and June 2014; it consisted of 100 interviews with Nikkei Peruvians in Japan. Therefore, I used regression analysis (Probit Model). This chapter also utilizes qualitative methods, snow balling, and ethnographic research for five families.

3.3.2 Interviews (2009-2014).

In 2009, the interviews were conducted between April and August in the target area of Aichi Prefecture and its surroundings. Interviews were conducted in Spanish. Aichi Prefecture has a significant concentration of manufacturing industries producing automobile parts and serving as a driving force of the Japanese economy. Therefore, most of the Nikkei Peruvians choose Aichi prefecture, because many factories are concentrated in cities like Toyota and Toyohashi. In 2014, the interviews were conducted between March and June in Aichi and Tokyo areas, which is the Japanese government and finance center, along with successful industries located in cities like Chiba and Yokohama where many Nikkei Peruvians are concentrated.

Table 3.2 Population of foreign people in Japan on December 31st 2013



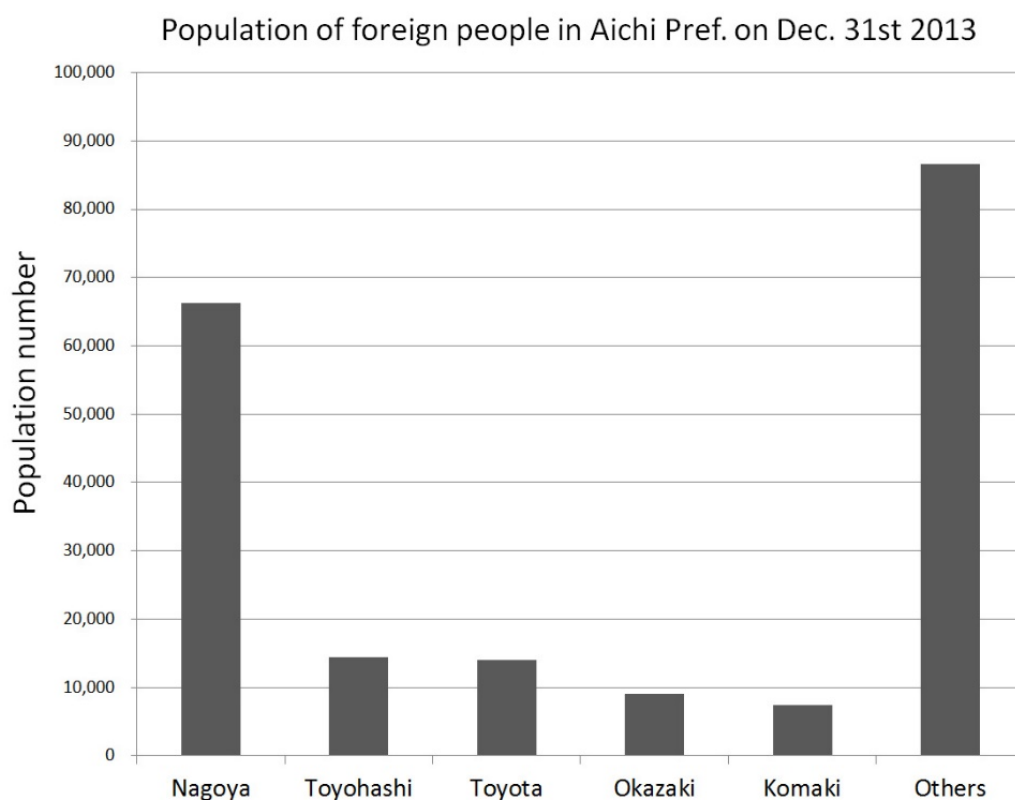
Source: Adapted from Ministry of Justice of Japan (2014)

Table 3.3 Percentage of population of foreign people in Aichi on December 31st 2013

Brazil	48,730	24.6%
China	46,680	23.6%
Korea (North and South)	36,569	18.5%
Philippines	27,519	13.9%
Peru	7,279	3.7%
Others	31,031	15.7%
Total	197,808	100%

Source: Adapted from Aichi Prefectural Government (2014)

Figure 3.4 Population of foreign people in Aichi Prefecture on December 31st 2013



Source: Adapted from Ministry of Justice of Japan (2014)

Table 3.4 Percentage of population of foreign people in Aichi Prefecture on December 31st 2013

Nagoya	66,289	33.5%
Toyohashi	14,413	7.3%
Toyota	13,987	7.1%
Okazaki	9,108	4.6%
Komaki	7,435	3.8%
Others	86,576	43.8%
Total	197,808	100%

Source: Adapted from Aichi Prefectural Government (2014)

3.3.3 Data collection

The data collection method was two questionnaire surveys, Japan Nikkei Survey 1 (JNS1) in 2009 and Japan Nikkei Survey 2 (JNS2) in 2014, created by the researcher. JNS1 I called the first survey for this study JNS1 (Japanese Nikkei Survey 1) that collected between April and August 2009 in Aichi-Japan.

The aim was to understand the reasons why Peruvian Nikkei continued living in Japan after the Lehman Shock and their characteristics in 2009 & 2014, and possible results with different characteristic. The exploration of the database was based on three types of analytical approaches: descriptive, exploratory and interpretative.

In this research I used regression analysis (Probit Model). This chapter also utilizes in-depth interviews with five typical Nikkei Peruvian families. Five Peruvian Nikkei families (designated A, B, C, D, and E) were interviewed. (In this chapter, I used letters as pseudonyms to conceal and protect the residents' identities).

3.3.4 Data Description

Family A consists of a Nikkei Peruvian husband and non-Nikkei Peruvian wife. They have been living in Japan since 2004 (11 years), and they have three children, aged five, nine and thirteen years old respectively. Both wife and husband work from Monday to Saturday for about eight hours every day at a factory. Family B consists of a Nikkei Peruvian wife and Nikkei Brazilian husband. They have been living in Japan since 2004 (11 years), and they are residing in Japan with their three children, who are four, seven, and eleven years old. The wife works eight hours a day at a factory Monday to Friday, and the husband works eight or ten hours every day Monday to Saturday, also at a factory. Family C is an Iraqi husband & Nikkei Peruvian wife. They have been living in Japan since 1991 (24 years). They have three children, 8, 19 and 21 years old respectively. The husband and Peruvian wife are working at a factory every day Monday to Friday for about eight hours. Family D is a Nikkei Peruvian husband and non-Nikkei Peruvian wife. They have been living in Japan for 9 years from 2006, and they have three children aged five, nine and thirteen years old respectively.

Usually, the wife works at a factory Monday to Friday for about eight hours. In the case of the husband, he had been working at a factory Monday to Saturday for about eight or ten hours per day at the time of the interview. Family E consists of a Nikkei Peruvian husband and a Japanese wife. The husband has been living in Japan for about 24 years; they have three children (4, 6 and 9 years old). The wife is a part-time office worker with a professional license in Japan, and the husband is a factory worker. The husband works from Monday to Saturday between eight and ten hours every day. Therefore, the wife spends more time with children in the house. This means the children received Japanese education at school and in the home, so the Japanese language is the native language for children compared to other families.

3.3.5 Model: Logistic Regression Model

This research utilizes a logistic regression model to estimate the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians in making the decision to stay in Japan or not. In this model, 1 indicates if a Nikkei Peruvian stays in Japan and 0 is the opposite. Since the dependent variable is a binary variable, I have to use the qualitative response regression model, in which there are three possible models available: Logistic model, Probit model and Tobit model. Of these, the Probit Model has been widely used by many scholars for their studies, therefore my study also uses the Probit Model.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \times X_1 + \dots + \beta_n \times X_n + e,$$

where $Y = 1$ for stay in Japan

$Y = 0$ leave Japan.

The independent variables are age, education, civil status, gender, Japanese language ability, employability, children and visa type.

3.3.6 Variables analyzed in 2009 and 2014:

Education, gender, Japanese language ability, visa type, marital status, age, children, job, savings

3.4 Quantitative analysis

3.4.1 Regression Results 2009-2014: Probit Model Output 2009-2014

Table 3.5 Probit Regression 2009 and 2014

VARIABLES	2014			2009		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Age	0.0443** (1.987)	0.0440* (1.937)	0.0552** (2.215)	-0.00378 (-0.214)	-0.00700 (-0.371)	-0.169 (-1.142)
Child	1.011** (2.288)	1.000** (2.197)	1.099** (2.263)	0.0800 (0.374)	-0.128 (-0.537)	-0.148 (-0.592)
Gender			-0.0156 (-0.0319)		-0.0782 (-0.208)	0.241 (0.521)
College		-0.0905 (-0.0808)	0.0492 (0.0409)			
High school		-0.158 (-0.234)	-0.180 (-0.254)			
University		-0.148 (-0.186)	-0.011§ (-0.0139)			
Marital Status					0.816* (1.904)	0.959** (2.027)
Japanese Ability			0.0517 (0.0661)			-0.991* (-1.730)
Job			0.0655 (0.121)			
Children						
Education					0.354 (0.736)	0.358 (0.737)
Visa Type						-0.206 (-0.405)
Age Squared						0.00197 (1.040)
Constant	-1.885** (-1.961)	-1.734 (-1.459)	-2.423 (-1.419)	0.276 (0.417)	0.00401 (0.00570)	3.809 (1.370)
Observations	43	43	41	49	49	49

Source: Author

The independent variables are age, education, civil status, gender, Japanese language ability, employability, children and visa type.

Table 3.5 Regression 2009 & 2014 (significant variables) and significant variables obtained by the Probit model.

Significant Variables	Probit Model: Output 2009	Probit Model: Output 2014
Marital Status	Significant: people who were married more likely to remain in Japan compared to unmarried people; this relationship is significant	
Japanese Language	Significant: People who had Japanese language ability were more likely to remain in Japan compared to people who do not have Japanese language ability	
Children		Significant: In 2014 the people who had children were more willing to be in Japan compared to people who did not have children.
Age		Significant: Age is positively related with the decision of remaining in Japan; this means older people were more willing to remain in Japan than young people

Source: Author

3.4.2 Interpretation of the variables in the quantitative analysis

➤ Marital Status

Regarding the survey JNS1 in 2009, from 50 Peruvian Nikkei interviewed in Nagoya, 60 % of them were married and 20% answered that they were single. The five in-depth interviews are included in this number. This represents the typical Nikkei family living and working in Japan. Being married in Japan as a Nikkei family in most cases means sharing expenses because of the high living cost in Japan, but being married and having children would be harder for the Nikkei family. During the period of crisis, those families who have children could not decide to return to Peru because of their children, who were attending Japanese public schools.

➤ **Age**

The JNS1 survey reports that in 2009, 62% of those interviewed were between 20 and 39 years old and the other 38 % are more than 40 years old. Most of Nikkei Peruvians between 20 and 30 years old belong to the second generation of Nikkei in Japan. They understand more Japanese than Spanish, and they received education in Japan. This means for them there is more possibility to be able to work in Japan than Peru because of their educational background. For Peruvians more than 40 years old, it would be difficult to find a job in Peru because of their age, even if they wanted to return to their country of origin.

➤ **Children**

In 2009, the JNS1 survey illustrated that 34% of the people interviewed had children and the other 66 % did not at the time of interview. In Peru, having children means more expenditure for families without receiving any help from the government. On the other hand, in Japan some government aid exists, such as *Jidou Teate Nintei Seikyu Sho*: The parents of children aged 15 years or under can receive a child allowance. The monthly stipend changes according to the age of the child, the order of birth of the child, and the income of the guardians. Children under three receive 15,000 yen per month from the Japanese government; over three and before elementary school graduation receive 10,000 yen per month for the first and second children and 15,000 yen per month for the third and subsequent children, and junior high school students receive 10,000 yen per month. Family C wanted to return to Peru because they lost their jobs, but at that time, their three children were 16, 14 and 3 years old. They were studying at Japanese schools, which made it difficult for the family to return to Peru even given the unstable economic situation in Japan. It would have been worse if they returned to Peru, because their children did not have the Spanish ability to enter Peruvian schools.

➤ **Employment**

The JNS1 survey demonstrated that 58 % of Nikkei Peruvians maintained their employment at the time of interview, and the other 42% lost their jobs because of the Lehman Shock. As we can observe, according to the survey, 50 % of Nikkei Peruvians lost their jobs during the world crisis. Some of them received unemployment insurance (*Shitsugyou Hoken*), that is, benefits to employees when they lost their jobs. The term they can receive the benefits depends on how long they worked and their ages. Therefore, the Japanese government supports the unemployment people while they were looking for new jobs. In family C, both husband and wife were dismissed from the factory in 2009, and after that they worked in another small company for one year. Their salaries were lower than that of the previous company; the husband's salary of 1250 yen per hour was reduced to 780 yen. Also, their working schedules changed because their company did not permit them to work more than eight hours a day, as they had before the crisis.

➤ **Savings**

On this point, I could not obtain any usable information because they felt they could not save what they had proposed to save before coming to Japan, and some of them also had debts at Japanese banks. According to the interview, some of them bought cars or houses in Japan.

In the next section, I will explain the how the quantitative analysis connected and related to the five Nikkei families that I interviewed between 2009 and 2014. The five families were selected as typical Nikkei families in Japan who has more than two children, and had at least one of the members working in a Japanese factory.

3.5 Qualitative Analysis

3.5.1 Qualitative results: Interview results 2009-2014 from five Nikkei families who continued living in Japan

Nikkei Family in Japan 2009: five samples families and survey description

The next table describes the economic aspects of the five Peruvian Nikkei families in 2009.

Table 3.6 Nikkei family in Japan 2009

Family /MS	Gender & Age	Nationality	Job	Living in Japan	Wage 1h	Wage Monthly	Child
A	M 48 F 29	Peru Peru	Factory Factory	5 years	\1400 \1050	\268,800 \201,600	2(4 and 8 years old)
B	M 33 F 31	Peru Brazil	Factory Factory	10 years	1300 1050	\249,600 \201,600	2 (2 and 6 years old)
C	M 42 F 45	Peru Iran	Factory Factory	18 years	\780 \780	\149,760 \149,760	3(16, 14 and 3 years old)
D	M 41 F 35	Peru Peru	Factory Factory	2 years 1 year	\1,250 \800	\200,000 \128,000	2(8 and 4 years old)
E	M 39 F 39	Peru Japanese	Factory No job	19		230,000 0	2(1 and 4 years old)

Source: Author 2009

Nikkei Family in Japan 2014: five samples families and survey description

The next table describes the economic aspects of the five Peruvian Nikkei families in 2014.

Table 3.7 Nikkei family in Japan 2014

Family /MS	Gender & Age	Nationality	Job	Living in Japan	Wage 1h	Wage Monthly	Child
A	M 53 F 34	Peru Peru	Factory Factory	10 years	\1400 \1050	\268,800 \201,600	3(5, 9 and 13years old)
B	M 38 F 36	Peru Brazil	Factory Factory	15 years	1250 900	\250,000 \144,000	3(4,7,11 years old)
C	M 47 F 50	Peru Iran	Factory Factory	23 years	\1250 \760	\250,000 \18,750	3(21,19,8 years old)
D	M 41 F 35	Peru Peru	Factory Factory	7 years 6 year	\1,250 \1000	\300,000 \100,000	3(5, 13, 9 years old)
E	M 44 F 44	Peru Japanese	Factory Office	24 years		230,000 200,000	3 (4,6,9 years old)

Source: Author 2014

3.5.2 Qualitative results: variable results in 2014

➤ Marital Status

Interview data from 2014 demonstrates that 22 % of Nikkei Peruvians were single, and the other 78% were married. This data shows that most of Nikkei Peruvians who continued living in Japan had family, and that this is one of the reasons that they could not go back to Peru even after the world crisis. Maggie from family C said:

Now my daughter is 22 years old, and she has a baby. When the crisis happened in 2009, she was 18 years old. My husband and I lost our jobs. Therefore, we could not support higher education for her. Now we are supporting my grandson too. My second son, 19 years old, decided to drop out of high school and started to work at the factory too. It is good for him to become independent, but I had another goal for him; I wanted him to finish his education and work at another type of job (Maggie, personal communication, May 10, 2014).

➤ Age

In 2014 36% of those interviewed were between 20 and 39 years old and 64% more than 40 years old. The parents of families A, C & D were than 40 years old. The wife of family C temporarily returned to Peru for about four months to look for a job or the possibility of starting a business. However, she could not find any ways to stay in Peru because she was 50 years old and her husband was 48. In Japan, they were working for about 23 years at a factory, and now their two children had become independent second generation Nikkei. Therefore, they thought about retiring and leaving Japan, but after visiting Peru the wife noticed that it was not easy in terms of living standard, social networking, and the possibility to open a new business in Peru. In addition, she felt disappointed because she that after 23 years Peru was like a different country for her.

Finally, she decided to stay in Japan. In Japan elderly people can receive some benefits from the Japanese government, so she realized that retirement in Japan is better than in Peru, and she can stay with her family as well.

➤ **Children**

From the interview, 44% of the interviewed had children and 56% did not. 24 years after the first return migration to Japan, the children of Nikkei Peruvians had become a second generation, and some of them are having babies that will be the third generation of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan. From the interview responses, most of the second generation Nikkei Peruvian did not think of going back to Peru. Even though they have Peruvian nationality, most of them have never visited Peru, they do not know Peru, and also they cannot speak Spanish well. Even for those who visited Peru for vacation, Peru was an unknown country for them. They could enjoy visiting, but it was impossible to live in Peru after comparing the social and economic situations of Peru and Japan. Second generation children are already settled in Japan, and their parents are becoming grandparents of the future third generation. Family ties are crucial for Peruvian Nikkei families in their decision to stay in Japan or not.

➤ **Employment**

In 2014, 86% of those interviewed had a job, with 14% unemployed. Compared to the percentage of those interviewed in 2009, double the percentage was working. Even if the working hours were not the same as before the world crisis, both husband and wife were employed. The economy had become more stable for their families, as Nilda asserted:

Before the world crisis we could work more than 40 hours per week, there were a lot of extra hours; we could work from Monday to Sunday if we needed to. During the world crisis it was reduced to Monday through Friday only, in some cases the wage per hour was reduced, and the extra hours disappeared. Now we can also work extra hours, and we recovered the regular wage from before the crisis, but we cannot work

every day because the unstable schedule still continues. Also, now the ability in Japanese is more important than in the past if we want to obtain a job (Nilda, personal communication, May 17, 2014).

The husband from Family A said that Nikkei in Japan who studied basic Japanese and had been working for a long time in the same Japanese company maintained their jobs during the world crisis until now because working at the same company for a long time is important in Japan (Julio, personal communication, June 20, 2014).

➤ **Savings**

On this point, I could not obtain any information from the families. Some of them said it was difficult to have savings in Japan with family because they are spending them on the education of their children.

3.6 Discussion

This chapter analyzed the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians to continue residing in Japan after the world crisis in 2008. Nikkei Peruvians form an ethnic migrant group that has not been extensively researched by scholars, especially after the world crisis. With regard to the literature review, most of research focused on the first generation of Nikkei Peruvian returnees since 1990, but this chapter found that the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians (children of the first generation) had the strongest influence on the decision to stay in Japan or not. The children of Nikkei Peruvians are established in Japan through school, culture, friends and the Japanese language. Garloc and Starck (1990) affirmed that migrants condition their behavior in the home country according to their economy. For them, if the economy of immigrant's home country improves, the migrants will decide to return. However, in the case of Nikkei Peruvian migrants, even if the economy in Peru is improving, Nikkei Peruvians decided to stay in Japan.

Regarding each family interviewed:

3.6.1 Peruvian – Japanese family (A)

Family A has been living in Japan since 2004, for about 10 years at the time of the interview. The husband (48 years old) and the wife (29) had one child (3) who was born in Peru. While living in Japan, they had more two children, because the husband had the Nikkei visa and his wife obtained a spousal visa. Their primary problem language and communication. Thus they decided to live in one of the most popular cities for Nikkei Peruvians in Aichi Prefecture. After they had made a network with the community, they were able to start working at a factory, and later they could apply for better housing in the municipality.

3.6.2 Peruvian-Brazilian family (B)

In family B, the husband is a Brazilian Nikkei, and the wife is a Peruvian Nikkei. When they came to Japan they were single. After they married they had three children, who were 5, 9 and 11 years old at the time of the interview and attending Japanese public school. Many Nikkei families are Brazilian and Peruvian mixes because most of them have been working together, and the similarity in the language makes communication easy between them. After they became an international family, the main problem for the children has been language. They are studying in Japanese at school but after coming home the mother speaks in Spanish and the father uses Portuguese. Some Nikkei people think that their children are becoming multi-lingual, but they do not master any languages at all. They are becoming semi-lingual, that is, they can speak some percentage of the languages, but writing and reading skills are not sufficient compared to monolingual children. Nevertheless, the language the children write, read and speak best is Japanese. Therefore, even though the world crisis happened and their parents wanted to return to their countries, it would be doubly hard for their children to live in countries they did not know. They were born in Japan, but they are not Japanese. In this family, the determinant to stay in Japan was the children.

3.6.3 Peruvian-Iraqi family (C)

Family C came to Japan 23 years ago with one daughter, who was one at the time. The first goal for them was to work and save money for two years and return to Peru, but while they were living in Japan they had two more children. When their children started school, they could not save enough money for three children. The children begin to speak only in Japanese, and communication with their parents was limited. The children's network at school and their Japanese community increased more than that of their parents because of their ability in the Japanese language. As foreign parents limited to factory work with three children needed to work harder, and as a result the time with family decreased. After 23 years living in Japan, two of their children become the second generation of Nikkei, who become independent and are involved in Japanese society.

3.6.4 Peruvian family (D)

Before coming to Japan in 2007, husband D was working at a medium-sized company in Peru but suddenly lost his job. So being Japanese Nikkei and having a big extended family in Japan (uncles, sister, brothers, and so on) he decided to travel to Japan. The husband of family D came to Japan in 2007 alone without family to work in the factory. After saving some money, he wanted to bring his family to Japan, but his youngest daughter was only 1 year old, so she had to stay in Peru with her grandparents because her mother had to bring the other two children of five and three years old. Before they arrive in Japan, the husband had already found a Peruvian social network to help their family. Therefore, their children could attend the Japanese kindergarten and the wife immediately could start to work at the factory too. Because of the expense of the airplane tickets, they had to pay their debts before bringing their last child. After two years, they found economic stability, so they could bring to Japan the youngest daughter, who was then three years old. In 2007, the husband of family D started to work at a factory for 1,250 yen per hour, Monday through Saturday. However, after the world crisis began, his working hours were reduced, and he was sometimes obliged to take

mandatory unpaid rest days. Because of this, he found a new job at a garbage disposal company as a permanent employee, where he received less salary per hour, but more benefits than other jobs. His salary was approximately 250,000 yen per month, but his salary increased to 300,000 yen with the benefits (family allowance). As we can observe in Family D, the world crisis was overcome by this family using a job hunting strategy. In 2014, after the world crisis, their situation improved, and even though his salary was the same, the husband could work more hours. He was working from Monday to Friday and one Saturday per month with three extra hours, in total 11 hours per day. From the extra hours he received 25% of his regular wage, in total 14,500 yen per day, or 304,500 yen per month. In December 2013, they used another strategy to improve their life in Japan. The wife and three children made a temporary return to Peru for about four months because they thought it was imperative to maintain the Spanish language that they are losing in Japan, and the wife wanted to obtain a car license in Peru because it was easier to learn in her language. Another important reason to go back to Peru was to sell their Peruvian land to obtain some money for buying a new house in Japan.

3.6.5 Peruvian- Japanese Family (E)

The husband is of Japanese descent, and the wife Japanese. The children were born in Japan. Therefore, they already have assimilated into Japanese public school without any problem; they have their social network with Japanese friends. If they want to go back to Peru the children do not have the ability to speak in Spanish. They can speak only basic words because the Japanese mother educated them in the Japanese language. The husband and wife are 44 years old. The husband is working at a factory as a permanent employee (*seishain*), and the wife is an office worker. In Peru the husband would find it difficult to attain employment, and the wife cannot speak Spanish. The husband has been paying his insurance for retirement for about 20 years in Japan. Therefore, he wants to receive it in five years. The mother and

children are native Japanese speakers, and the husband can speak good Japanese. As a result, the possibility of return to Peru is low for them.

Significant variables from the interviews

➤ Family

“Immigrants family raises children in a different country...immigrant families consist of parents born outside but to children born in the other country. The process of childrearing in this context is vastly different from the one by which the parents themselves were raised” (Yoshikawa 2008:10). The second generation of Nikkei Peruvians have Peruvian nationality, but their background of social and human capital was developed in Japan.

➤ Japanese Language

“Despite the extraordinary challenges they face, many children seem to beat the odds and achieve well in school (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez Orozco, 2001). It begs the question as to how they provide support for their children” (as cited in Yoshikawa 2008, p.10). Nikkei Peruvian children of the second generation provide support to their parents in Japan. This support means that the different problems that parents had in the past will be solved by their children. For example, the Japanese language problem. Therefore social networking with Japanese society will be supported by their children of the second generation.

➤ Children’s settlement

The Nikkei second generation has already settled in Japan, because of their family, social network, and human capital is already located in Japanese society. There is no motivation or reasons to go back to their country of origin, even if the economy of Peru has become better than in past years. Their decision is not only for monetary reasons, but they also the reason of family connection through the second generation. Relating to this study, some researchers affirmed that migration is fundamentally a family affair. “More often than not, family obligations and family ties are the very foundations of the arduous immigrant voyage (Suárez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008). Therefore, the immigrant family and child,

however, present many challenges for study” (as cited in Yoshikawa, 2008, p. 88). Consider children who are born in Japan or who come to Japan when they had less than five years old, who started their schooling from kindergarten. On the other hand, the reality would be different for children who had already started their elementary school education in Peru, who were obliged by the parent’s circumstances, to continue their studies in Japan. Children who began their studies in Japan from the second or third grade of elementary school would have difficulty to be involved in the Japanese education system. Each case would have different problems according to their ability to learn Japanese. Those students in the future would become semi-lingual children because they could not finish their basic education in their native language and they also cannot become native Japanese speakers.

➤ **Age**

In the second result that I analyzed in 2014, Nikkei Peruvians stayed in Japan because of their age, being too old to apply for a job. From the interview and survey, 64% of them are more than 40 years old. This result means that it would be difficult for them to find a job after going back to Peru and they would have a difficult life without savings in their country. In Japan, older Peruvian Nikkei already have jobs, and some of them are paying retirement insurance. Older Peruvian Nikkei in Japan, even if they lose their jobs, can survive because of employment insurance that some of them received from the Japanese government. This kind of employment insurance does not exist in Peru.

➤ **Marital Status**

In both surveys (2009 and 2014), marital status is significant for Nikkei Peruvians to remain in Japan. Most of the married people have children studying at Japanese schools, and their married status permitted some of them to maintain their visa status as the wife or husband of a Nikkei Peruvian. Therefore they share the wages and expenses for their family because most of the Peruvian Nikkei couple work together in the factories. In some cases, their wages became high than typical Japanese couples.

3.7 Conclusion

This research compared the economic situation of Nikkei Peruvian families during and after the world crisis in 2008. Using the Probit Model, this research pointed out what main variables influenced the decision to stay in Japan or not during and after the world crisis happened. Furthermore, doing in-depth interviews, this research described the characteristics and differences of Nikkei Peruvian families who remained in Japan in 2009 and 2014.

Marital status, Japanese language ability, children and age have a significant influence on the decisions to stay in Japan. Five in-depth interviews showed the importance of these four variables in the social and economic aspects of Peruvian Nikkei. The variable of marital status in 2009 for Peruvian Nikkei family shows that a Peruvian Nikkei who is married is more likely to remain in Japan compared to unmarried people. This result was confirmed in the in-depth interviews. Nikkei Peruvians who have second generation family in Japan were indirectly forced to stay in Japan because their children have already settled in Japan. Moreover, Japanese language ability was one of the main factors for Nikkei to maintain their employment during the crisis, compared to those who did not speak Japanese. Additionally, those Nikkei Peruvian families with children raised in Japan have received assistance in daily life from the children, thus reducing the cost of using a translator as in the past. Even though the children's nationality is Peruvian, their social and human capital developed in Japan. Therefore, social networking with Japanese society will be helped by their children.

In the second study in 2014, the age of Nikkei Peruvians is an important reason for Nikkei to stay in Japan. 64% of Nikkei Peruvians were more than 40 years old. This data means that it would be difficult for them to find a job after going back to Peru and they would have a difficult life there without savings. In Japan, older Peruvian Nikkei can work at a factory and continue paying their security insurance for retirement, and there is an employment insurance system in Japan that is not available in Peru. It is assumed that Nikkei Peruvian families' social and human capital interactions have an important role in their decision to stay or leave

Japan during and after the Lehman Shock. Age, Japanese language ability, marital status and child variables are crucial factors for their decision to stay in Japan. However, their ages and marital status (having a family) seem to be the main reason to stay in Japan. On the other hand, the economy factor in the country of origin does not influence the decision of Peruvian Nikkei families to stay in Japan. Therefore, the Nikkei Peruvian immigrant family and the relevant variables for the second generation Nikkei Peruvian settled in Japan, present many challenges for future studies. What is the social and economic condition of the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvian in Japanese society? This is a significant gap to fill in future research.

Chapter 4: The Challenges for Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan After the Crisis of 2008: Characteristics of Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians and their Differences in Employment Status

4.1 Introduction

The global financial crisis, globalization and the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 have caused labor transformation in Japan since the Lehman Shock. In the previous chapters, I focused on the first generation of Nikkei Peruvians settled in Japan, where I found that age, Japanese language ability, marital status, and children were crucial factors for their decision to stay in Japan. On the other hand, the economic factor of the country of origin did not influence the decision of Peruvian Nikkei families to stay in Japan. The relevant variables for the second generation Nikkei Peruvians settled in Japan are main points of research in this chapter, exploring their characteristics in 2015 and the differences in their employment status since the global economic crisis of 2008. These findings were compiled through surveys, ethnographic research and interviews in 2015.

In the 1990s, many Peruvians entered to Japan and started to work in factories. Most of them came with contract employment through private agencies¹ that provided Nikkei Peruvians with assistance to settle in Japan. Therefore, they did not need to use the Japanese language at all for survival. As a consequence, Nikkei Peruvians did not think seriously about acquiring Japanese ability, and they did not imagine how difficult it would be to be integrate into Japanese society. Because of the economic climate after 2008, the situation became difficult because many of them lost their jobs and it was harder for them to look for a new job with low or no Japanese ability. As a result, many had to move to look for a new job with

their children. This problem affected their children more because most of them had to stop their education because of the financial problems.

During the crisis only 3.8% of Peruvians returned to their country, which means that despite the crisis most second generation Nikkei Peruvians still continue living in Japan. Peruvians who stay in Japan have to face the challenge of their children's education because there is not any particular program for helping Peruvian children in school. Children have to attend lessons in Japanese even if they cannot understand the Japanese language. Therefore, the problem of language learning became the principal concern for children's education; they could not maintain the mother tongue at a good level, and they could not learn Japanese at a good level either.

Now in 2015, those children have become the young of the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan. With regard to the results that I found in chapter three, the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians is one of the main reasons that the first generation of Nikkei Peruvians decided to continue living in Japan even after the world crisis happened. Therefore, this chapter examines the characteristics of this second generation. This chapter aims to answer two questions: first; what are the main characteristics of the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians, and second, what are the main variables that influence their employment status. These questions answer how the problems explained above were overcome by second generation Nikkei Peruvians and their livelihoods in Japan.

4.2 Nikkei Peruvian Second Generation

This chapter will proceed in the following way: In section 2, as background I will describe the relevant problems of second generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan, with particular focus on education, identity, social, and employment problems. In section 3, I shall explain the

characteristics and differences of second generation Nikkei Peruvians who are residing in Japan.

4.2.1 The language development and education of second generation Nikkei

Language

Since the first generation of Nikkei Peruvian arrived in Japan in 1990, two and half decades have passed. The Nikkei Peruvian people who came to Japan at that time had only one purpose, to work in Japan. As time passed, they needed to bring over their families, including their children. Their spouses usually started to work at Japanese factories, but problems started for them when they had to send their children to school. Japanese schools do not have special education for immigrants from other countries, such as in the USA Japan does not have long experience with migration like other countries. Therefore, Japan is not prepared at all for foreign residents. Japanese school law² accepts foreign children to enter elementary and junior high school as Japanese children do, but all the lessons are taught only in Japanese. Foreign children who start to study at Japanese schools at an early age can overcome the language barrier in a few years. On the contrary, those foreign children who have already started their education in their country of origin have difficulty integrating into the Japanese education system, especially because of the difficulty of learning the Japanese language. Therefore, foreign children have to attend lessons in Japanese even if they cannot understand the Japanese language, so the problem of language learning became the principal limitation for Peruvian children to continue to high school or tertiary education.

Furthermore, young second generation Nikkei could not maintain the mother tongue at a good level either. Peruvian children started to have language problems at home to communicate with their parents because they are speaking Spanish at home with parents and Japanese at the Japanese school. As a result, students cannot communicate very well in Spanish with parents and sometimes cannot have good communication at school in Japanese either, because they did not receive any support at home in the Japanese language.

Consequently, young second generation Nikkei have had to face these problems by themselves.

The principal reason that first generation Nikkei Peruvians came to Japan was to work in factories. In consequence, the majority of Nikkei Peruvian people work many hours and they do not have enough time to learn Japanese and help to their children. On the other hand, they do not assimilate the importance for children to learn Spanish until they have communication trouble in the home. Nikkei Peruvians do not understand the importance of supporting their children in learning both Spanish and Japanese. Fortunately, this situation did not occur in all families. Some Nikkei families attended Japanese lessons, especially during the world economic crisis. During this period, the Japanese government offered Japanese lessons and technical courses as a program for unemployment people³. This program helped some families to be involved in Japanese courses, and therefore some second generation children received language support from their parents.

In conclusion, some of the second generation who received the support of their parents could go on to tertiary education, but others could not attend tertiary education in Japan, and another percentage of them could not finish high school either. To settle in Japan and become accepted in Japanese society, foreign residents of Japanese descent need to acquire Japanese language skills as the means of communication in Japanese society, and for their children it is necessary to maintain Spanish as the mother tongue for the possibility of returning to the home country in the future. Insufficient Japanese language proficiency poses problems in every life in Japan, including children's education, employment, and communication with government offices and the local community.

Education

The education development and its connection with the labor market for the Peruvian Nikkei second generation is an important point to be analyzed to understand the characteristics of the second generation Peruvian Nikkei in Japan. Ana Sueyoshi, in her

research, “Second Generation of South Americans in Japan: Building Educational and Professional Career” (2014) wrote that:

Despite high levels of school absenteeism and dropout rates, and low education continuance rate, in absolute and relative terms, have characterized South American children’s education in Japan (Kojima, 2006; Miyajima, 2006; Tamaki, 2012 and 2013), there is a group of conspicuous but unfortunately still few unexpected achievers, whose educational attainments have not always been singled out by the current literature. This second generation of South Americans is building their educational and professional careers in Japan or their homeland (p.119).

Sueyoshi gathered her data by interviewing 24 young second generation Latin Americans who are studying or working in the Kanto area to identify the main common determinants in continuing high school and post-secondary education. Most of her interviewees were students at high school or university who overcame the barriers of the language by using different strategies in the Japanese education system, such as letters of recommendation and interviews. But what happens to those who could not overcome the barrier of the language, and who did not have the support of their parents and who lost the motivation to go on to tertiary education? It is difficult to determine the total population of young second generation Peruvians in Japan, but it is important to know both the failures and successful cases of continuing education in Japan to finally understand what their backgrounds are that lead to differences in employment status within the labor market in Japan.

4.2.2 Identity problems

Nikkei Peruvian children who have remained in Japan with their parents have different backgrounds and they are a heterogeneous group. Some of them came at an early age, while others arrived at elementary school age, and the most problematic group came at junior high school age. Therefore, the situation of each one is very different and there are distinct problems for each group. Nikkei Peruvian children faced a new challenge when they went to

Japanese school while their parents worked at the factories. However, while parents do not need to use the Japanese language, their children have to put their faith in the new situation at school. Most of them have never traveled to Peru, but they are Peruvian. Most of them cannot speak Spanish as their native language but they are supposedly native speakers. As a consequence, some feel confused about their identity.

During the interviews with second generation Nikkei Peruvians who grew up in Japan, I found that some of them felt confused about their identity. Many Peruvian children who grow up in Japan attending Japanese schools from early age think that they are Japanese. Some of them feel confused when they have to talk about their family background, and the others feel that they are different than other Peruvians. However, when they become adults, and they have to decide between Peruvian or Japanese nationality, they feel even more confused. One of the major problems is the questions that they sometimes ask themselves, such as who am I? Am I Japanese? Am I Peruvian? Am I half? Which is my country? These questions make them confused about their identity and citizenship.

On the other hand, some of them nationalized as Japanese. Nevertheless, one of the interviewees told me that when he applied for a job in a Japanese company, they separated him from the Japanese group and considered him as a “Japanese naturalized abroad”⁴. Therefore even second generation Nikkei Peruvians who speak fluent Japanese, study at Japanese school, have a physical appearance like Japanese, and grow up all their life in Japan they will never feel like Japanese in Japan, because of their foreign background. As Robert Moorehead (2014) stated in a presentation:

The youth report a range of identities (*hāfu*, *Nikkei*, Peruvian, Japanese, Japanese + Peruvian), but they struggle to articulate how being Peruvian is a part of their daily lives. Instead, a Peruvian identity is symbolic, reduced to expression in birthday cakes, Christmas dinners, and occasionally speaking Spanish. The youth plans to remain in Japan, including obtaining Japanese citizenship, with few diasporic ties to Peru.

Several factors are encouraging their assimilation, including the declining presence of co-ethnic migrants, the lack of ethnic institutions in the community, the pressure to assimilate in Japanese schools, and the transition to high school and tertiary education, where immigrant youth attend school with few co-ethnics. Nevertheless, this weakening of a Peruvian diasporic identity to symbolic status is surprising, given that Japanese identity is popularly defined as homogeneous and mono-ethnic. Immigrant and mixed-race people in Japan are also racialized as *gaijin* (foreigners, outsiders). This has resulted in identity quandaries for many *Nikkei* migrants, including the immigrant parents of the second generation, weakening their sense of belonging in Japan and strengthen their national (Brazilian, Peruvian) or alternate ethnic identities (Nikkei, Okinawan).

4.2.3 Second generation Nikkei employment status problem in the Japanese labor market

The young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians, as I mentioned before, are divided into two groups. First is the successful group which overcame the barrier of the language and continued to high school or tertiary education, and the second group is formed by the young Nikkei Peruvians who did not finish high school or tertiary education. As a consequence, their differences in employment status depend on to which group they belong. Before the Lehman Shock, most of the second group was employed in part-time jobs or full-time jobs at factories, and the first group was studying or working in Japanese companies as “*salaryman*”⁵. Most of the first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians have contract jobs rather than permanent positions. Therefore, many of them lost their jobs during the world crisis, especially those who worked in the factories, because many companies stopped production. What happened to the second generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan after this period?

Regarding the first generation, Takenaka (2009) described their situation in times of recession in Japan:

According to the 2000 Japanese census, 88% of Peruvians surveyed (19,771 in total) reported that they engaged in manual labor, whereas only 1% held professional, technical, and managerial jobs. Their jobs were unstable, first and foremost, because they worked under contracts of usually 3 or 6 months. Contract worker were susceptible to economic cycles; in times of recession, bonuses were cut, as were hours of overtime work. They were also vulnerable to government policies. The increase in the Japanese consumption tax from 3% to 5% in April 1997, for instance, affected many Peruvian workers (p.5).

Even though many Peruvians were affected by the recession in 1997, the migration to Japan continued. Some second generation Nikkei Peruvians analyzed this situation regarding their parents, how they overcame the recession with their family, even though their parents did not have Japanese language proficiency. Therefore, they thought that they could also overcome recession in the future as their parents had by working hard at the factory. Because of their background, their future is in Japan. Many of the second generation also compare the salary of their parents working at factories (blue collar workers)⁶ with the salary of salaryman after studying at university (white collar workers)⁷, and some realized that to earn more money it is better to work at a factory. In Peru, this situation is reversed; if people want to earn more money, they have to study at university because working in factories in Peru means earning only enough salary for survival.

4.2.4 The Lehman Shock and its consequences for second generation Nikkei Peruvians in the Japanese labor force

According to the study of Takenaka in 2009, generational succession would be one mechanism to change the Peruvian Nikkei first generation's low social status to upward mobility. However, six years later after the world crisis, the second generation Nikkei

Peruvians did not cover at all the perspective of the first generation. It means that some percentages of second generation have continued doing the same unskilled job in the factory like their parents, the first generation.

Moriya (2013) affirmed that “the middle-class is collapsing even in Japan... with an increase in non-regular employees as a result of the changes in human resource management and labor after the Lehman Shock.” (p.315). This problem also affected second generation Nikkei Peruvians because the recruitment of new graduates in 2012 was extremely low in Japan.

The Great East Japan Earthquake has further increased unemployment of a large number of young people. As a result of continued high unemployment, after the Lehman Shock, 1.93 million people received Japan’s welfare benefits in August 2010. There is increased participation by the NPO’s or social enterprises in dealing with poverty issues. (Moriya, 2013, p.326).

Moriya also affirmed that the three major causes of the labor transformation after the Lehman Shock in Japan are, in order: 1, the global financial crisis; 2, the Great East Japan Earthquake, which caused widespread devastation, and destroyed several business units across Japan; and 3, globalization, which was particularly exposed after the Lehman Shock. The period after the Lehman Shock was characterized by the layoff of temporary workers, including the Nikkei Peruvian first and second generation. “The people most affected by the Lehman Shock in the fall were foreign workers in non-regular employment. In Japan, low-skilled foreign workers are legally not permitted.” (Moriya, 2013, p.317).

As a result, the global financial crisis, globalization and the Great East Japan Earthquake caused a labor transformation in Japan after the Lehman Shock:

According to a study conducted by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare on January 16, 2009, the number of foreign workers in Japan was approximately 486,000, with more than 30% (i.e. 163,000) being temporary/contract workers. Due to the

recession, a large number of Japanese descendants in non-regular employment were laid off. As a result, unemployment increased in the Japanese-descendant community mentioned above, and this had a considerable impact on their economic status. (Moriya, 2013, p. 317).

Therefore, the relevant variables for the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians settled in Japan are the main points of research to understand the characteristics of the younger generation of Nikkei Peruvians and their differences in employment status, especially during the labor transformation in Japan after the Lehman Shock.

4.3 Characteristics and Differences of Nikkei Peruvians Who Remain in Japan: Second Generation, 2009-2014

This study aims to answer the following questions:

- What are the main characteristics of the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians who reside in Japan after the financial crisis?
- What are the main variables that influence the differences in employment status in the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians?

4.3.1 Methodology

Qualitative methods can provide a descriptive and analytical explanation to a single phenomenon, like second generation Nikkei Peruvians. The method here consists of micro-ethnographic research through in-depth interviews with second generation Nikkei Peruvians who live in Japan. As is usual, ethnography entails fieldwork, and in this case, I did fieldwork in Japan, especially in the places where most Nikkei are living with their families. Therefore, I tried to live with them, participating in many activities. I also used the Chi-square test because it is used to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between expected and observed frequencies in a categorical variable. It helps me identify effective differences, which are not due to random sampling variation.

4.3.2 Interview (2015)

The interviews were carried out between January and July 2015 in the Kanto area. The interviews were done in Spanish. The Kanto area is home to many Nikkei Peruvian families because many manufacturing industries are located in the region's cities. I surveyed 33 Nikkei Peruvians of the younger generation, interviewed 5 case studies, and 2 community leaders in two different cities who have been working for several years as translators, helping Nikkei Peruvians of the first and second generations.

4.3.3 Data collection

The data collection method was one questionnaire survey, observations and in-depth interviews prepared by the researcher. The objective was to describe the main characteristic of the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians and to find the main variables that influence the differences in their employment status. The exploration of the database was based on various types of analytical approaches: descriptive, exploratory and interpretative. I also applied the Chi-square test.

4.3.4 Data description

Of the 33 interviewees, some were born in Japan, others came at an early age, another group came to Japan at elementary school age, and the final group came at junior high school age. Each group has a different educational background, so it is necessary to measure their difficulty in learning the Japanese language with reference to what age they were at the moment of arrival in Japan. They can speak Spanish as their mother tongue and while they did their studies in Japan some of them learned Portuguese, Japanese, and English. However, their level in all those languages is not high, because they could not undergo the whole process of learning a language (listening, speaking, writing and reading). Most of them can speak Spanish, but writing and reading instruction in their mother tongue was not complete at all. Most of them have Peruvian parents and a small percentage Japanese fathers or mothers.

4.3.5 Model: Chi-Square Test

In the quantitative analysis, I used a two-way tabulation between the dependent variable (employment status) and the independent variables (age, receipt of social welfare, education, marital status, place of birth and gender).

4.3.6 Variables analyzed in 2015

A statistical analysis of employment status is performed using six relevant variables from the ethnographic case study: gender, civil status, place of birth, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare.

4.4 Quantitative analysis

4.4.1 Q-square Test: 2015

Table 4.1 Q-square Test 2015

Characteristics	Employment Status				Chi-Square Significance
	Factory Work		Non Factory Work		
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Gender					
Female	4	44%	5	31%	0.4352 Pr = 0.509
Male	5	56%	11	69%	
Total	9	100%	16	100%	
Civil Status					
Divorced	0	0%	1	7%	7.2 Pr = 0.027
Married	0	0%	7	47%	
Single	9	100%	7	47%	
Total	9	100%	15	100%	
Place of Birth					
Japan	3	33%	3	20%	0.5333 Pr = 0.465
Peru	6	67%	12	80%	
Total	9	100%	15	100%	
Age Group					
15 to 20	5	56%	0	0%	13.1394 Pr = 0.001
21 to 30	4	44%	7	47%	
31 to 40	0	0%	8	53%	
Total	9	100%	15	100%	
Education Status					
Does not study	5	56%	15	94%	5.2517 Pr = 0.022
Studying	4	44%	1	6%	
Total	9	100%	16	100%	
Social Welfare					
Health Insurance	3	33%	0	0%	6.9667 Pr = 0.031
<i>Teate</i>	6	67%	6	60%	
Unemployment Insurance	0	0%	4	40%	
Total	9	100%	10	100%	

Source: Author

* *Teate* means the aid for children from Japanese government.

Significant Variables: Chi-Square Test

Table 4.1 shows that there are significant differences between factory and non-factory workers. In particular, the Chi-square test shows that the main differences between these two groups have to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare. On the other hand, differences in gender and place of birth do not show significance for employment status.

For gender: if the P value is less than 5 %, then the differences in gender explain the differences in employment status, but in this case the P value is 50 %, thus the differences in gender do not explain employment status.

For civil status: P value is 2.7 %, thus differences in civil status explain differences in employment status.

For place of birth: the P value is 46.5 %, thus differences in place of birth do not explain differences in employment status.

For age group: the P value is 0.1 %, thus differences in age group explain differences in employment status.

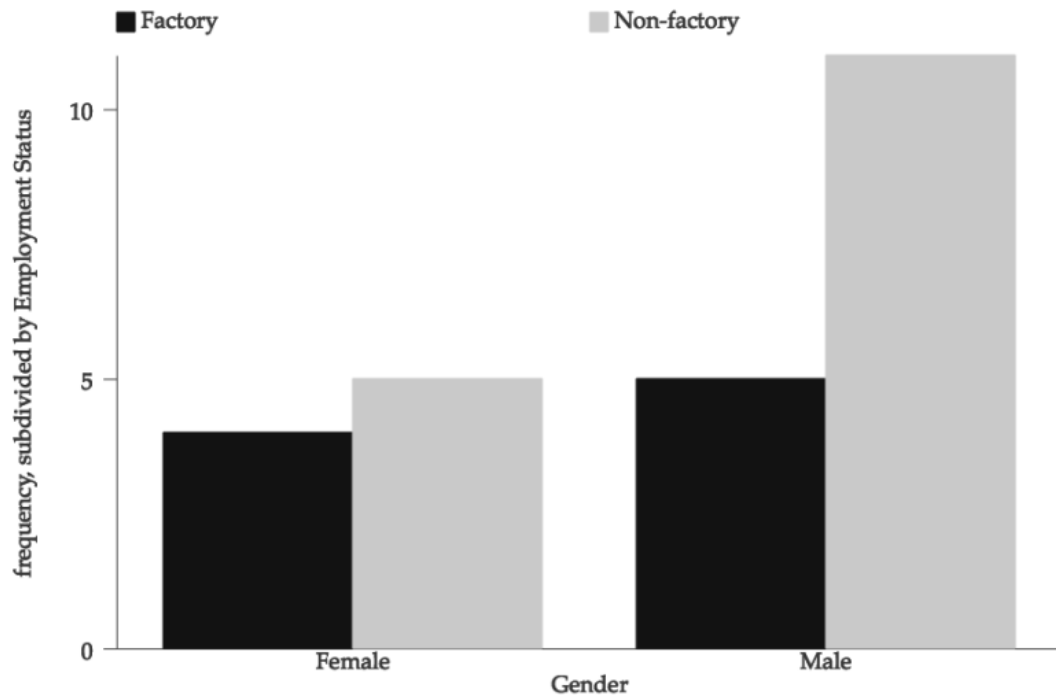
For education status: the P value is 2.2 %, thus differences in education status explain differences in employment status.

For receipt of social welfare: the P value is 3.1 %, thus differences in receipt of social welfare explain differences in employment status.

4.4.2 Tabulation of variables analyzed in 2015

GENDER

Figure 4.1 Interpretation of the variable gender

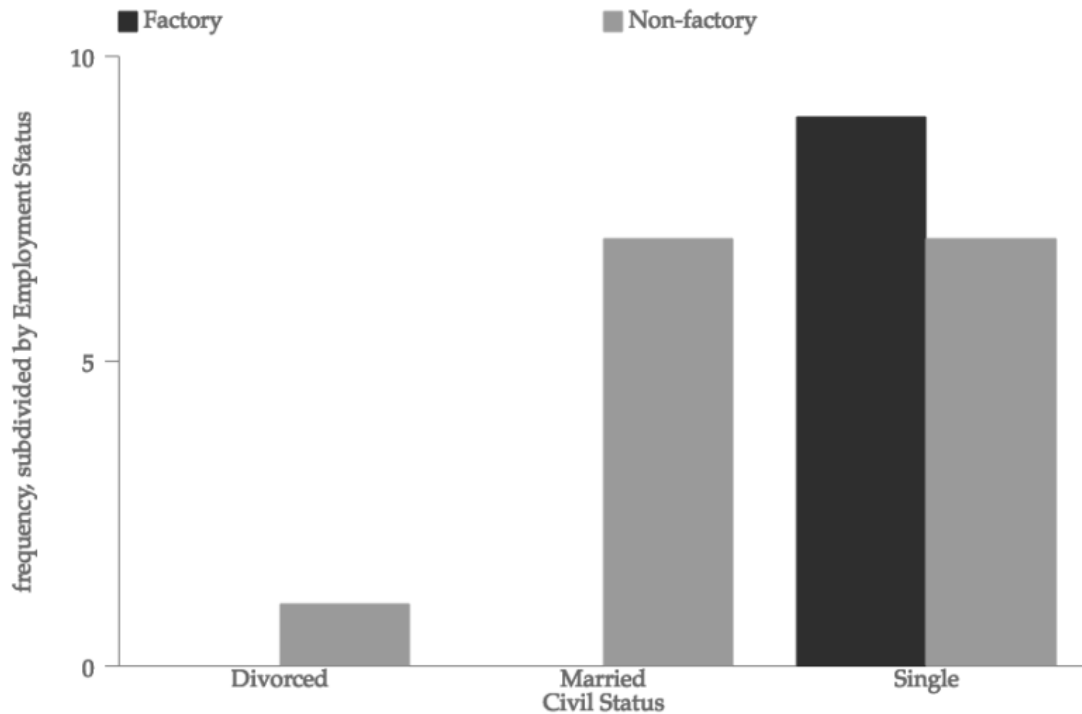


Source: Author

Most women and men do not have factory jobs. 44% of Nikkei second generation women work in factories, and 56% do not. On the other hand, 31% of men are working in a factory, and 69 % are not. Thus, there are observed differences. But are these differences statistically significant? To answer this question in the next section, I will use a Chi-square test.

CIVIL STATUS

Figure 4.2 Interpretation of the variable Civil Status

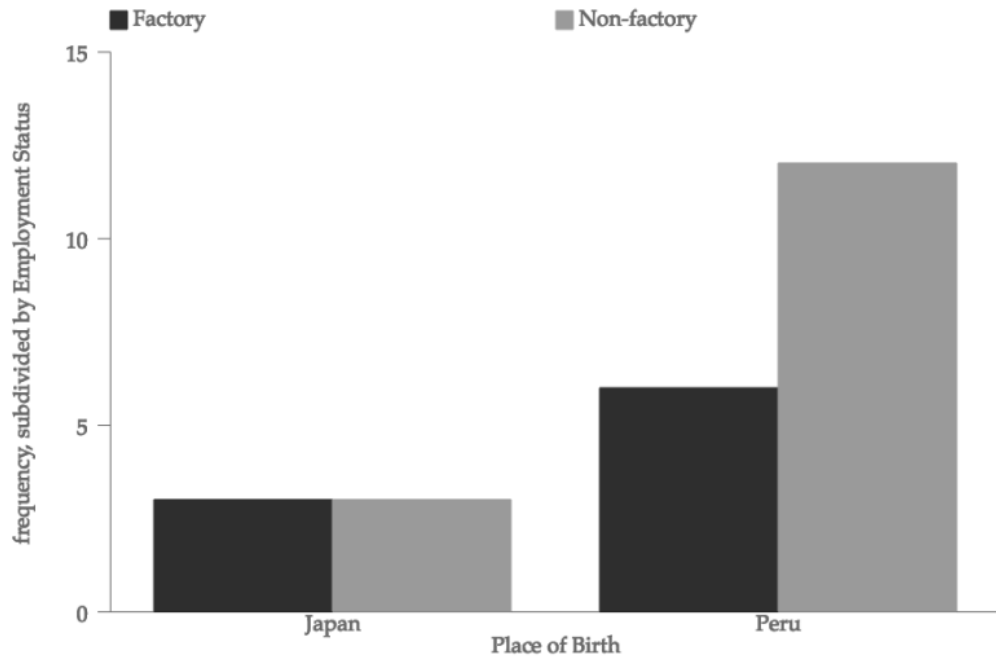


Source: Author

Between employment status and civil status, of people who are single 56% work in factories and 44% do not, whereas married and divorced people work somewhere else.

PLACE OF BIRTH

Figure 4.3 Interpretation of the variable for place of birth by data tabulation

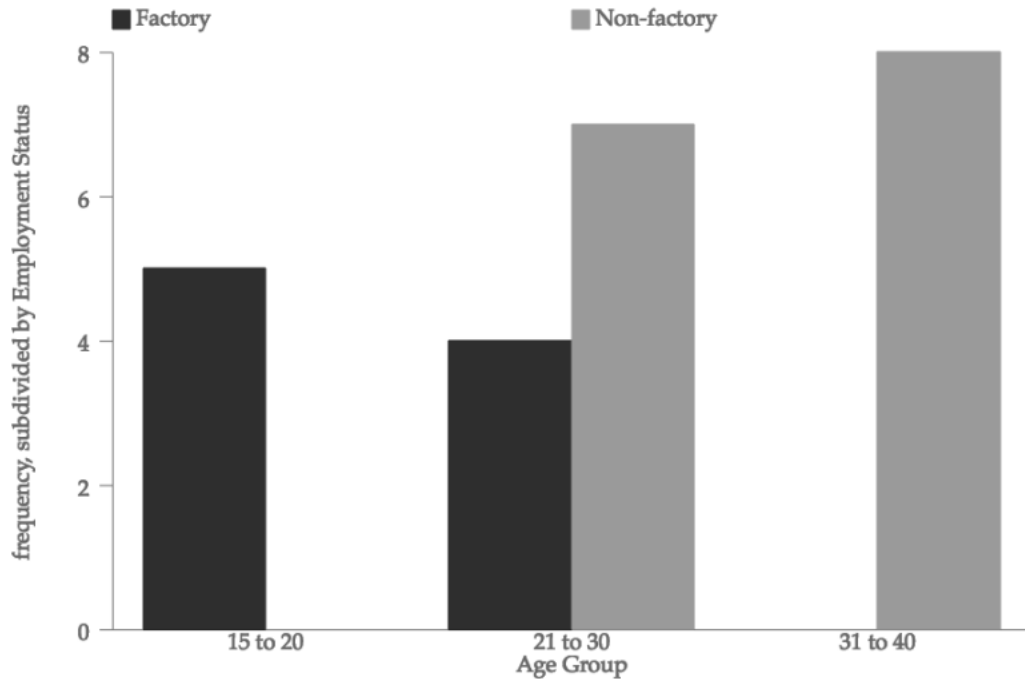


Source: Author

Between employment status and place of birth, most of the people of the second generation who were born in Peru are not working in factories (67%), but 33% do. Of the other group of the people who were born in Japan, 50% of them work in factories.

AGE GROUP

Figure 4.4 Interpretation of the variable age group by data tabulation

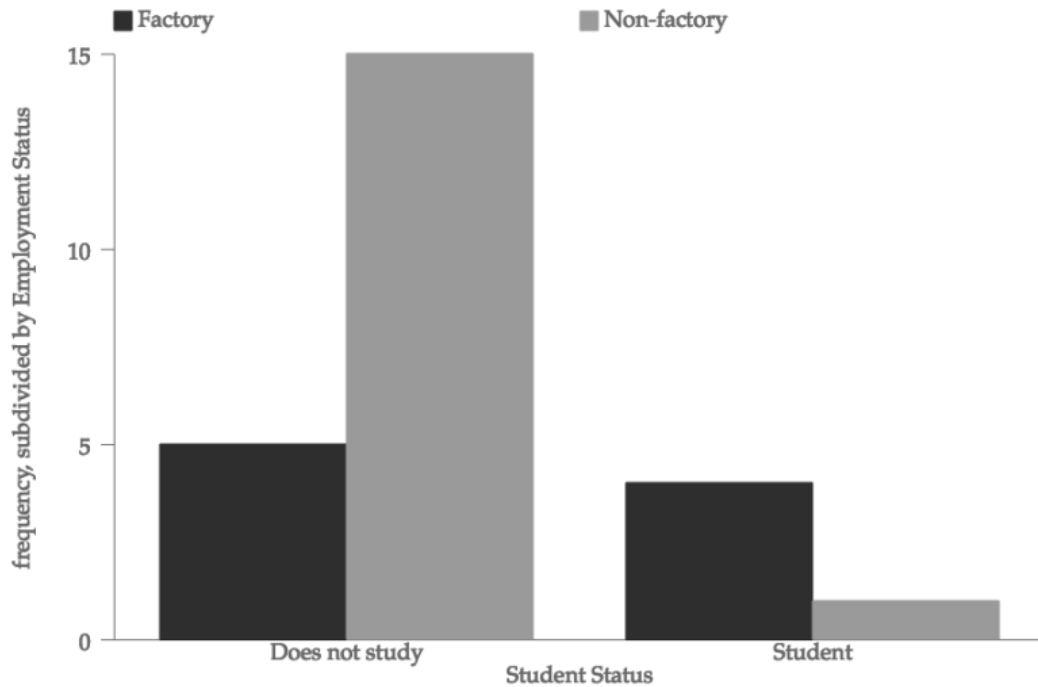


Source: Author

This is a two-way tabulation between employment status and age group. Most people of the second Nikkei generation between 21 and 30 years old (64%) are not working in factories, while 36% of this age group are. People between 15 and 20 years old often work in factories, and perhaps most of them dropped out of school. People between 31 and 40 years old are not working in factories. Some of them have their own businesses, or work as occasional workers (*freeters* in Japanese). Thus, there are observed differences and I will later show if these differences are statistically significant.

STUDENT STATUS

Figure 4.5 Interpretation of the variable of education status by data tabulation

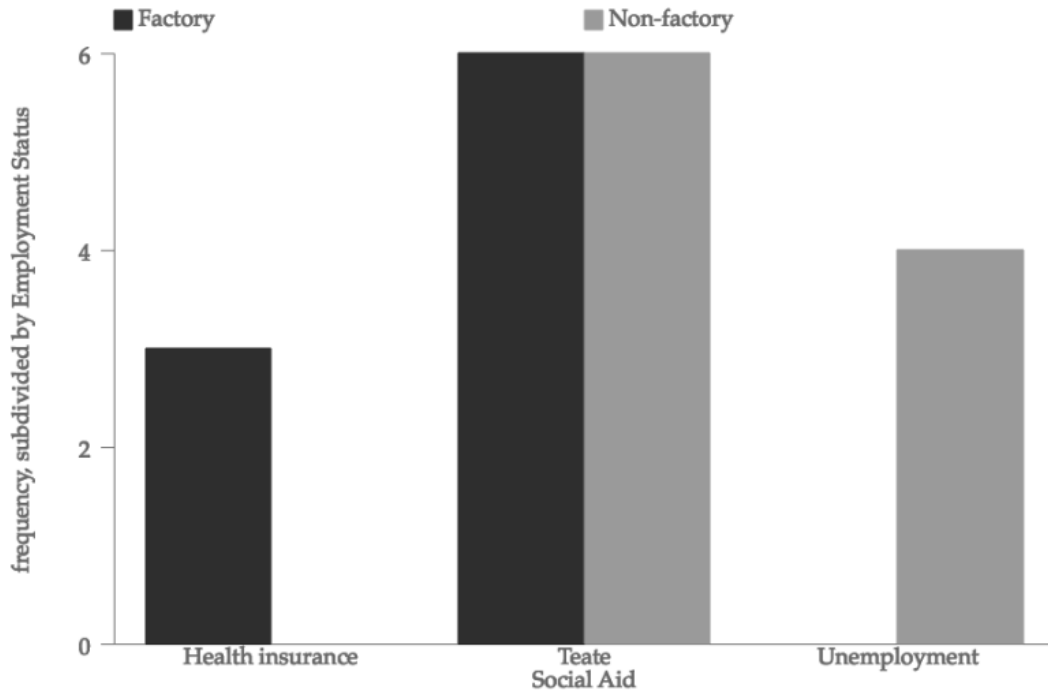


Source: Author

For employment status and education status in my interview group, people who do not study are 80% in total and people who study are 20%. Most of the people who do not study (75%) are not working in factories and only 25 % of the people who do not study do work in factories.

RECEIPT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Figure 4.6 Interpretation of the variable for receipt of social welfare by data tabulation



Source: Author

This is two-way tabulation between employment status and receipt of social welfare. Most of the people who are not in factories received more social welfare as benefits from the government.

4.5 Qualitative analysis

4.5.1 Qualitative results: Interview results 2015 for second generation Nikkei Peruvians

The interviewees were classified in seven typologies groups:

Table 4.2 Typologies of Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians

Typology	Description
1	The second generation born in Japan.
2	The second generation who came to Japan at an early age (1 to 6 years old)
3	The second generation who came to Japan when they were at early elementary school age (grades 1 to 3, ages 7 to 9)
4	The second generation who came to Japan when they were in grades 4 to 6 (10 to 12 years old)
5	The second generation who came to Japan when they were in junior high school (13 to 15 years old)
6	The second generation who came to Japan when they were in high school (16 to 18 years old)
7	The second generation who made U-Turn between Japan and Peru

Source: Author

4.5.2 Qualitative results: Variable results 2015

The findings from this study suggest that the main characteristic variables for second generation Nikkei Peruvians living in Japan are gender, civil status, place of birth, age group, education, receipt of social welfare and employment status. Regarding the main variables that influence the differences in employment status among the Nikkei Peruvian second generation, this study found that there are significant differences between factory and non-factory workers. In particular, the Chi-square test shows that the main differences between these two groups have to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare. On the other hand, differences in gender and place of birth do not significantly explain differences in employment status.

➤ Gender

Both results show that gender does not affect employment status; both men and women have the same right to obtain employment wherever they plan and choose. However, I have to mention that a difference in salary exists between men and women, especially in the factories. An interviewee Masakazu said that “Men can earn more salary per hour than women because they can do hard jobs, and of course more dangerous jobs. I prefer to work in *Obento* factory (preparing food), even though the salary is low. It is a cleaner job and not dangerous” (Masakazu, personal communication, July 5, 2014). Another interviewee Elisa said, “My boyfriend can earn 1,200 yen per hour, but I received 950 yen per hour working at the factory” (Elisa, personal communication, July 12, 2014). As the interviewees mention, men can earn more at the factories, but for office workers, what they earn is based on their academic background.

➤ **Civil status**

In general, people who work in factories are single whereas married and divorced individuals are not.

➤ **Place of birth**

Second generation Nikkei Peruvians are divided into two groups according to their place of birth, those born in Japan and those born in Peru. This difference does not influence their employment status because even the people who were born in Japan are working in factories unless they have high Japanese proficiency.

➤ **Age group**

Some second generation Nikkei Peruvians who came to Japan at an early age (Typology 2) are not working in factories, and some of the other group who came to Japan later are. Others are using different educational strategies to overcome the language barrier limitation and low-level scores to continue on to tertiary education.

➤ **Education status**

The observation and in-depth interviews suggest that second generation Nikkei Peruvians who advanced to tertiary education used different strategies to overcome the different barriers on a case-by-case basis represented in seven typologies that I classified.

Strategy 1: students with low Japanese proficiency level in Japan returned their country, and after finishing their basic education returned again to Japan and enter junior high school while studying Japanese at cram schools (*juku*⁸ in Japanese) or at school. (Typology 7)

Strategy 2: students who were born in Japan and decided to study the Spanish language as a major during their university studies made a short return to their country to improve their Spanish. As a result, when they apply for jobs in Japan, they have one more advantage for obtaining employment. (Typology 1)

Strategy 3: students with low Japanese proficiency who came at ages 10, 11, or 12 go to low-level high schools or technical high schools. After finishing high school they continue their studies at technical schools. (*senmongakko*⁹ in Japanese) (Typology 4)

Strategy 4: students who came at high school level studied English as a second language in their country. Therefore, after coming to Japan, they use their high scores on the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC)¹⁰ to enter university even though they cannot speak well Japanese because of their short time in Japan. (Typology 7)

Strategy 5: some young second generation Nikkei who were born in Japan (typology 1) enter low-level universities and study business, after which they work in sales, for example, selling health insurance plans. They then use their Spanish ability to join the Spanish-speaking community. This strategy helps those people to improve and maintain their employment status.

Strategy 6: On the other hand, during the world economic crisis some second generation Nikkei Peruvians took advantage of the opportunity to study for a technical career or vocational career as the Japanese government offered programs during the crisis for unemployed people. Some of them studied Japanese, computer science, took home helper

training, web design, aromatherapy and other technical careers while receiving a percentage of their salary because of their employment condition.

➤ **Receipt of social welfare**

Nearly all the interviewees received some aid from the Japanese government, especially the family allowance called *jidou teate*¹¹. This kind of government aid helped families to have some extra money for helping their children to attend cram schools called *juku*, as some interviewees explained.

4.6 Discussion

The employment status of second generation of Nikkei Peruvian has differences between people who work in factory and do not work in factory. And these are related to their civil status, employment, social welfare, study and age. In this section, I describe each of these variables regarding to Nikkei Peruvian second generation.

➤ **Civil status**

First, in my sample people who work in factories are single, whereas married and divorced people work somewhere else. This result has statistical differences in the Chi-square test between employment status and civil status.

➤ **Employment**

Most of second generation Nikkei Peruvians are not doing the same jobs as the first generation. The second generation has different typologies compared to the first generation. Second generation Nikkei Peruvians have higher social and human capital than the first generation because they grew up in Japan. Therefore, some of them are working in different types of the jobs, such as office workers, micro-entrepreneurs, restaurants, shops, and some of them became university students. On the other hand, somewhat surprisingly a percentage of them are doing the same jobs as first generation (factory workers) even they have better social

and human capital. The findings of this study regarding the employment variable can be summarized in the next figure:

Table 4.3 Employment Status

Employment Status in Japan	Meaning	Factory	No factory	Main requirements
<i>Shain (Seishain)</i>	Permanent job (direct)	Yes	Yes	Language
<i>Keiyakushain</i>	Contract job (direct)	Yes	Yes	Language
<i>Hakenshain</i>	Job by contract & intermediary	Yes	Yes	Intermediary person
<i>Arubaito</i>	Part-time job per hours	Yes	Yes	Language
<i>Freeter</i>	Change their jobs regularly	Yes	Yes	Language

Source: Author

➤ **Receipt of social welfare**

During the interviews nearly 100% of the second generation Nikkei Peruvians affirmed that they received at least one form of social welfare from the Japanese government, for example the *teate*, received by parents of children aged 15 years or under. As explained earlier in the study, the monthly stipend changes according to the age of the child, the order of birth of the child, and the income of the guardians.

Also, in Aichi Prefecture, for example, they can also receive other types of aid: (1) Accident Insurance, which includes workplace accident and compensation insurance; (2) Employment and unemployment insurance, which includes benefits for elderly people; (3) Employment benefit for the elderly: child care benefits and family care benefits; (4) Educational: school expenses subsidy and high school tuition support fund; (5) Scholarships: student scholarship loans for high school students and two-year College, Vocational and University Students scholarship from the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO); (6)

Medical insurance: employment health insurance and national health insurance; (7) Public pension system: national pension, employees' pension insurance, and mutual aid pension; (8) Single parent household benefit: child rearing allowance, Aichi orphan allowance and Medical System for Single Parent Household; (9) Public housing that includes prefectural and municipal units and the Urban Renaissance Agency (Aichi handbook, 2015).

➤ **Study**

“In spite of being stigmatized as academic underachievers, a conspicuous but unfortunately still limited second generation of South Americans are building their professional careers in Japan or their homeland” (Sueyoshi, 2014, p.126). The results also show that many second generation Nikkei Peruvians do not have much motivation to continue studying at university, professional or technical schools even when they do not have a language barrier. One of the interviewees Elvira said that: “Even if I go to university, in the end my salary will be equal to or less than factory workers” (Elvira, personal communication, July 22, 2014). In Japan, a successful student who goes to a high-level university will work in a large, successful company. Going to university does not mean students will find a job in their specialty or the job they desire, as it depends on the job hunting process and from which university they graduate.

➤ **Age**

In the two-way tabulation between employment status and age group, most people between 21 and 30 years old are not working in factories, but in the other group about 36% continue to do so. This difference in the Chi-square test also demonstrated that there are statistical differences between age group and employment status. In the case studies, I observed that some young people (about 25 years old) who are working in factories as *hakensahain* felt discrimination because they were obligated to work over time without payment. And they felt that the company preferred the Japanese because Japanese workers have more years working there. To corroborate this feeling, I asked some Japanese people

who had the same experience, but the feeling is different even if the situation is the same. One of the interviewees, a Japanese woman, Yuka, told me that working as a *shain*¹² is very hard not only for foreign people also for Japanese people. Therefore, to obtain a better job as a *shain* she decided to retire from a difficult job and to enter graduate school (Yuka, personal communication, April 10, 2015). As a result, I can say that the way how some second generation Nikkei Peruvians think compared to Japanese is different, but the treatment on the job is the same. Some second generation Nikkei Peruvians think that to obtain more money it is not necessary to become *shain* and to endure the strict Japanese system in those jobs. The next graph shows the summary of the results from an interview with a Japanese woman *shain* worker.

Table 4.4 Japanese salaryman working hours

Feature	Description
Interview sample (a Japanese person, Yuka)	Japanese salaryman 2015
University	Literature
Job Hunting	Six interviews before obtaining a job
Job	Wedding company
Type of Job	<i>Shain</i>
Training	Two months
Salary	220,000 yen/month
Working hours	Monday through Friday, 12 working hours/day
Extra hours	Saturday and Sunday 17 hours
Extra hours	No payment

Source: Author

The findings provide evidence that working as a *shain* in Japan is very difficult in some companies, and working extra hours without payment is difficult to accept by second generation Nikkei Peruvians.

The most striking result to emerge from the data is that, during the Lehman Shock, some unemployed young members of the second generation took advantage of the training courses offered the Japanese government. One of the interviewees, Marta, was working in factory of

obento (making food) for about 5 years. But when the world crisis happened, she was fired from her job. Therefore, she applied a training course offered by Japanese government that also paid her 100,000 yens per month while she was attending the course. After 6 months, she received a certification of technical computer design. Since then, she is working to make WEB home-page in her house, and she said that this private job is helping her to stay more time with her children and it is not necessary to go back to the factory (Marta, personal communication, March 13, 2014). Many other young Nikkei, like Marta, possibly changed their labor status from factory workers to new labor markets.

4.7 Conclusion

This part of the study used case studies for descriptive analysis, using observation, in-depth interviews and surveys with second generation Nikkei Peruvians. During the research, I found that the main characteristic variables for second generation Nikkei Peruvians living in Japan are gender, civil status, place of birth, age group, education, receipt of social welfare and employment status. In the results, civil status and age variables are similar to those of the first generation. The most relevant finding is the employment status of Nikkei Peruvians of the second generation. Unlike the members of the first generation, who worked only in factories, I found that second generation Nikkei Peruvians' employment status differed case by case. However, some percentages of them are doing the same jobs as the first generation even though their social and human capital is better than that of the first generation. Unlike the first generation, they grew up and studied in Japan.

A statistical analysis of employment status was performed using six relevant variables from the case study: gender, civil status, place of birth, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare. Table 4.1 illustrated that there are significant differences between factory and non-factory workers. In particular, the Chi-square test showed that the main differences between these two groups have to do with their civil status, age group, education

status, and receipt of social welfare. On the other hand, differences in gender and place of birth did not explain differences in employment status.

The results also show that many Nikkei have the intention to continue tertiary education, whether going to technical training or university, but some of them could not finish high school because of their low grades, bullying, or economic problems. Therefore, these people were divided into two groups; one which decided to work in factories as their parents did, and the other one who did not, and are working in other capacities, whether as full-time permanent employees, or as contract, part-time or occasional workers. These kinds of jobs need the Japanese ability they have already acquired. Therefore, they do not continue trying for a better academic level even if they have ability in the Japanese language. As a consequence, their salary will not increase in the future. Most of them are thinking in the present, but they do not think seriously about the difference between people who have tertiary education and those who do not. This is important because people in Japan working in the same place and doing the same job receive different salaries based on their academic background.

Second generation Nikkei Peruvians are a significant human resource, but without the support of their family to push them to obtain a better academic level they become a wasted human resource. Most of the interviewees who attended tertiary education received the support of their parents to find different strategies to continue their studies. Further research might explore this problem more in-depth.

Important findings drawn from this work include that, during the Lehman Shock, some second generation Nikkei Peruvians took advantage of training courses offered by the Japanese government for unemployed people. The crisis and the aid policy of the Japanese government during and after the crisis helped push them to improve their knowledge, and as a consequence to improve their employment status for some of them.

Notes

1. Private agencies mean the intermediate company that helped to Nikkei Peruvian came to Japan during the 1990s.
2. Japanese law at school. “The Japanese constitution prescribed the basic principles and policies of education. Article 26 provides that: (1) all people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their abilities, as provided by law. (2) All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free”. Article 23 states that “Academic freedom is guaranteed.” (Murata & Yamaguchi, 2010, p.23).
3. Program for unemployment people in Japan helped not only Japanese people but also foreign people to maintain their life in Japan while looking for new job. They received unemployment insurance and other programs (Hello Work office), some of them were to study some technical courses or Japanese course to improve their ability in the language to obtain a job.
4. Japanese Naturalized abroad. Or nationalization means to obtain the blue Japanese passport and renounce to your other nationality.
5. Salaryman is defined as a person who usually works as an office worker in Japan, most of them studied at the university.
6. Blue collar workers. This is the group of people who work at the factories in Japan.
7. White collar workers are people who have a university education and work at the office.
8. Juku is called cram school in Japanese. Most of the Japanese children attend cram school after school schedule.
9. Senmongako is the same as technical school. Usually, the duration is between two or three years.
10. TOEIC has now become synonymous with business English testing in Japan,

11. Jidou Teate: The child allowance is provided to a child's guardian with the intention of providing a healthy upbringing and better quality of life for the children who will grow up into the next generation

12. Shain is defined a worker in Japan if the person has a permanent job it is defined as a *keiyakushain*.

Chapter 5

Qualitative findings: Lifetime achievement of first and second generation Nikkei Peruvian families in Japan

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the qualitative findings of the dissertation, using case studies of first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians living in Japan, and analyzes the lifetime achievement of these two generations.

In chapter 2, I analyzed Japanese-Peruvian migration in three stages and described the demographic characteristics of those who stayed in Japan and who returned to Peru up to 2014. It seems that Nikkei Peruvian returnees take savings to open a business, but their plan was based on memories of the Peruvian economy two decades ago. Most of Nikkei Peruvian returnees claimed that the value of their savings of two decades was not enough to now invest in Peru.

In chapter 3, I studied the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians and how the main socioeconomic variables among people in the initial period, 2009, changed over the time to 2014, after the world financial crisis. As a result, the study found that marital status and the Japanese language were the main variables during the crisis 2009 and that age and children are the main variables after the crisis in 2014 that influence the decision of the first generation to remain in Japan. Moreover, this study found that first generation Nikkei Peruvians did not condition their decision on an improving Peruvian economy, because children, age marital status and the Japanese language ability of Nikkei Peruvians have a crucial influence on their

decision to remain in Japan or not during and after the world crisis. Some studies argue that migrants will return to their country of origin when the economy of their country improves. During recent years, the Peruvian economy has been growing, but most of the Peruvian Nikkei do not want to return due to other factors (children, age, marital status and Japanese language ability). Another one of the main relevant variables that influences their decisions are their children, the second generation that is growing up in Japan.

Therefore, in chapter 4, I analyzed the characteristics of the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians to find the main variables that influence the differences in their employment status in Japan. A statistical analysis of employment status was performed using six relevant variables (gender, civil status, place of birth, age group, education status and receipt of social welfare). The first result showed that there were significant differences between factory and non-factory workers. In particular, the quantitative analysis showed that the main differences between these two groups had to do with their civil status, age group, education status and receipt of social welfare. On the other hand, differences in gender and the place of birth did not significantly explain differences in employment status. Differences in gender are not significant, meaning that men and women have the same opportunities to become a factory worker or not in pursuit of employment status. Also, place of birth is not significant, meaning that being born in Peru or Japan does not significantly influence their employment status. The main variables that showed the differences between factory and non-factory workers will be explained by qualitative analysis in this chapter.

In chapter 5, I will describe and analyze the significance of the qualitative findings. I pursue this insight by inspecting the economic and social meaning that Nikkei Peruvian attribute to these findings. My argument is that the idiosyncrasy, pride, cultural prejudices and the social class division in Peruvian society that have shaped Nikkei Peruvians may influence

their life in Japan, as these features continue to inform and influence them even after two decades in Japan. I also observe that their life in Japan as blue collar workers and the difficulty of achieving social mobility in Japan encourages them to support their children to become successful in Japan.

However, on the contrary, Nikkei Peruvians continue to misunderstand the education system and social mobility in Japan, because these two aspects are very different from Peru. For example, to apply to university in Peru, the score from high school does not influence applying to university, because even if the students have a low score, if they can pass the test at the university, they can be admitted. On the other hand, if the student had good scores at high school but could not pass the test of the university, he or she cannot enter. Therefore, Peruvians do not care too much about high school scores, they are more worried about the final test that they have to do at the university. Hence, most of the Peruvians send to their children to cram schools for university to achieve a successful score to enter the university.

On the other hand, in Japan, high school scores are very important when applying to university. That is one of the reasons that some Nikkei Peruvians in Japan become worried about their children's education too late. It means that they think that after finishing high school they have to think about university entrance requirements and not before. However, in Japan it would be too late. The scores in Japanese high school influence the decision to enter university by letter of recommendation. As a consequence, for Nikkei Peruvians the most important goal is entering university, they do not care about the university level. Therefore, some Nikkei Peruvians borrowed a large amount of money for their children to pay their university studies, they did not care that the level of the university is very important in finding a good job. They think that just going to university is enough to improve their future

prospects and help parents in the future, as usually happens in Peru. Ultimately, they hope to change their labor status from the parents' blue collar to white collar.

The situation is different in Peru, as simply entering university there is a large achievement. After finishing high school, the first goal of most Peruvians is entering a university, because Peru does not have many universities compared with Japan, so students who can get into university are the one who obtain the highest score on the national test. Then, most of them will have an assured future because they will be future professionals. They will not become unskilled workers in Peru, and that is a significant achievement, because there is a large wall to social mobility in Peru between poor, middle and rich social classes.

I hope to bring to the fore how the idiosyncrasy, pride, cultural prejudices and social class divisions in Peruvian society influence some aspects of life for second generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan. The sample includes 2 community leaders, 1 first generation family and 16 interviewees of the second generation who have diverse employment statuses in Japan. In addition, many interviews were undertaken during fieldwork. The chapter is divided into subsections that include different case studies.

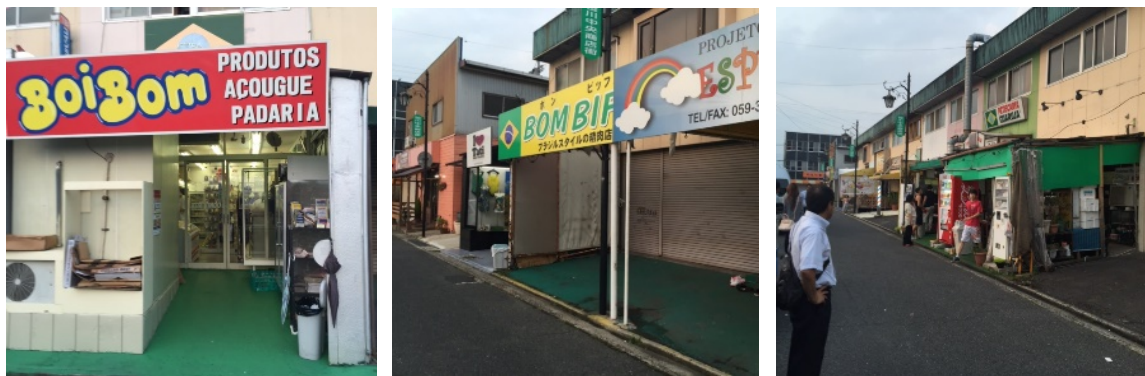
5.2 Research design: Methodology and case study

A qualitative perspective is brought via the analysis of interviews and case studies that were conducted with Nikkei Peruvians living in Japan. These interviews were in-depth, gaining access to the experience of the interviewees from their perspective. Interviews were found using the snowball sampling method and their personal networks. The interviews took place at their homes, in Peruvian restaurants, at Latino parties, in Japanese coffee shops, and at the Peruvian consulate.

The questions that were asked included biographical details (birthplaces, age), marital status, gender, family information, place of residence, visa type, education status, languages, economic situation and religion. These questions were the starting point from which the interviewees discussed in detail many aspects of their living and employment status in Japan.

The study sites of my research were in the country and urban spaces in Japan where most of the Peruvians live and work. My field data were gathered by interviewing two community leaders, collecting the life story of the Suzuki family, and through different case studies. The languages used were Spanish and Japanese.

Figure 5.1 Nikkei community in Japan



Source: Author

5.3 The first and second generation immigrant profile in Japan

5.3.1 Suzuki Family: First generation

The first time I met the Suzuki family was in 2007 while I was shopping at the supermarket. I had just moved to Nagoya, and I did not have any network yet, especially with Nikkei Peruvians. When I was shopping, I heard two small children talking in Spanish, and it caught my attention because usually I heard only Japanese everywhere. Japan is a new migration country, unlike the USA which is a migrant country. In the USA, it is easily to meet

Spanish speakers anywhere because of the high population of migrants. On the other hand, in Japan it is difficult to find a Peruvian community in one place. Therefore, it was a nice surprise for me to meet Maria at the supermarket. She did not appear to be Nikkei, and she told me that her husband was a Nikkei and that she had three children.

The history of the Suzuki family started one century ago when Naoto Suzuki migrated to Peru due to the bad economic situation of his family in Japan. He was 18 years old, from Okayama City, and he established himself in the north part of Peru in the city of Piura. His first limitation was the Spanish language when he started to work in agriculture. Later he got married to Elsa, a Peruvian woman. They had three children; Yusuke, Pedro and Lisa. He decided to settle in Piura due to their family.

During World War II, Peru was an American ally, and Japanese people were considered prisoners of war in Peru. Naoto was sent to the USA as a prisoner of war and later he was repatriated to Japan. One of his sons, Yusuke, (11 years old) was sent to Japan by his family for security while Naoto continued as a prisoner in the USA. In Japan, Yusuke's grandmother was waiting for him. When Yusuke met his grandmother, he could not communicate with her because he could only speak Spanish and his grandmother only spoke Japanese. Yusuke could not communicate with any other member of the family. Due to the circumstances Yusuke was left in Japan, and he never went back to Peru. At present, he is 84 years old. Yusuke's brother, Pedro, also was to be sent to Japan but because of circumstances the family could not find Pedro a date for the trip, so he had to settle in Peru.

Therefore, Pedro grew up in Peru while his brother Yusuke lived in Japan as a consequence of World War II. Later in Peru, Pedro got married to Rosa, a Peruvian woman, and they had a baby they named Marcos Suzuki who was born in Chincha, in the south part of Peru. When Marcos was two years old, the family moved to the Callao district of Lima.

Callao is the main port in Peru, and people who live near the port usually become fisherman like Marcos. Later, he had two children: Martin and Luisa. Martin is the Nikkei Peruvian who is living in Japan now. He and his family were helping me to connect with the Peruvian community during these years.

Martin grew up in Peru and studied his tertiary education there. He studied industrial electricity as a professional career. After he graduated, he applied to four companies in Peru and, fortunately, he obtained a job in one of the best companies in the country. The first year he was working as a contract worker, and then he became a permanent employee in that company. He had to choose his working hours according to the company schedule:

Morning shift (7:00 am to 15:00 pm)

Afternoon shift (15:00 pm to 11:00 pm)

Night shift (11:00 pm to 7:00 am)

He could receive 14 pay checks per year and take a holiday one day per week.

In 2000, Martin got married to Maria, a secretary in Lima, and they had two children. Unfortunately, Martin's company went bankrupt and he was fired from the job. He found another company to work in but the difference in salary was not good for him. Finally, his previous company opened again, and he was happy for it, but he had to move to another city far from his family in another company branch. At that time, his wife was pregnant with their third children. Martin had been seeing his family only two times a week due to his long working hours. In addition, his salary was reduced to half compared to before the company went bankrupt. Even though they had their own apartment, the economic situation became more difficult for his family.

In Japan, one of Martin's sisters was working and living in Aichi Prefecture. They contacted her and asked her about the job situation in Japan. Finally, Martin decided to travel

to Japan. He quit his job in Peru and traveled to Japan. He started to work immediately the day after arriving in Japan. He started to work at a car parts factory. His family in Japan helped him obtain this job. He was working eight hours per day, from Monday to Friday, and his salary was approximately 208,000 yen per month. Every month he had to send to his family about 50,000 yen. His rental room in Japan and living expenses were approximately 70,000 yen per month because he was living with his aunt. His family in Japan supported him while he was saving money to bring his family as soon as he could.

Martin was working as a *hakenshain*, (job by contract and intermediary). When Martin explained to his contractor that he wanted to bring his family from Peru, the contractor helped him to find a new apartment with low rent for him and his family. This kind of responsibility is part of the contractor's job. After living in Japan for one year Martin could finally bring his wife and two older children, but the baby had to stay in Peru with Maria's grandparents and aunt. The youngest had to live separate from her family for about three years. Maria had to start to work immediately because the family had debts and they wanted to bring their baby as soon as possible. Finally, even though she did not speak Japanese, she could obtain a job at the factory. A Brazilian intermediary company helped her to find a job. After her working hard and saving money, her husband and she could finally bring their daughter from Peru. They had a stable life until 2008 when the world crisis started.

Since the Suzuki family took the migration decision to travel to Japan as *dekasegi*, they faced socioeconomic and family problems in Japan. They had to overcome family separation, the pressure of debts, the fatigue of unskilled workers, and the Japanese job system. Also, their children have had to adapt to the Japanese education system, as well as the Japanese language. The Suzuki family, like other Nikkei Peruvian families, had to face and overcome not only the difficulties mentioned above but also the unique and original Japanese culture

with different cultural codes compare to Peru. Maria observed to me during her first year in Japan that all Japanese people were very kind because they always smile, but some years later when she could understand more Japanese, she told me that bullying in Japan is very common when someone is different from the majority of the group. Now Maria understands the Japanese language better, so she started to learn more about Japanese culture too, hence now she understands that the meaning of a Japanese smile is different than the meaning of a Peruvian smile.

For example, Maria said that she did not suffer from bullying, but she heard from their friends a lot of stories about it. I noticed that she became worried about her children at school, and she advised her children to talk about all their daily activities to maintain a good communication between family members to prevent bullying. Because most of the children who suffered bullying at school are obliged by the culprit to stay silent, if the victim accuses the culprit it will become worse for the child victim.

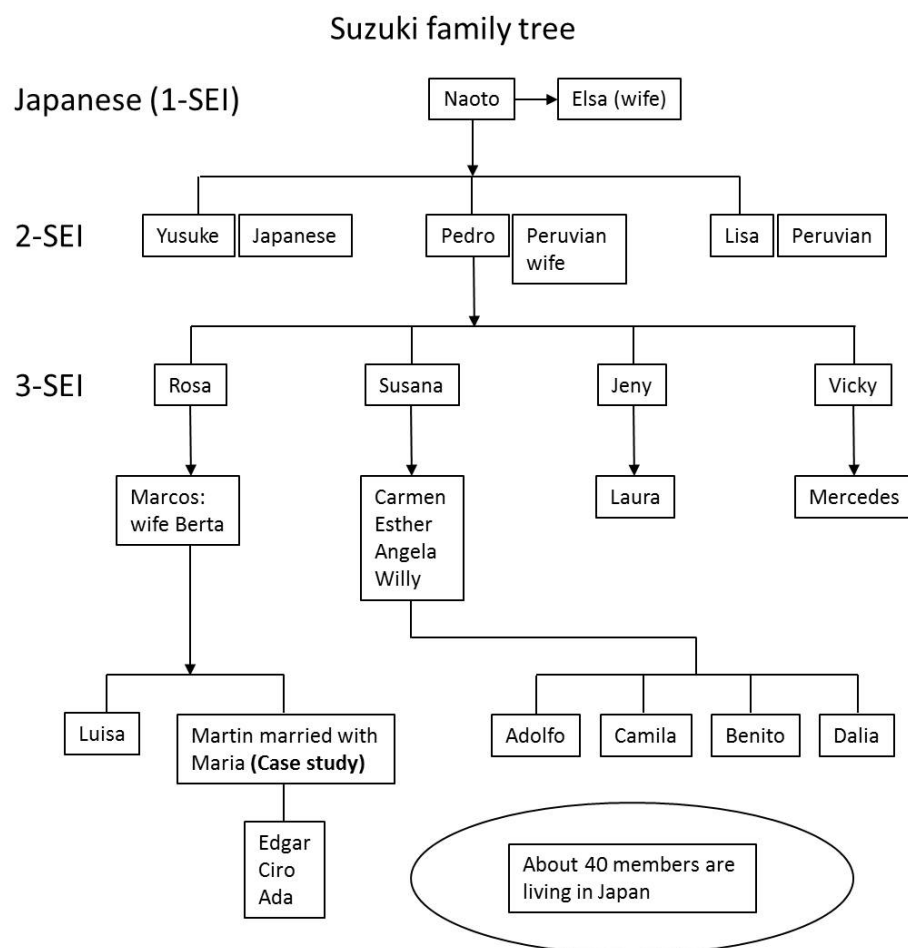
5.3.2 Suzuki family: Second generation, challenge, and settlement

During the world crisis 2008, Martin was fired from the factory and started to work in another Japanese company that does recycling. Maria could retain her job during the crisis. Between 2008 and 2014 sometimes they had to use employment insurance while they were looking for a new job. Finally, they could overcome the problems caused by the world crisis. Then in 2014 they bought a new house because Martin was working as a *shain* in his company and Maria could work more hours at the factory due to the independence of their children, who have learned more Japanese than their parents. Their children continue studying at school (Ciro is 12 years old, Edgar is 10 years old, Ada is 8 years old). Hiro will graduate from elementary school next year, but he is planning to get a good score during his junior high school studies to enter a high-level high school. Maria was looking for information

regarding the future studies of her son. She has listened to the experiences of other second generation teenagers, and she realized that she needed to be involved more in Japanese society if she wants to settle in Japan with whole the family.

The Suzuki family built their social network between friends, and unlike other Nikkei Peruvians they look like they have strong social networks. Instead of distancing themselves from the community they try to extend their social network more to make life easier and help to solve any problem, based on the experience of other Nikkei who came to Japan before them.

Figure 5.2 Suzuki family tree by generation



Source: Author

5.3.3 Suzuki Family: Policy, unemployment, and poverty as a push factor of migration

In the 1990s, when the law was revised in Japan, the Suzuki extended family could travel to Japan. The new policy permitted the Suzuki family to overcome the unemployment situation in Peru and the unstable economic situation also. The odyssey of the Suzuki family as *dekasegi* can be described as representative of many *dekasegi* who migrated to Japan. Now their three children are receiving the social welfare *jido teate* (family allowance) from the Japanese government as do many second generation Nikkei Peruvian children. The situation of the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians will be describe using the seven typologies from chapter four. These typologies were created based their age and grade of studies, because not all second generation came to Japan at the same age, and not all second generation who grow up in Japan were born in Japan.

5.4 Assessment of the second generation of Peruvians in Japan by typologies

Second generation Nikkei Peruvians interviewees were classified in seven typologies groups. The first typology; the second generation born in Japan. This group includes the children of the first generation who were born in Japan and received education only in Japanese schools. Most of them can manage the Japanese language as well as Japanese people, and their social and culture background has been developed in Japan. Some of them can speak Spanish, but they cannot write and read. Others can understand Spanish but speaking is difficult for them. They also grow up with a Peruvian social and culture background because of their parents, but some of them prefer to connect their social environment with Japanese friends because they do not feel identification with some social and culture practices of their parents. As interviewee NSG1 noted “My parents like to go to church, but I do not feel any

identification with their religion, I prefer to stay home, because I do not have any religion, I do not believe in religion as well” (NSG1, personal communication, January 22, 2015). NSG2 commented on the following: “I do not like to attend my parents meeting because sometimes after the meetings they have arguments when they do not share the same opinions” (NSG2, personal communication, February 12, 2015). Again on the subject of religion, NSG3 stated “When I was a child, I attended the Catholic Church and religious processions, but then I did not agree with religion, so I decided to stop attending those events” (NSG3, personal communication, February 12, 2015). NSG4 also described the distance she felt from the first generation community; “I attended some Peruvian culture meetings because I like Peruvian food, but when the meetings turn into arguments because of differences in opinion between my parents’ friends I prefer to go home. And also I do not speak Spanish very well, so sometimes I cannot understand what they ask me, so I have to ask for help to understand the meaning in Japanese.” (NSG4, personal communication, February 14, 2015).

I attended some Catholic Church meetings, and one day, the priest asked one young Peruvian girl (NSG5, 16 years old) to read part of the Bible, but she did not want to do it. I could not understand why, because for Catholic people it is normal for everybody sometimes to read the Bible. Later, the girl asked me to go instead of her because she felt embarrassed to tell everybody that she cannot read Spanish. I was surprised because her Spanish speech was native. She belongs to the first typology I described above (NSG5, personal communication, November 24, 2013).

The second typology is the second generation who came to Japan at an early age (1 to 6 years old). When I was visiting the Suzuki family, I noticed the problem of communication between the children and their parents because of the language. The mother said to the 6-year-old girl (NSG6), who came to Japan at age three, “Please, give me the *maleta*”. The girl brought her a pair of shoes, than an umbrella. The problem was that the girl could not

understand that the world *maleta* in Spanish means bag. The girl sometimes feels confused at school. She learns all in Japanese, but when she returns home, her parents can speak only Spanish (NSG6, personal communication, July 25, 2014).

The third typology is the second generation who came to Japan when they were at early elementary school age (grades 1 to 3, ages 7 to 9), who were born in Peru and started their education in Peru. They continued studying in Japan from elementary grades in Japanese schools. The second generation who started at age 7 had fewer problems with the Japanese language than children who began their education at 8 or 9 years old. They were growing up in Peru with their native language, but when they entered Japanese school, they were placed in the group of their same age. In Japanese schools their knowledge of the Japanese language does not matter nor their academic level from Peru. With regard to Peruvian education, students cannot remain with their peer group if they do not pass the evaluation in each grade; the level of knowledge is more important than age. However, the parents of these children did not understand nor care too much about this problem before they enrolled their children in Japanese schools. They thought the education of their children belongs to the school and teachers. Their cultural and social background did not permit some of them to understand the problems of their children at Japanese schools.

The fourth typology is the second generation who came to Japan when they were in grades 4 to 6 (10 to 12 years old). For second generation members who came to Japan in grade four to six, it is very difficult to learn Japanese and to understand the Japanese lessons at school, unless he or she receives some support from a private school. Japanese ability will be a problem for their tertiary education.

The fifth typology is the second generation who came to Japan when they were in junior high school (between 13 and 15 years old). They are almost impossible to learn Japanese in a common public school and to understand lessons. Therefore, it is difficult for them to enter a high school, unless they can attend some special Japanese program in an international school

or a special Japanese program that some municipality prepared for foreign students, as CL1 (a public official) affirmed (CL1, personal communication, March 10, 2015).

The sixth typology is the second generation who came to Japan when they were in high school (16 to 18 years old). I thought it would be more difficult for this group to continue tertiary education in Japan, but one of the interviewees (NSG7) surprisingly told me his strategy to continue tertiary education in Japan coming in the last year of high school: “I came to Japan when I was 15 years old, I entered high school, and now I am studying at a private university in Japan, I am in the faculty of English program.” (NSG7, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

While NSG7 was living in Peru, his parents were working in factories and sending money to him for his education. He finished all his education in Peru, where he studied in his native language, and did not have to experience the bullying most of the foreign students receive in Japan. He did not have the pressure of the Japanese language, but their family made a good strategy before bringing his son to Japan. While NSG7 was studying his secondary education in Peru, he attended a private English school, and before coming to Japan, he obtained a high score in TOEFL. Therefore, even though he entered Japan in the last year of junior high school, he could use his English score to apply for a private university in Japan and continue his English studies as his major.

Another important part of his strategy to continue tertiary education was the high school where he studied in Japan. His school is one of the exceptions in the Japanese school system that has a program to help foreign people, because his school is located in one of the cities most populated by Nikkei Brazilians and Nikkei Peruvians. This city looks like a small Brazilian city, and it has many foreign stores and restaurants. One of the key interviewees (CL2) or “elite” interviewee showed me the city and introduced me to many members of the community who informed me about the education problems of those who grow up in Japan

and their worries about the future of the young second generation who cannot go to tertiary education.

It seems that most of the first generation work many hours in the factories, and their children are alone most of the time, and when they encountered some difficulty at school they easily dropped out. Because of their ability in Japanese, most of them find a part-time job or do factory work. The common high school in Japan is very difficult even for Japanese teenagers due to the strict evaluation to enter a high-level university. For Nikkei Peruvians who could not receive the help of their parents it becomes doubly difficult (CL2, personal communication, July 10, 2015).

In this situation, I think NSG7 had better opportunities because of the strategy of his parents for his education and his ability in academic English language, even though his Japanese level was very low compared with the young Nikkei second generation. Because of his visa status he could also apply for scholarships and student loans to pay his education at university, and at the time of the interview his loan of 100,000 yen (about 800 US dollars) per month had just been approved. This loan has to be paid back after graduation when he enters the labor market. This kind of loan does not exist in Peru.

The seventh typology is the second generation who made U-Turn between Japan and Peru. This group is regarded as the Nikkei second generation group whose residence status was unstable between Japan and Peru. As interviewee NSG8 affirmed:

I came to Japan when I was 10 years old. The Japanese school was difficult for me, I could not understand the lessons, and I was sitting down on the chair trying to understand something all the time. I could understand my friends when playing but when there were tests I usually stayed outside of the classroom. So I returned to my country. Later, I came back during junior high school and continued studying until high school, but my Japanese level was not enough for tertiary education (NSG8, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

Another interviewee confirmed that:

I grew up in Japan but when I was in the first grade of junior high school my family returned to Peru, so I had to stop my Japanese education and continue it in Peru. Later my parents decided to return Japan, but high school was difficult for me, so I had to return to Peru to study at Peruvian university. After I had studied languages in Peru, I decided to return to Japan to use my Japanese ability at Japanese companies because the salary in Japan is better than in Peru (NSG9, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

5.5 Overview of second generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan by employment status: overview of their receipt of social welfare, age, civil status and education status

In this section, I describe the second generation employment status between non- factory workers and factory workers, each part has case studies that exemplify their differences in employment status.

5.5.1 Non- factory workers

5.5.1.1 Kenji (NSG10): part-time worker (*arubaito*), 33 years old, married, does not study, receives aid

Kenji is a Nikkei Peruvian who lives in Toyota, Aichi Prefecture. He was born in Junin in Peru's central highlands, where he and his two brothers and sister grew up. His Nikkei family is an extended family, and most of them traveled to Japan during the 1990s. He came to Japan in 2002. After he had finished high school in Peru, he did not want to go to tertiary education because his family's economic situation was unstable. He received positive news from his extended family in Japan. They encouraged he and his siblings to Japan to earn high wages and save money. Therefore, he thought that he could use his Nikkei visa to migrate to

Japan for savings, and then return to Peru to attend tertiary education with his savings from Japan.

When he arrived in Japan in 2002, he was 19 years old, and he could not speak Japanese. His cousin who was living in Japan since 1990 found a job for him at a car parts factory. The first month in Japan was not difficult for him because he was living with his cousin, who supported Kenji for one month. However, after he became independent he needed to pay his rent and living expenses by himself. He realized that it was not easy to save enough money in one year, so he continued working in Japan. While he was working in the factory, his two brothers and sister decided to come to Japan as well, because they had finished high school in Peru but could not attend tertiary education. Job opportunities in Peru with only high school are scarce.

Although he was a blue collar worker in Japan, Kenji had had a middle class life in Peru. Starting to work in Japan was not easy for him because he had never done an unskilled job in Peru, but the high wages in Japan encouraged him to continue. After his siblings came to Japan, they thought that if they lived together it would be easier for them to save more money. However, it was not easy for them, because being young they spent money attending parties, buying cars and expensive clothes. They wanted to live in Japan for a while. During his stay in Japan, Kenji and his siblings were working in a factory as *keiyakushain*. In 2008, when the world crisis happened, Kenji lost his job, and he had to apply for unemployment insurance. He received 60% of his last salary for six months, and then he could find a new job in another factory. Despite the world crisis, Kenji preferred to stay in Japan because he said “If I return to Peru my economic situation will be worse. In Japan, I have the hope to find a job and while I am looking for a new job I can survive with the aid of unemployment insurance” (Kenji, personal communication, April 13, 2015).

In 2013, his civil status changed when he married his Japanese girlfriend. Therefore, his goal before coming to Japan changed to settlement due to his new family. He realized that he had to improve his employment status to support his new family. Kenji's wife is an office worker in one of the municipalities of Aichi Prefecture. She is working as a civil servant and she encouraged him to get vocational training. He was studying to become a home helper, and later he studied the Japanese language as well. Finally, he obtained the certification of home helper, and he also passed the third level test of the Japanese national Japanese Proficiency test. After that, his Japanese ability helped him to find a new job at an *izakaya* and he was also working as a helper. Technically, he had become a *freeter*, but in 2014 they had a child, so working in some part-time jobs was no longer enough for him. During the six months after the baby was born, he continued doing part-time jobs, because his wife received maternity benefits for the expenses of the baby, and she could take a six-month leave. In addition, Kenji's wife also received a subsidy for paying their living expenses (rental apartment) due to her status in her job.

5.5.1.2 Risa (NSG12): contract worker (*keiyakushain*), 23 years old, single mother, does not study, receives aid

Risa was born in Japan after her parents came to Japan in 1990. Therefore, her education, social network, and cultural background were based in Japan. She manages the Japanese language very well but her Spanish ability is low. During her studies at school she did not have any problem until she entered high school, where it was difficult for her due to the demanding level in the subjects. High schools in Japan push students to obtain high scores if they want to attend tertiary education, and even for Japanese students is very difficult, so many parents have to support their children by paying for expensive cram schools to improve

their grades. For Risa, it was doubly difficult because she is one of three siblings and both of their parents were working all day in factories.

During her high school studies, the world crisis in 2008 affected their family economic situation further. In the end, Risa finished high school but she could not attend tertiary education. She decided to help her family and start to work doing part-time jobs at some stores due to her Japanese ability. Later, when she was 20 years old, she became pregnant and she had to stop working. Her parents support her because she became a single mother. Now she receives aid for single mothers and her child is three years old, so she receives the family allowance as well. During the economic crisis she attended a training course for unemployed people offered by the Japanese government, and after finishing the course she applied for a job. Due to her Japanese ability she could find a better job using what she learned in the training course, and she also applied for municipal housing and obtained a unit.

Now, her economic situation has improved, and she is working at Japanese company as a contract worker. Risa said that she prefers to work as a *keiyakushain* instead of becoming a *shain*, because becoming a *shain* would mean longer working hours without extra pay, and due to her responsibility as a single mother it would be difficult for her to obtain such a job. Her parents agree with her. They want to continue living in Japan, but they would prefer that Risa stayed most of the time with their grandson instead of working all day. They think the family is more important than obtaining high wages with high stress. They said that they had already missed spending time with family due to their factory jobs because they did not have another option, but Risa, as a second generation Nikkei in Japan, has a larger extended family for support (Risa, personal communication, April 10, 2015).

Like Risa, many young second generation who could not go on to tertiary education after high school took training courses offered by the Japanese government to improve their

employment status, and they also do not want to work as *shain* because of the high pressure with working hours. Even if the Japanese system of becoming a *shain* would improve their future economic status through subsidies and a high salary, the conditions at Japanese companies are very challenging even for Japanese people.

5.5.1.3 Yuki (NSG 13): Contract worker (*shain*), 24 years old, single, does not study

Yuki was born in Peru, but his parents brought him to Japan when he was two years old. His parents came to Japan in 1993, and he does not have siblings. His parents wanted to improve their economic situation and then return to Peru, but unfortunately during their stay in Japan, they had family problems, and finally they divorced. Yuki lived with his mother and received visits from his father on weekends.

As with Yuki's family, many Nikkei Peruvians had similar family problems, and their first goal for saving and return to Peru changed in Japan. Yuki studied in Japan from kindergarten, so his social network and Japanese language level is the same as a Japanese national, and even though his parents got divorced, they always supported him in his education. Yuki graduated from high school with a good command of English because the curriculum of his high school had an English as a second language program. During junior high school he had good grades, which allowed him to enter a high-level high school, which had the English program.

After graduation, his good grades at high school helped him to enter a high-level university in the language program. During his studies, he was doing some part-time jobs at cram schools as an assistant teacher due to his good grades at university. After four years of studies, he graduated and found a job at a big Japanese company because of his ability in languages. He entered the job as *shain* directly because of his good academic background.

Now he can receive all the subsidies offered by the company because of his status as a white collar worker (Yuki, personal communication, December 10, 2014).

5.5.1.4 Sho (NSG 14): contract worker (*shain*), 31 years old, divorced, does not study

Sho is a second generation Peruvian Nikkei born in Peru, 31 years old and divorced. He is Catholic, but he did not attend any church. He has a nine-year-old daughter. He lives in Japan with his two brothers. He came to Japan in 1993 when he was ten years old, and since then he has been to Peru only once, when he was 20 years old. He wanted to explore job opportunities in Peru because he felt tired of working hard in factories. He thought in Peru he could find a better job, but unfortunately after six months he realized that it would be harder for him in Peru because of the lack of work. He realized that his Japanese ability would not be enough to find him a good job.

In Peru, to find a good job you need to have graduated from university and have good Spanish as well, but in his case, because he went to Japan when he was 10 years old his reading and writing skills in Spanish are not good. Sho stated “I like Peru for living because most of my family members are there, but for working I prefer Japan. Even though I am working hard since visiting Peru, I think working in Japan is better” (Sho, personal communication, July 15, 2015).

Regarding his education in Japan, he said: “I entered Japanese school when I was 10 years old, I could not understand any lessons, I only attended the school, but I could not learn anything, my classmates thought I was stupid because I did not speak at school...How I can speak if I did not speak Japanese? I felt embarrassed in front of them. It was a hard time for me.” Because junior high school is compulsory education in Japan, he went to a public junior high school, but the stress of the lessons depressed him and his motivation for studying never

improved. He said “Even though I did not study I could finish junior high school, so I thought I could attend high school, but my teachers told me that I could not go high school” (Sho, personal communication, July 15, 2015).

After that, because he knew he would not go on to tertiary education, during his junior high school studies he became a rebellious teenager. He could not feel good with his classmates, and he suffered from discrimination and bullying at school, so he started to go out with his Japanese *bousouzoku* friends. This group of friends, as he said, are characterized as lazy people who like to drive loud motorbikes or cars and disturb other people by making loud noises, and sometimes they do not obey the signals at intersections. Finally he could not find another option except work in a factory, so he started to work in the same factory as his mother when he was 17 years old, but he could work only 40 hours per week because of his age. Later, when he became more mature, he wanted to attend a vocational college (*senmongakko*), but his poor Japanese kept him back. He was working at a factory for about 10 years, but his character changed and he became more responsible while he was working there, and his motivation increased when one of his Japanese friends offered him work in an office because his Japanese was better than other foreigners and enough for working in the office as a translator. First he started as an assistant to his boss (a Japanese contractor), and then he became a contractor like his boss. Now his salary as a contractor is about 325,000 yen per month, and he can support his mother and daughter in a better economic situation. He also receives more benefits, and he could buy a new apartment. Before that, he was living in an apartment with one of his brothers so they could help each other. For Sho, not only his perseverance and effort helped him to overcome many difficulties in Japanese society, but also family cohesion was an important support factor.

Now he has been working as a contract worker for ten years, and he would like to have his own company. He has learned the demanding Japanese job system, and endured many problems also because his motivation to improve his labor status is high. He thinks that if Nikkei Peruvians make the effort they can have better job with more opportunities, but Peruvian idiosyncrasies did not permit them to improve their status: they do not accept high pressure at work, and they are always complaining about work. Sho thinks Nikkei Peruvians are conformists and he does not agree with this way of thinking. Because most second generation Nikkei Peruvians who are working in factories can speak at least two languages, they have an advantage compared to Japanese factory workers, their human capital is better, but they do not use it because they do not want to make more effort. They cannot escape their own pride; they think that if the Japanese boss is strict they will feel humiliated, so they usually are changing jobs constantly. One day Sho wanted to help a young Peruvian friend and he contracted him to work as a helper at the office because of his good Japanese, but unfortunately the young man could not endure the pressure of a Japanese boss at the office, so finally the friend decided to continue working in a factory.

As a contract worker, Sho sometimes has to work at the factory when one of his employees is absent, so he has to work more hours and sleeps less, but as he said, most Nikkei Peruvians do not understand how much effort he made, but rather they think he is lucky because he works as a contract worker. Their idiosyncrasies made them think that having a good job is because he is lucky. They do not understand how much effort he has to make for the job. Therefore, he did not have many Nikkei Peruvians friends, because usually when they meet they tease him because of his better situation. They feel inferior (Sho, personal communication, July 22, 2015).

5.5.1.5 Roberto (NSG 16): occasional worker (*freeter*), 25 years old, single, does not study

Roberto is 25 years old and single. He is an only child, and he came to Japan when he was five years old. Roberto has been living in Japan for about 20 years, but he has never been back to Peru. Peru for him is what his family has told him and what news he has read: a dangerous place with no job opportunities. Spanish is his native language, but his Japanese ability is better than his Spanish ability. When I talked to him I observed that his cultural behavior is like Japanese because he grew up in Japan in the Japanese education system, but at home he spoke Spanish all the time with his mother. After finishing high school he wanted to attend tertiary education but he also wanted to help his mother due to their circumstances, as she is a single mother. He is working as a *freeter* and frequently changes jobs. He was working in Nagoya for two years, after which he went to Tokyo and Osaka, and finally now he is working in Nagoya again. What I observed is that he wants to become independent, because usually he does not feel comfortable at work because of the high pressure at Japanese companies. As with many Nikkei, he cannot put up with all the rules and changes jobs constantly. One time he told me that he would like to have his own business, but because of his unstable work situation I think it would be difficult save enough (Roberto, personal communication, April 14, 2015).

5.5.1.6 Carlos (NSG7): part-time work (*arubaito*), 21 years old, single, receiving loan aid

Carlos came to Japan when he has 15 years old, so he started Japanese school from the third grade of junior high school. He did not have any Japanese ability, but while he was in Peru he studied English for a long time. His family is living in one the largest Nikkei Peruvian communities in Japan. He could attend seven months of Japanese class at the municipal office

of his place of residence, a course offered to the majority of Nikkei who live in that place. The compulsory education in Japan is until junior high school. Therefore, Carlos did not have a problem attending the Japanese course instead of the third grade of junior high school. Because his Japanese improved and he finished the third grade of junior high school, he could enter a high school near his place where about 50% of students were foreign like him. During the last year of his high school studies, he did TOEFL. His score was very high because he had already learned English in Peru. With this high TOEFL score and one interview, he could enter Japanese university, in the faculty of English as a Foreign Language. He also applied for scholarship aid from the government, so he will receive about 120,000 yen per month. In addition, he is doing *arubaito* every weekend at a small shop. Carlos' strategy to go tertiary education is a good example that some Nikkei families could use. The place where Nikkei are established seems to be important, because Carlos' family are living in a place where most of the Nikkei are living and studying. Therefore, the local government is assisting young foreign people with Japanese courses, for example, before entering school (Carlos, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

5.5.2 Factory worker

5.5.2.1 Ryo (NSG11): (20 years old, single)

Ryo was born in Japan. His father is from Iraq, and his mother is a Nikkei Peruvian. He has one older sister and one brother. Ryo is an outgoing person, he likes to have a lot of friends, and whenever I meet him, he looks happy. I thought he must not have had any problems at school, unlike the majority of Nikkei Peruvians claimed when I interviewed them. However, I was surprised when his family told me that he suffered from bullying at school, not from friends but rather from one of his teachers. He said that his teacher always disagreed with his physical appearance and pushed him indirectly to change his hair to be the same as

the Japanese boys. Sometimes Ryo did not want to attend school, and when his parents noticed this problem, they complained about the school and talked to the professor. Ryo looked better from that day.

However, he dropped out of high school in the second year when he was seventeen years old. Her mother was a little disappointed because she was worried about his future in Japan. Ryo can speak the Japanese language well, but he said that starting work was better for him. He felt too much pressure at school, and he did not feel happy enduring bullying and the pressure of high school. His Japanese ability, visa status, youth and marital status were positives when it came time to work as other Peruvians. He did not want to work as a part-time worker or become a *freeter*, he wanted to work more hours than his parents and become independent of them, so he started to work in a factory like his first generation parents. Now, when I meet Ryo, I think he looks happy and more stable in his life. Even though he was born in Japan and can speak Japanese, others factors (bullying, high pressure at school) pushed him into the same employment status as his parents (Ryo, personal communication, January 27, 2015).

5.6 Discussion

This chapter showed that first generation were employed as unskilled workers (factory workers), but in the case of their children, there were significant differences between factory and non-factory workers, and the main differences had to do with their civil status, age group, education status and receipt of social welfare. Therefore, I will explain next the results of these main variables for the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvians.

5.6.1 Civil Status

In the quantitative data analysis between employment status and civil status, 56% of single people work in factories and 44% do not. Single people of the second generation who work in factories are usually very young. Therefore, most of them do not have the responsibility of maintaining a family. Some of them are working with the permission of their parents because of their young age, 16 or 17 years old. They dropped out of school for many reasons, such as bullying, discrimination, or economic status. They believed that working from a young age is better than wasting time at school because they realized they could not go on to tertiary education.

5.6.2 Age group

In the quantitative data most people of the second generation between 21 and 30 years old (64%) are not working in factories, but the other group about 36% do. People between 15 and 20 years old are working in factories, and it is likely that most of them dropped out of school as I mentioned above. People between 31 and 40 years old are not working in factories; some of them have their own businesses or they are *freeters*.

5.6.3 Education status

For employment status and education status, people who do not study make up 80% and people who study 20%. Most of the people who do not study (75%) are not working in factories, and only 25% of the people who do not study work in factories.

On the other hand, they continue to not understand that the education system in Japan and social mobility are very different from Peru. In effect, some of them borrow a large amount of money for their children to enter university, but they do not recognize that the level of the university is very important for finding a high-level job. They think only entering university is enough to assure their future and help parents, as usually happens in Peru. Regardless, they hope to change their labor status from blue collar to white collar workers.

In Peru, entering university is usually a significant achievement, but in Japan even students with low grades can go to university. However, their future job prospects at companies depend on the level of the university from which they graduated. In addition, their employment status is not related to the amount of salary in the way they think. They think that going to university will improve their economic status, with *salarymen* (white collar) earning high salaries. However, becoming a white collar worker in Japan does not mean your salary will be higher than the blue collar workers.

5.6.4 Receipt of social welfare

Most of the people who are not in factories received more welfare from the government. A second generation Nikkei Peruvian who becomes a *salaryman* and has the status of *shain* can receive more benefits because of their labor status. The *salaryman* who starts to work as a *shain* during the first years of work has to endure the strict Japanese work system. They have to work many extra hours without any payment for those hours, but in exchange they receive many benefits, and after working more years their salary will also increase.

5.7 Results

The main objective of the qualitative findings was to describe the lifetime achievement of first and second generation Nikkei Peruvian families who live in Japan. First of all, during the first dekasegi migration to Japan, Nikkei Peruvians had to overcome many barriers such as the Japanese language, culture, customs, and social rules. However, the most difficult barrier had to do with their pride, prejudices, and customs that they brought from their country of origin. In Japan, they could not use their human capital to achieve social mobility. In Japan, they became unskilled factory workers class, but some families, such as the case study NPS1, overcame the barriers between Japan and Peru in different ways to settle in Japan. Like this

family, many Nikkei families in Japan decided to settle in Japan despite the 2008 economic crisis. For their children of the second generation, their marital status, age and Japanese language ability were the main determinants to stay in Japan. The second generation is also involved in the labor force of Japan two decades after the migration of their parents.

This study showed that there were significant differences between factory and non-factory workers second generation. The analysis showed that most of young second generation Nikkei Peruvians who work in factories are single, very young, and received less benefits than the non-factory workers. Some interviewees and case studies (NSG 11; NSG17) demonstrated that some of them dropped out of school because of bullying, their economic situation or the long work hours of their parents that did not give them enough time for their children. In addition, the other smaller percentage that works in factories are not as young. Some of this group stopped working as company employees due to the low salary and many extra unpaid hours. Typical Japanese companies have these characteristics, but usually Japanese workers have to endure the conditions. Interviews also showed that in the case of second generation Nikkei Peruvians, their parents supported them and encouraged them to stop working in such a job because they thought it was more important to maintain their pride and dignity. They think such a job, with extra unpaid hours, is an abuse that they do not have to endure. One of the interviewees (NSG14) also explained how Peruvian idiosyncrasies and conformism did not permit to some of the Nikkei second generation to increase their motivation to obtain better employment status. The idiosyncrasies of first generation influence the second generation. Therefore, to increase the social mobility of the young second generation in Japanese society becomes more difficult.

Second, case studies of some second generation Nikkei (NSG 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 16) showed that the majority of the second generation that do not work in the factory are in their

20s and 30s, most of them are not single, they receive more benefits because of their employment status, and they are not studying now because a group of them are *salarymen*, and they already finished their tertiary education. In addition, their schedule is too tight to continue studying. Nevertheless, in these groups are included the people who received many benefits from their companies due to their *shain* status in most cases. This group is also characterized by the fact that they overcame many difficulties and differences between the two cultures, such as bullying and discrimination, were overcome because of their perseverance in Japanese society.

Figure 5.3 Places of the interview during the fieldwork (Peruvian consulate, Peruvian restaurant, and Peruvian store)



Source: Author

Chapter 6: Conclusion, Policy Implication, and Further Research

6.1 Introduction

The decreasing birthrate in Japan and the increase of the aging population pushed the Japanese government to revise its migration law. “The residence status of ‘Long term resident’ was newly established through a revision of the Immigration Act in 1989” (Yamada, 2010, p.5). Many Nikkei Peruvians came to Japan since 1990, and their primary goal was to work in factories (the manufacturing industry) and after saving return to their country. Then, in 2008 the world economic crisis occurred, but during this period many Nikkei Peruvians continued living in Japan, even though the Japanese government offered some incentives for Nikkei who decided to return their country. In the end, Nikkei Peruvians of the first and second generation continued in Japan despite the crisis.

First generation Nikkei Peruvians during the world crisis 2008 were working at temporarily and contract jobs with unstable employment faced unemployment in high numbers around the time of the Lehman crisis. These foreign job seekers faced difficulty to find work again because they have not yet mastered the language, not used to employment practices in Japan and with insufficient job experience, and because of this, a variety of new measures are being taken by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare to support them (Yamada, 2010, p.13).

Despite all this, most Nikkei Peruvians decided to continue remained in Japan. The second generation of Nikkei Peruvians, unlike the first generation, mostly grew up in Japan. First, their labor status is different than the first generation. Then, “As young workers decline in Japan over the long term, however, pressures are expected to grow in Japan to accept more foreign workers.” (Nakamura, 2010, p.84). Therefore, I analyzed why and in which situation the first and second generation of Nikkei Peruvians is living after the Lehman Shock, because

there is the possibility that new foreigners, including Nikkei, will continue arriving in Japan even though a world crisis happened.

First, this dissertation explored the odyssey of Japanese-Peruvian migration in three stages, and described the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan and who returned to Peru. Second, the chapter three revealed the main characteristics and differences among Nikkei Peruvians first generation who have been in Japan in 2009 and 2014. Third, the chapter four explained the impact of socioeconomic characteristics of young second generation Nikkei Peruvians on their decision to stay in Japan and on their employment status. Finally, the chapter five described the lifetime achievement of Nikkei Peruvian families' first and second generation who stay in Japan.

To accomplish the first objective, I did field work in Peru, and conducted a survey with Nikkei Peruvian returnees using a quantitative method. To answer the second objective, I used qualitative and quantitative methods. The quantitative method used econometric analysis (Probit model) and a survey with 100 samples was used. For the qualitative method, snow balling and case studies of five families were done. To respond to the third objective of the study, the author used case studies and the Chi-square test to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between expected and observed frequencies in the categorical variables. Finally, to answer the last objective in chapter five, this dissertation used interviews and case studies to describe the lifetime achievement of Nikkei Peruvian families who stay in Japan.

6.2 Structure of the study

The study was divided into six chapters. The first chapter was the introduction of the dissertation. It summarized the background, the research objectives and questions, the significance of the study, the conceptual framework, the research methodology, and the outline of the whole dissertation.

The second chapter described the development of migration between Peru and Japan in three stages. The first stage was the first group of Japanese which entered Peru as contract workers and their success by doing business in Peru. Then, the second stage explained the process of Nikkei Peruvian migration and settlement in Japan until the world crisis in 2008. The third stage looked at the decision after the crisis in 2008 to stay in Japan or make a return migration to Peru.

The third chapter analyzed the group of Nikkei Peruvian who decided to stay in Japan after the world crisis 2008. First, this chapter used the quantitative method using regression analysis to find the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians to remain in Japan during the world crisis in 2009. Second, another regression analysis was made after the crisis in 2014, to find the main factors for Nikkei Peruvians first generation who decided to remain in Japan after the crisis. Finally, using case studies of the five families, this study explained how those factors changed overtime for Nikkei Peruvians during and after the crisis and why those factors became important in their decision to stay in Japan. This third chapter found that one of the main important factors for first generation to remain in Japan was their children as a second generation connection.

The fourth chapter pointed out the second generation of Nikkei Peruvian and their challenges in Japanese society. First, this study found the main characteristics of second generation who remained in Japan after the crisis 2008. Then, this chapter analyzed the main factors that influenced the differences in employment status in the second generation Nikkei Peruvian who have been living in Japan.

The fifth chapter described the qualitative findings of the lifetime achievement of Nikkei Peruvian families in Japan. Therefore, this chapter used many case studies to support the qualitative findings for first and second generation Nikkei Peruvian.

The sixth chapter consists of the introduction in the Section 6.1, the structure of the study in the Section 6.2, the discussion of the results in the Section 6.3, the policy implications in the Section 6.4, and the further research in the Section 6.5.

6.3 Discussion of the Results: Main findings

6.3.1 Japanese and Nikkei Migration

This study has shown that during the first stage, some of the Japanese people who decided to settle in Peru became successful entrepreneurs and professionals, overcoming the barriers of language and culture. One of the positive things for them was the period in Peru. At that time opening a new business with little capital was easier, but to maintain the business was a challenge most overcame. Their Japanese strategies involved using the *tanomoshi* system, and their perseverance to continue their business by the transfer method (*tensou*) with their descendants helped a group of them to become successful entrepreneurs and professionals in Peru.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from the second stage is that, although poverty, inequality and unemployment were the main factors to push Nikkei Peruvians to travel to Japan, the revised law in the 1990s that permitted to third generation Nikkei Peruvians enter Japan was the key to encourage Nikkei Peruvians to migrate to Japan as *dekasegi*. However, it seems that successful Nikkei Peruvian entrepreneurs in Peru do not belong to this group. In the third stage, regarding the people who stayed in Japan, it seems that they did not have enough savings to return to their country.

On the other hand, Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru brought their savings from Japan, but their savings were insufficient to open a significant business compared to 15 or 20 years before they had left Peru. Other problems for returnees after living a long time in Japan were their reinsertion into Peruvian society, the inadequate health insurance system, findings

jobs, and low salaries. In addition, they found that the bureaucracy to open a business was a limitation for them.

6.3.2 Main characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian who stayed in Japan during and after the Lehman Shock (2009-2014)

Marital status, Japanese ability, children & age have a significant influence on first generation Nikkei Peruvians' decision to stay in Japan or not. Five in-depth interviews showed study the importance of these four variables in the social and economic lives of Nikkei Peruvians who have continued in Japan after the world crisis of 2008. The variable of marital status in 2009 for Nikkei Peruvians family shows that Nikkei Peruvians who are married are more likely to remain in Japan compared to unmarried people. This result was confirmed in the in-depth interview: most of Nikkei Peruvians who had second generation family in Japan were indirectly forced to stay in Japan because the second generations Nikkei have already settled in Japan. Moreover, Japanese language ability was one of the main factors that allowed Nikkei to maintain their employment during the crisis compared to those who did not speak Japanese. Additionally, those Nikkei Peruvian families with children in the second generation raised in Japan have been receiving support from their children, reducing the cost of using a translator as in the past in their daily life. Even if the children's nationality is Peruvian, their social and human capital background developed in Japan. Therefore, social networking with Japanese society is encouraged by their children.

In the second result of the study, in 2014 the age of a Nikkei Peruvian is an important characteristic to explain who stayed in Japan. Regarding the interview and survey, 64% of Nikkei Peruvians was more than 40 years old. This means that it will be very difficult for them to find a job after going back to Peru, and they will have a difficult life there without savings. In Japan, older Nikkei Peruvians can work at the factory and continue paying their retirement insurance, and there is an employment insurance system in Japan that is not available in Peru. It is assumed that Nikkei Peruvian families and social and human capital

interactions had an important role in their decision to stay or leave Japan during and after the Lehman Shock Crisis (2009-2014). Age, Japanese language ability, marital status and children are crucial factors for their decision to stay in Japan. However, their ages and marital status (having a family) seem to be the main reason to stay in Japan for Nikkei Peruvian family who are residents in Japan. On the other hand, the economic factor of the country of origin did not influence the decision of Peruvian Nikkei families to stay in Japan. Therefore, the Nikkei Peruvian immigrant family and the relevant variables for the second generation present many challenges for future studies. What the social and economic condition of the young second generation of Nikkei Peruvian is in Japanese society is a significant gap to answer in future research.

6.3.4 Challenges of second generation Nikkei Peruvians in Japan after the crisis of 2008: Characteristics of the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians and their differences in employment status.

The results showed that the main variables for second generation Nikkei Peruvians living in Japan are gender, civil status, place of birth, age group, education, receipt of social welfare and employment status. Civil status and age variables are similar to the first generation. The most relevant point here is the employment status of second generation Nikkei Peruvians, because for the first generation employment status was based only on the factories. However, after the in-depth interviews and observations I found that second generation Nikkei Peruvians' employment status differs case by case. However, some percentages of them are doing the same job as the first generation, working at factories, even though their social and human capital is better than the first generation. Unlike the first generation, they studied and grew up in Japan.

For the Nikkei Peruvian second generation, there are significant differences between factory and non-factory workers. In particular, the main differences between these two groups have to do with their civil status, age group, education status, and receipt of social welfare.

The result also shows that many Nikkei have the intention to continue to tertiary education by going to the technical career or going to the university, but some of them cannot finish high school because of their low grades, bullying or economic problems. Therefore these people are divided into two groups: one which decided to work in the factories as their parents did, and the other one who do not and are working as occasionally, part-time, or as contract employees in small jobs. These kinds of jobs need the Japanese ability they already acquired. Therefore, they do not continue looking for a better academic level even if they have ability in the Japanese language. As a consequence, their salary will not increase in their future. Most of them are thinking about their present earning, but they do not think seriously about the difference between people who have tertiary education and who do not. People in Japan working in the same place and doing the same job can obtain different salaries based on their academic background.

Second generation Nikkei Peruvians have a significant characteristic as a human resource, but without the support of their family to push them to obtain a better academic level they become a wasted human resource. Most of the interviewees who attended tertiary education received the support of their parents to find different strategies to continue their studies. Further research might explore this problem more in-depth.

Important realizations drawn from this work include that' during the Lehman Shock, some second generation Nikkei Peruvians took advantage of training offered by the Japanese government for unemployed people. The crisis and the aid policy of the Japanese government during and after the crisis pushed them to improve their knowledge, and as a consequence some of them improved their employment status.

6.3.5 Lifetime achievement of Nikkei Peruvian families' first and second generation who stay in Japan

For Nikkei Peruvians, their class background and their idiosyncrasy that they acquired as Peruvians are some characteristics, that is, Nikkei Peruvians try to maintain in Japan to

apparently overcome their social class situation in Japan as unskilled workers. While in Peru most of them belong to the middle social class, in Japan it does not make any difference between the social classes that they belonged in Peru. In Japan, their labor status as factory workers is considered as unskilled workers. Takenaka asserts that “Middle-class migrants, including many Japanese-Peruvians, typically aspire to achieve upward mobility through education and skills, rather than through “ethnic” resources” (Takenaka, 1999, p.3). Therefore, in my studies, I found that many Nikkei Peruvians first generation pushed their children second generation to achieve for tertiary education in Japan to upper their social mobility in Japanese society. But, in most cases, they do not understand the education system in Japan and the social system at Japanese companies. For this reason, some of them complained that even their children attended tertiary education, they preferred to continue working in the factories, because they felt discrimination at the companies. Their class background and idiosyncrasy as characteristics for Nikkei Peruvians to upper social mobility, focus them in earning more money, because it is important to upper social mobility class for them. But, in Japan, white collar workers wages are less than blue collar workers wages. Consequently, some Nikkei Peruvians demonstrated during the interview their frustration after expending money in tertiary education. Their children second generation have to continue working in the factories as first generation. One community leader (CL2) declared that many Nikkei Peruvian also felt frustration in Japan. They did not have another option than working as unskilled workers. Even their second generation attended tertiary education, they will not earn big salary as they imagine due to their lack of knowledge about Japanese social and educative system (CL2, personal communication, April 7).

In addition, some of the Nikkei Peruvians do not want to pay for their social welfare. Because of their big salary at the factories, they have to pay high amount of social welfare. For those groups, they prefer savings rather than preparing for their retirement. The main findings showed also that most of young second generation Nikkei Peruvians who work in the

factory are single, very young and received less benefit than the other group (non-factory workers). Some interviewees and case studies (NSG 11; NSG17) demonstrated that some of them dropped out of school because of bullying, their economic situation and the long working hours of their parents in the factories that did not give them enough time for their children. In addition, some of the factory group quit their jobs as *salarymen* due to low salaries and many extra hours of work. Typical Japanese companies have these characteristics, but usually even Japanese workers have to struggle to endure the conditions in the companies. Interviews also showed that in the case of Nikkei Peruvians, in some cases the parents encourage them to quit such jobs because they think that they have to maintain their pride and dignity first. They think such a job with extra hours without payment is an abuse that they do not have to endure. One of the interviewees (NSG14) also explained Peruvian idiosyncrasies hindered some second generation Nikkei from increasing their motivation to obtain better employment status. The idiosyncrasies of first generation influence the second generation. Therefore, increasing the social mobility of the young second generation in Japanese society becomes more difficult.

Case studies of some second generation Nikkei (NSG 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 16) showed that the majority of those who do not work in the factory are in their 20s and 30s, most of them are married or divorced, they received benefits because of their employment status, and they are not studying now because many already finished their tertiary education and their schedule is too demanding to continue studying. This group is also characterized by its ability to overcome many difficulties and differences between the Peruvian and Japanese cultures. Many problems, such as bullying and discrimination, were overcome by their perseverance.

6.4 Policy Implications

The follow policy implication is based in second young generation of Nikkei Peruvian who remained in Japan, because unlike first generation Nikkei Peruvians, the second generation has more possibilities to stay in Japan with their descendant. Because of their background, their future is in Japan. Nikkei Peruvian second generation has the ability to speak two languages and their background between Peruvian and Japanese culture made them an important value as a human resource. But, unfortunately many of the second generation compare the salary of their parents working at factories (blue collar workers) with the salary of *salaryman* after studying at university (white collar workers) and some realized that to earn more money it is better to work at a factory. In Peru, this situation is reversed; if people want to earn more money, they have to study at university because working in factories in Peru means earning only enough salary for survival. But this thinking that came from the idiosyncrasy of their parents' first generation is affecting to some of this group. Nikkei Peruvian second generation have important value as a human resource.

6.4.1 Nikkei people as a Social and Human resource between two worlds

One of the biggest social problems in Japan is regarding the decreasing birthrate and the increase of the aging population. Japan will need to bring foreign people to cover this lack in the labor market. Japanese measurement is considering it as a solution to part of the future problem. It would be negative to bring foreign people who do not understand Japanese social system, who do not has the ability of the language, and who do not have employment practices in Japan.

Second generation of Nikkei already mastered these difficulties because they grew up in Japan, Nikkei Peruvian second generation has an important value as a human resource and social capital, because they grew up between two cultures and they can manage at list two

languages. These important characteristics as a human resource would consider local government in Japan that will be fruitful for both parts.

6.5 Further Research

6.5.1 On Japanese Migration, Challenges and Settlement

The analysis of the literature in Japanese migration to Peru demonstrates how the first Japanese migrants become successful entrepreneurs and their descendant overcome the limitation to growing up in another country. They already assimilated and settlement in a new culture. Later in 1990 some group of Japanese descendant from Peru, were pushed to travel to Japan by many factors (Policy, Unemployment, and Poverty).

First, they traveled to Japan as *dekasegi* for savings, but after two decades later when the world crisis 2008 start this group was divided in two groups during the world crisis. One who decided to stay in Japan and the other one who decided to return to Peru.

Second, I focus my research in the biggest group of Nikkei who decided to stay in Japan. Therefore, the second group of Nikkei who came back to Peru during the world crisis 2008 needs to be analyzed to understand in which economic and social condition do they return? And what is their labor status in Peru after two decades of migration to Japan? There is the possibility that they can contribute with Peruvians economy using their savings or skills acquired in Japan. Many researchers from European migrants concentrate their studies in returnees who become entrepreneurs after returning to their country of origin, is that the case of Nikkei Peruvian returnees? It would be an important point to be study for further research. If there is the possibility that Nikkei returnees to Peru would became an SML entrepreneurs, it would be a significant return that could contribute with Peruvian economy. Therefore, the Peruvian government could consider in its policies to support the Nikkei Peruvian returnees from Japan.

6.5.2 On the Main Characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians Who Remained in Japan During and After the Lehman Shock (2009-2014)

The study showed the main variables for Nikkei Peruvian first generation that influence in their decision to remain in Japan, and how these variables change over the time before and after a world crisis happened. The findings of the study demonstrated that even they wanted to come back to their country some factors as children, marital status, Japanese language and their age are the main variables that push them to stay in Japan. Therefore, First generation of Nikkei Peruvians continue living in Japan but most of this group are near or over 60s years old and they are in the age of retirement of job. Therefore, they will have a new dilemma as a migrant in Japan. How will they continue their life in Japan, because their employment status for most of them are factory workers, their lack of Japanese language and the high cost of the living standard in Japan is high, compare to the living standard in Peru. Thus they have to think again if they have to come back or not to their country after they retire of job. Maybe some of them already retired and come back or they continue in their elderly age living in Japan. This gap is a necessary point to be analyzed for further research. How is the social and economic situation for elderly Nikkei Peruvian first generation who remained in Japan for a long time? Is it better for them to come back to Peru or to continue staying in Japan?

6.5.3 On the Characteristics of Second Generation Nikkei Peruvians and their Differences in Employment Status

Compare to the first generation, the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians, differs case by case regarding their employment status, some of them could continue tertiary education became professionals, others dropped out high school because of many factors as bullying, low grades, low Japanese ability and instable economic situation in the family. As a conclusion this study pointed out that some Nikkei Peruvian second generation are divided in two groups, one who decided to challenge tertiary education and the other who continue working at the factories as this study describes in chapter four using case studies regarding to

each group. But also the study confirm that a group of them even have tertiary education they could not endure the Japanese system at the companies and later they decided to the same job as their parents, but they argues that this is a temporary job until they could find a better job because they attended tertiary education. Further research needs to do in this new problem to find if they continue as the factory workers or they change overtime their employment status due to their tertiary education. If they continue as unskilled workers, this means that for people who cannot endure and understand Japanese system at the companies would be impossible to change their employment status even they expend time and money going to tertiary education.

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Appendix

Appendix: 1 Field Survey Questionnaire 1 (May-August 2009) (Spanish Version)

Cuestionario NIKKEI – JAPÓN 1

Fecha..... Lugar..... Hora..... Participante.....

¿Podría usted apoyarme en responder las preguntas del siguiente cuestionario concerniente a la inmigración de peruanos a Japón? Por favor responda sinceramente para poder realizar una buena investigación. Los datos obtenidos en esta entrevista se usarán sólo para fines de mi investigación.

Muchas gracias por su ayuda.

1. ¿Cuál es su nombre?
2. Sexo:Masculino Femenino.
3. Edad: años.
4. Estado civil:
.....soltero/a.....casado/a.....divorciado/a.....conviviente.....viudo/a
5. ¿Dónde vive actualmente?
Prefectura.....ciudad.....
6. ¿Con quién vive usted?
 - a.Mamá. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí.....No.
 - b.Papá. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí.....No.
 - c.Hijos. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí.....No.
 - d.Esposo/a. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí.....No.

e.Otros Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí..... No.

7. ¿Cuál es su grado de instrucción? Ponga una “x” en el primer paréntesis y el número correspondiente en los espacios en blanco.

a. () Desertado (a) de la primaria: terminado hasta.....grado.

b. () Egresado de la primaria.

c. () Desertado de la secundaria: terminado hasta.....grado.

d. () Egresado de la secundaria.

e. () Desertado de la universidad: terminado hasta.....grado.

f. () Egresado de la universidad:

Título.....

g. () Otros.....

8. ¿Trabajaba usted antes de venir a Japón?Sí.....No.

a. ¿Cuál era su ocupación en Perú?.....

b. ¿Cuánto tiempo se dedicó a ese trabajo?.....años.

c. ¿En qué lugar de Perú trabajaba usted?.....

9. ¿Cuál es su ocupación actual?.....

¿Cuánto tiempo hace que se dedica a este trabajo?.....años.

10. ¿Cuándo llegó por primera vez a Japón?.....años.

¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en Japón en total?.....años

aproximadamente.

11. ¿Cuál es su situación actual en Japón en relación a su estadía?

a. () Descendiente.

b. () Esposo/a de descendiente.

- c. () Contrato de trabajo.
- d. () Estudiante.
- e. () Esposo/a de Japonés/a.

12. ¿Cuál es su tipo de residencia? (casa).

.....vivienda privada.

Costo mensualyenes.

.....vivienda de la prefectura.

Costo mensual.....yenes.

.....vivienda de la municipalidad.

Costo mensual.....yenes.

.....vivienda propia.

Costo mensual.....yenes.

13. ¿Recibe usted algún tipo de ayuda económica del gobierno japonés?

.....Sí.....No.

¿Qué tipo?

Monto mensual que recibe.....

Gasto mensual.....

14. ¿Motivo por el cual emigró a este país?.....trabajo.....estudio.....familia.

15. ¿Trabaja usted actualmente en Japón?Sí.....No.

16. ¿Cuál era su situación actual durante la crisis 2008-2009?

a. Mantuvo su trabajoSí.....No.

b. Fue despedidoSí.....No.

c. Le redujeron las horas de trabajoSí.....No.

- d. Se encuentra con seguro de desempleoSí.....No.
- e. Cambió de trabajo Sí.....No.
- f. Le redujeron el sueldoSí.....No.
- g. Salario por hora antes de la crisis.
- h. Salario mensual antes de la crisis.

17. Acerca del envío de remesas, responda usted por favor:

- a. Envía remesas usted al Perú. SíNo.
- b. ¿Cuánto enviaba entre junio del 2007 a junio del 2008?
Mensualmente
Anualmente
- c. ¿Cuánto envió entre junio del 2008 a junio del 2009?
Mensualmente
Anualmente
- d. ¿A quién enviaba la remesa?
.....padres.....hermanos.....esposo/a.....otros.
- e. ¿Para qué enviaba las remesas?
....educación de hijos/hermanos.....gasto familiar.....negocio.....casa.....otros.
- f. ¿Cuánto puede ahorrar por año desde que vino a Japón?
.....individual.
Cantidad.....aproximadamente.
..... familiar.
Cantidad..... aproximadamente.

18. Acerca del idioma japonés, responda usted:

a. Marcar con una “X”

	Muy bien	Bien	Poco	Muy poco
Entiende japonés				
Habla japonés				
Lee japonés				
Katakana				
Hiragana				
Kanjis				
Escribe japonés				

b. ¿Cómo ha aprendido el idioma japonés?

.....por su cuenta en una escuela privada otros.

c. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha estudiado japonés?.....años

d. ¿Ha rendido el examen nacional de japonés (JLT)?Sí.....No

e. Nivel4.....3.....2.....1

19. Acerca de la educación de los niños. Responder:

a. ¿Tiene usted hijos estudiando en Japón?.....Sí.....No

b. ¿A qué tipo de escuela asisten?

.....pública.....privada (peruana, brasileña, japonesa, internacional)

.....no asiste.....a distancia (Kyodai, la Unión)

c. ¿Por qué razón sus hijos no continúan estudiando en la escuela japonesa?

.....económica.....relaciones interpersonales.....idiomanivel académico.

c. ¿Por qué razón sus hijos no continúan estudiando en la escuela secundaria o la universidad?

.....económica.....relaciones interpersonales.....idiomanivel académico.

¿Qué tipo de ayuda cree usted que los peruanos necesitan más en Japón?

.....

20. ¿Piensa usted regresar al Perú o radicar definitivamente en Japón?

....regresar....radicar....no sabe.

Muchas gracias por su participación.

Appendix 2: Field Survey Questionnaire 2 (March-July 2014) (Spanish Version)

Cuestionario NIKKEI – JAPON 2 (NJ1)

Fecha..... Lugar..... Hora.....

Participante.....

¿Podría usted apoyarme en responder las preguntas del siguiente cuestionario anónimo concerniente a la inmigración de peruanos a Japón? Por favor responda sinceramente para poder realizar una buena investigación. Los datos obtenidos en esta entrevista se usarán solo para fines de mi investigación.

Muchas gracias por su ayuda.

Datos personales (NO TIENE QUE ESCRIBIR SU NOMBRE; LA ENCUESTA ES ANÓNIMA)

1. Correo de contacto

(opcional).....

2. Sexo: _____ Masculino _____ Femenino.

3. Edad: _____ años.

4. Estado civil:

.....soltero/a.....casado/a.....divorciado/a.....conviviente.....viudo/a

5. ¿Dónde vive actualmente?

Prefectura.....ciudad.....

6. ¿Con quién vive usted?

a.Mamá. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí.....No.

b.Papá. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí..... No.

- c.Hijos. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí.....No.
- d.Esposo/a. Edad.... Trabaja..... Sí..... No.
- e.Otros. Edad..... Trabaja..... Sí..... No

Nivel educativo (Capital Humano)

7. ¿Cuál es su grado de instrucción? Ponga una “x” en el primer paréntesis y el número correspondiente en los espacios en blanco.

- a. () Desertado (a) de la primaria: terminado hasta.....grado.
- b. () Egresado de la primaria.
- c. () Desertado de la secundaria: terminado hasta.....grado.
- d. () Egresado de la secundaria.
- e. () Desertado de la universidad: terminado hasta.....grado.
- f. () Egresado de la universidad:
Título.....
- g. () Otros.....

Situación laboral antes de llegar a Japón

8. ¿Trabajaba usted antes de venir a Japón?Sí.....No.
- a. ¿Cuál era su ocupación en Perú?.....
- b. ¿Cuánto tiempo se dedicó a ese trabajo?.....años.
- c. ¿En qué lugar de Perú trabajaba usted?.....
9. ¿Cuál es su ocupación actual?.....
- ¿Cuánto tiempo hace que se dedica a este trabajo?.....años.

Situación laboral en Japón

10. ¿Cuándo llegó por primera vez a Japón?.....años.
¿Cuánto tiempo vive en Japón en total?.....años aproximadamente.
11. ¿Cuál es su situación actual en Japón en relación a su estadía?
- a. () Descendiente.
 - b. () Esposo/a de descendiente.
 - c. () Contrato de trabajo.
 - d. () Estudiante.
 - e. () Esposo/a de japonés/a.
 - f. () Otros.....
12. ¿Cuál es su tipo de residencia? (casa).
-vivienda privada. Costo mensualyenes.
 -vivienda de la prefectura. Costo mensual.....yenes.
 -vivienda de la municipalidad. Costo mensual.....yenes.
 -vivienda propia. Costo mensual.....yenes.
13. ¿Recibe usted algún tipo de ayuda económica del gobierno japonés?Sí.....No.
¿Qué tipo?
Monto mensual que recibe.....
Gasto mensual.....
14. ¿Por qué emigro a Japón?.....trabajo.....estudio.....familia.
15. ¿Trabaja usted actualmente en Japón?Sí.....No.
16. ¿Cuál era su situación laboral actual hasta junio del 2014?
- a. Mantuvo su trabajo Sí.....No.

- b. Fue despedidoSí.....No.
- c. Le redujeron las horas de trabajo ...Sí.....No.
- d. Se encontraba con seguro de desempleoSí.....No.
- e. Cambió de trabajo Sí.....No.
- f. Le redujeron el sueldoSí.....No.
- g. Salario por hora.....
- h. Salario mensual

17. ¿Qué días de la semana trabaja usted, y cuántas horas? Marcar con una X.

Lunes.....Horas.....

Martes.....Horas.....

Miércoles.....Horas.....

Jueves.....Horas.....

Viernes.....Horas.....

Sábado.....Horas.....

Domingo.....Horas.....

18. ¿Cuántos años ha trabajado en Japón?.....

Fábrica de.....años.....

Fábrica de.....años.....

Remesas (envío de dinero al Perú)

19. Acerca del envío de remesas, responda usted por favor:

- a. ¿Envía remesas usted al Perú?Sí.....No.
- b. ¿Cuánto enviaba entre junio del 2008 a junio del 2009?
 Mensualmente.....
 Anualmente.....
- c. ¿Cuánto enviaba entre junio del 2013 a junio del 2014?
 Mensualmente.....
 Anualmente.....
- d. ¿A quién envía remesas?
padres.....hermanos.....esposo-a.....otros.
- e. ¿Para qué envía las remesas?
educación de hijos/hermanos.....gasto familiarnegocio ...casa
otros.
- f. ¿Cuánto ahorra por año desde que vino a Japón?
individual.
 Cantidad.....aproximadamente.
 familiar.
 Cantidad..... aproximadamente.

Idioma japonés

20. Acerca del idioma japonés, responda usted:

- a. Marcar con una “X”

	Muy bien	Bien	Poco	Muy poco
Entiende japonés				

- b. ¿Cómo ha aprendido el idioma japonés?

.....por su cuentaen una escuela privadaotros.

- c. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha estudiado japonés?.....años
- d. ¿Ha rendido el examen nacional de japonés (JLT)?Sí.....No
- e. Nivel4.....3.....2.....1

Educación de sus hijos en Japón

21. Acerca de la educación de los niños. Responder:

- a. ¿Tiene hijos estudiando en Japón?.....Sí.....No
- b. ¿A qué tipo de escuela asisten?
.....pública....privada (peruana, brasileña, japonesa, internacional)
....no asiste....a distancia (Kyodai, la Unión)
- c. ¿Por qué sus hijos no continúan estudiando en la escuela japonesa?
.....económica.....relaciones interpersonales.....idiomanivel académico.
- d. ¿Por qué sus hijos no continúan estudiando en la escuela secundaria o la universidad?
.....económica.....relaciones interpersonales.....idiomanivel académico.

¿Qué tipo de ayuda cree usted que los peruanos necesitan más en Japón?
.....

Retorno a Perú

- 22. ¿Piensa usted regresar a Perú o radicar definitivamente en Japón?
....regresar....radicar....no sabe.
- 23. ¿Por qué motivo no regresó a Perú durante la crisis del 2008?

.....
.....
24. ¿Ha cobrado seguro de desempleo?

Sí..... No.....

25. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha aportado al seguro de pensiones?

.....
26. ¿Cuánto le dieron por seguro de desempleo?

.....
27. ¿Por cuánto tiempo?

.....
28. ¿Después que hizo?

.....
29. ¿Ha pensado usted nacionalizarse japonés?

Sí..... No.....

30. ¿Por qué motivo?

Muchas gracias por su participación.

Appendix 3: Field Survey Questionnaire 3-Return Migration (March 2014) (English Version adapted from MIREM Survey)

<i>Step 1 - Situation in Peru before departure</i>									
A - Demographic and social characteristics					B – Education before departure				
A1. Sex			A2. Date of birth		B1. What was your education before your departure?				
Male		Female	a. Month		Uneducated				
A.3 Current nationality(ies)			b. Year		Preschool				
a.					Primary and Related				
b.			A5. Place of birth		Secondary				
A4. City of birth			a. Rural		Superior				
			b. Urban		University				
C - Professional and financial situation before leaving Peru					Other (specify)				
C1. Have you ever worked before your departure?					B2. Last diploma obtained before departure (specify)				
Yes			No						
C2. What was your employment status before going abroad?					B2.1. Field (specify)				
Permanent salary occupation									
Non-permanent salary occupation					B3. How many foreign languages did you speak before departure?				
Part-time salary occupation									
Seasonal worker					B4. And at what level?		Beginner	Well	Fairly well
Employer / entrepreneur					B4.a (language)				
Self-employed regular					B4.b (language)				
Self-employed irregular					B4.c (language)				
Homemaker					B4.d (language)				
Active unemployed					B5. Have you attended any vocational/professional course before departure?				
Student					Yes		No		
Housewife					B6. In which industry?				
Retiree / pensioner					Agriculture, hunting and forestry				
Other (specify)					Fishing, aquaculture				
C5. Upon departure, what was your financial situation?					Mining and quarrying				
Excellent					Manufacturing				
Good					Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water				
Average					Construction				
Not good					Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods				
Very bad					Hotel/restaurant				
Do not know					Transport and communications				
C6. What was your type of habitat occupied before departure?					Financing Activities				
Detached Villa					Real estate, renting and business services				
Apartment					Public Administration				
Traditional house					Education				
Rural house					Health and social work				
Room in an institution					Other community, social and personal				
Precarious / slum Other					Domestic services				
Others					Extraterritorial activities				

C3. What was your main occupation before going Japan? (specify)		C7. Did you or your family own agricultural land?				
		Yes				
C4. In which industry?		No				
Agriculture, hunting and forestry		C7.1 Of what surface area?				
Fishing, aquaculture						
Mining and quarrying		C8. Did you have other assets?				
Manufacturing		Yes				
Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water		No				
Construction		C8.1. What type of property?		Yes	No	
Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods		House / apartment				
Hotel/restaurant		Car				
Transport and communications		TV Hi-Fi. , VCR, DVD				
Financing Activities		Computer				
Real estate, renting and business services		Appliances				
Public Administration		Farm Equipment				
Education		Industrial equipment				
Health and social work		Livestock				
Other community, social and personal		Other (specify)				
Domestic services						
Extraterritorial activities						
D - Family composition before departure						
D1. What was your marital status at the time of departure?		D3. With whom did you live (or cohabite you) before you leave? (Multiple response)		Yes	No	How many ?
Single		Husband / wife				
Married		Fiancé / e				
Separated / divorced		Adult children				
Widow / widower		Minors				
D1.1. What is the nationality (or nationalities) of your husband / wife?		Brothers / Sisters				
a.		Parents				
b.		Other family members				
D2. Did you have children before you leave?		Friends / acquaintances				
Yes		D4. Including you, you were in number:				
No						
D2.1. How many in total?		D5. How many people did you have at your expense before going abroad?				
F – Departure from Peru		E - Reasons for leaving and projects before departure to Japan				
F1. When did you leave your country for the first time to live in Japan?		E 1. What were the three main reasons that led you to leave your country of origin?				
Year:		(In order of priority)		First	Second	Third
F1.1. how many times have you left Peru to live in Japan?		Improvement of living conditions				
		Job abroad				
F1.2. what area did you come before going to live in Japan the first time?		Search for a job				
Rural		Find a better job				
Urban		Search better working conditions				
F4. Did the members of your family help you for your trip? (Multiple Response)		Best income				
		Studies				
To pay for the trip		Yes / No	To join the family			
To prepare for the trip		Yes / No	To join the spouse			

F5. Under what conditions did you go to Japan?		To join friends			
With official documents		To help my family back home			
No official documents		Health / social security			
With false documents		Without a specific reason			
F6. Did you leave with ...		Other (specify)			
A tourist visa		E2. Before leaving, you intended to stay in Japan			
A contract of employment (work visa)		Permanent			
A descendent visa		Interim			
Other (specify)		Do not know			

Step 2 – Experience in Japan

G – Accompaniment					
G1. Have you arrived alone in Japan?		G2. With which of these people have you lived Japan?	Yes	No	How many?
Yes		Husband / wife			
No		Fiancé / e			
G1.1. Did you arrive with your family members or friends? (Multiple Response)		Adult children			
Husband / wife		Minors			
Fiancé / e		Brothers / Sisters			
Adult children	How many?	Parents			
Minors	How many?	Other family members			
Brothers / Sisters	How many?	Friends / acquaintances			
Parents	How many?	G3.1. Who was they? (Multiple Response)	Yes	No	How many?
Other family members	How many?	Husband / wife			
Friends / acquaintances	How many?	Fiancé / e			
G3. Have other members of your family arrived after you in Japan?		Adult children			
Yes		Minors			
No		Brothers / Sisters			
		Parents			
		Other family members			
		Friends / acquaintances			

H - Reasons for choosing Japan and support networks									
H2. Who were the members of the family or the friends that you have joined in Japan? And what was the number?					H1. What are the three main reasons for choosing Japan?				
Husband / wife					First	Second	Third		
Fiancé / e					It is easier to access				
Adult children		How many?			There are better employment opportunities				
Minors		How many?			There are better working conditions				
Brothers / Sisters		How many?			Best income				
Parents		How many?			I received a job offer				
Other family members		How many?			The living conditions were better				
Friends / acquaintances		How many?			My family / friends were already there				
H2.1. Have these people helped you ... (Multiple Response)					Studies				
Find a job		Yes / No			Other (specify)				
Find housing		Yes / No							
Financially		Yes / No							
For residence documents		Yes / No							
I - Report with the institutions and Japan									
I1. How would you describe your relationship with the institutions in Japan (during your stay)?					I3. During your stay in Japan, with whom and how often have you had relationship outside of work? (Multiple Response)				
Very good						Peru friend	Friends Latin country	Friends from Japan	Others
Pretty good					Everyday				
I had some problems					At least once a week				
I had a lot of problems					At least once per month				
No opinion					Several times a year				
I2. And how would you define your relationship with Japan in general?					Once a year				
Very good					Never				
Good enough					I5.1 In what branch? (Multiple Response)				
I had some problems					Agriculture, hunting and forestry				
I had many problems					Fishing, aquaculture				
No opinion					Mining and quarrying				
<i>[[if the question I3 response is other than "never" ...]</i>					Manufacturing				
I4. In what context did you meet? (Multiple Response)					Construction				
By friendly relations interposed		Yes / No			Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods				
Associative Framework		Yes / No			Hotel/restaurant				
Leisure Club		Yes / No			Transport and communications				
Politic / management framework		Yes / No			Financing Activities				
Work		Yes / No			Real estate, renting and business services				
Family setting		Yes / No			Public Administration				
Other (specify)					Education				
I5. Have you made investments in Japan?					Health and social work				
Yes		No			Extraterritorial activities				

I6. Have you had difficulties in Japan? (Multiple answer)		K - Training in Japan			
Access to Housing (high rent)	Yes / No	<i>Only for B1 = 4, 5, 6, 7]</i>			
Integration difficulties	Yes / No	K1. Has the diploma from Peru been recognized in Japan?			
Discrimination / racism	Yes / No	Yes			
No regular employment	Yes / No	No			
Unsatisfactory level of wages	Yes / No	K2. Have you pursued studies in Japan?			
Unsatisfactory health system	Yes / No	Yes			
Other (specify)		No			[Go to K4 question]
J - Composition of the family in Japan		K3. What level of education have you achieved in Japan?			
J1. When you were in Japan, has your marital status changed?		Uneducated			
Yes		Preschool			
No		Primary and Related			
J2. You became ...		Secondary			
Married		Superior			
Separated / divorced [Go to J3 question]		University			
Widow / widower [Go to J3 question]		Other (specify)			
J2.1 What is the nationality (or others) of your husband / wife?		K4. Have you attended professional training courses?			
a.		Yes			
b.		No			[Go to Section L]
J3. Did you have children when you were abroad?		K4.1 In what kind of industry? (Multiple Response)			
Yes		Agriculture, hunting and forestry			
No		Fishing, aquaculture			
J4. Who did you live with in Japan when you returned to Peru? (Multiple Response)		Mining and quarrying			
Husband / wife		Manufacturing			
Fiancé / e		Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water			
Adult children	How many?	Construction			
Minors	How many?	Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods			
Brothers / Sisters	How many?	Hotel/restaurant			
Parents	How many?	Transport and communications			
Other family members	How many?	Financing Activities			
Friends / acquaintances	How many?	Real estate, renting and business services			
J5. Including you, you were in a total number of:		Public Administration			
		Education			
		Health and social work			
		Other community, social and personal			
		Domestic services			
		Extraterritorial activities			

L - professional and financial situation in Japan				
L1. What was your first professional status in Japan?		L4. What was your employment status before the return?		
Permanent salary occupation		Permanent salary occupation		
Non-permanent salary occupation		Non-permanent salary occupation		
Part-time salary occupation		Part-time salary occupation		
Seasonal worker		Employer / entrepreneur		
Employer / entrepreneur		Self-employed regular		
Self-employed regular		Self-employed irregular		
Self-employed irregular		Homemaker		
Homemaker		Active unemployed (<i>pass to question L7</i>)		
Active unemployed		Student (<i>pass to question L8</i>)		
Student		Housewife (<i>pass to question L8</i>)		
Housewife		Retiree / pensioner (<i>pass to question L8</i>)		
Retiree / pensioner		Other (specify)		
Other (specify)		L5. What was your last occupation?		
L2. Were you already working in Japan		(specify)		
Yes		[Only for active unemployed: L1 = 9]		
No		[go to L4 question]		
L3. How long after arriving did you find the first job?		L7. During this period were you looking for jobs?		
Before my arrival in Japan		Yes		
Immediately after my arrival		No		
Less than three months after my arrival		L8. According to you, your financial situation in Japan has ...		
More than three months after my arrival		Improved		
L6. In what industry did you have your last occupation?		Greatly improved		
Agriculture, hunting and forestry		Maintained (unchanged)		
Fishing, aquaculture		Decreased		
Manufacturing		No opinion		
Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water		L9. What was the occupation of your housing status in Japan?		
Construction		At arrival		
Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods		Before returning		
Hotel/restaurant		Owner		
Transport and communications		Tenant		
Financing Activities		Free accommodation		
Public Administration		Company accommodation		
Education		Other		
Health and social work		L10. What was your last kind of housing in Japan?		
Other community, social and personal		Private (Apato)		
Domestic services		Prefectural apartment		
Extraterritorial activities		Province apartment		
		Own house		

M – Links maintained with Peru during the experience in Japan									
M1. When you were in Japan, how often did you send money to family members during the past year?					M2. What was the amount sent per year? (In Euro)				
Once a month					Less than 20,000 yen				
Once every three months					From 20,000 to 50,000 yen				
Once every 6 months					From 50,001 to 100,000 yen				
Once a year					More (specify)				
Sporadically									
Never		(go to question M4)							
M3. For what purpose? (Multiple Response)					M5. When you were in Japan, how often have you had contact (phone calls, letters, e-mail) with your family members in Peru, during the last year?				
Meet the needs of the family					At least once a week				
Schooling of children					Several times a month				
Build / buy a home					Once a month				
Invest in a business project					Several times a year				
Purchase of land / farm property					Once a year				
Modernize agricultural equipment					From sporadically				
Construction of public monuments (ex. Mosque)					Never				
Other (specify)					M6. When you were in Japan, how often did you visit Peru during the last year?				
M4. When you were in Japan, how often did you sent or brought goods to family members in the Peru, during the last year?					Two or more times per year				
Once a month					Once a year				
Once every three months					Less than once a year				
Once every 6 months					From sporadically				
Once a year					Never				
Sporadically					M6.1 For what reasons? (Multiple Response)				
Never							Yes		No
M7. When you were in Japan, have you had contact with the diplomatic or consular authorities of Peru?					Family				
Yes					Business				
No		[Go to Section N]			Holidays (Christmas etc.)				
M7.1 For what reasons? (Multiple Response)					Holidays				
Administrative reasons (paper documents)					Administrative reasons				
Teaching the language and cultural framework					Other (specify)				
Electoral reasons									
For more information (about Peru)									
For national holidays									
Other (specify):									

Step 3 - Return to Peru

Step 3 - Return to Peru					
N – Journey of return				N4. Are you back to Peru with family members?	
N1. When you return to Peru?				Yes	
Year:				No	<i>[Go to the N5 question]</i>
N2. What is your current home environment?				N4.1. Who are they? (Multiple Response)	
Rural				Yes	No
Urban					How many?
N3. Are you back in ...				Husband / wife	
Your place of birth				Fiancé / e	
Your place of residence before emigrating				Adult children	
A different location				Minors	
N5. Before or after you, have your family members returned to Peru?				Brothers / Sisters	
Yes				Parents	
No				Other family members	
<i>[Go to the N9 question]</i>				Friends / acquaintances	
<i>[Only for those who answered "before you" on N6 question]</i>				N6. Who were they? (Multiple Response)	
				Yes	No
					How many?
N7. If before you, to what extent their return has influenced your decision?				Husband / wife	
Very much				Fiancé / e	
Much				Adult children	
Not much				Minors	
Not at all				Brothers / Sisters	
<i>[Only for those who answered "after you" on N6 question]</i>				Parents	
N8. If after you, how your return has influenced their decision?				Other family members	
Very much				Friends / acquaintances	
Much				N9. What was the main source of information in the return process?	
Not much				Family	
Not at all				Friends	
N10. Before returning to Peru, how often did you discussed with people in your family or your friends?				Governmental organizations	
Often				Non-governmental organizations	
Sometimes				Consulates	
Very rarely				Chambers of Commerce	
Never				Media	
				Internet	
				None	

O - Reasons and factors affecting the return and expected duration of the return						
O1. How was the nature your return?			O1.1 What are the three main reasons of returning to Peru? (In order of priority)			
Decided				First	Second	Third
Imposed / forced by circumstances			Job insecurity in Japan			
[Only for O1 = 2]			To receive aid back			
O1.2 What circumstances have forced you to return home? (Multiple Response)			Family Problems in Peru			
My residence permit was not renewed	Yes / No		Family problems in Japan			
I lost my job	Yes / No		Health			
I had to interrupt my studies	Yes / No		Problems of integration in Japan			
I was expelled	Yes / No		Retirement			
Serious health problems	Yes / No		Manage my business			
Administrative problems / tax	Yes / No		Creating Projects			
For family constraints	Yes / No		End of contract work			
O2. On your return, did you intend to stay ...			End of my studies in Japan			
Permanent			Complete My Training			
Interim			Nostalgia for my country and my traditions			
Do not know			Unfavorable socio-cultural Environment			
O3. Are you planning now to go Japan again?			Other (specify)			
Certainly			O6. What are the three main reasons why you want to leave again Peru? (In order of priority)			
Probably				First	Second	Third
Not at the moment			[Go to Section P] I already know the country and wish to live/stay longer			
Never again			[Go to Section P] I do not fit in Peru			
Do not know			[Go to Section P] I have no future in Peru			
O4. Are you planning to ...			To renew my papers			
Returning to Peru			I do not find a job here			
Move to another country			New job opportunities abroad			
Do not know			For family reasons			
O5. In how long?			For health reasons			
In less than six months			For other reasons (specify)			
In less than a year						
In more than one year						
Do not know						

P - Composition of the current family				Q - Training in Peru after return		
P1. After your return has your marital status changed?				<i>[Only for K3 = 4, 5, 6, 7]</i>		
Yes				Q1. If you have acquired in Japan, has been it recognized in your home country?		
No			<i>[Go to the P3 question]</i>	Yes		
P2. So you have become ...				No		
Married				Q2. Have you attended vocational training courses in Peru after return?		
Separated / divorced			<i>[Go to the P3 question]</i>	Yes		
Widow / widower			<i>[Go to the P3 question]</i>	No		<i>[Go to Section R]</i>
P2.1 What is the nationality of your husband / wife?				Q2.1 In what industry? (Multiple Response)		
a.				Agriculture, hunting and forestry		
b.				Fishing, aquaculture		
P3. Have you had children after your return?				Mining and quarrying		
Yes				Manufacturing		
No				Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water		
P4. With whom do you live now?				Construction		
Husband / wife				Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods		
Fiancé / e				Hotel/restaurant		
Adult children		How many?		Transport and communications		
Minors		How many?		Financing Activities		
Brothers / Sisters		How many?		Real estate, renting and business services		
Parents		How many?		Public Administration		
Other family members		How many?		Education		
Friends / acquaintances		How many?		Health and social work		
P5 Including you, you are in total a number of :				Other community, social and personal		
				Domestic services		
				Extraterritorial activities		

R - current professional and financial situation					
R6. In what industry did you have your last occupation?			R1. What was your first professional status on your return?		
Agriculture, hunting and forestry			Permanent salary occupation		
Fishing, aquaculture			Non-permanent salary occupation		
Mining and quarrying			Part-time salary occupation		
Manufacturing			Employer / entrepreneur		
Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water			Self-employed regular		
Construction			Self-employed irregular		
Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods			Homemaker		
Hotel/restaurant			Active unemployed		
Transport and communications			Student		
Financing Activities			Housewife		
Real estate, renting and business services			Retiree / pensioner		
Public Administration			Other (specify)		
Education			R2. Have you already been working after returning home?		
Health and social work			Yes		
Other community, social and personal			No <i>[go to R4 question]</i>		
Domestic services			R3. How long after returning to Peru did you find the first job?		
Extraterritorial activities			Before my return		
<i>[Only for active unemployed : R1 = 9]</i>			Immediately after my return		
R7. Are you looking for a job?			Less than three months after my return		
Yes			Three months after my return		
No			R4. What is your current employment status?		
R8. Today, your current financial situation, compared to that spent abroad has ...			Permanent salary occupation		
Highly improved			Non-permanent salary occupation		
Improved			Part-time salary occupation		
Maintained the same (unchanged)			Employer / entrepreneur		
Decreased			Self-employed regular		
No opinion			Self-employed irregular		
R9. What was the situation of your home at your return in Peru and how is it now?			Homemaker		
			Active unemployed <i>(pass to question R7)</i>		
Owner			Student <i>(pass to question R8)</i>		
Tenant			Housewife <i>(pass to question R8)</i>		
Free housing			Retiree / pensioner <i>(pass to question R8)</i>		
Company accommodation			Other (specify)		
Other			R5. What is your main job now?		
			<i>(specify)</i>		
			R5.1. Since when?		
			Year		

R10. What assets have you brought with you when you returned? (Multiple answer)		R12. Can you tell the amount of the initial investment for each project?	
Car	Yes / No	Project 1	
Collective means of transport	Yes / No	Project 2	
Furniture	Yes / No	Project 3	
Electronic and computer equipment	Yes / No	R13. What was the main source of funding for these investments? (Multiple answer)	
Goods	Yes / No	Self financing	Yes No
Other	Yes / No	Bank loans	
R11. Have you realized investment projects in Peru?		Loans relative	
No	[Go to R19 question]	Other	
Yes, one project		R15. How many people did you employ in your business? (Multiple answer)	
Yes, two projects			Yes No
Yes, three projects		Less than 10 people	
Yes, more than three projects		From 11 to 50 people	
R14. In which industry? (Multiple Response)		More than 50 people	
Agriculture, hunting and forestry		R16. Have you had difficulties in these projects? (Multiple answer)	
Fishing, aquaculture			Yes No
Mining and quarrying		Administrative constraints	
Manufacturing		Inexperience	
Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water		Too much competition	
Construction		Difficulties Management	
Trade, repair of motor vehicles and household goods		Capital insufficient	
Hotel/restaurant		Other (specify)	
Transport and communications		R17.1. If yes, what kind of benefits? (Multiple Response)	
Financing Activities			Yes No
Real estate, renting and business services		Provision of land	
Public Administration		Subsidized credit	
Education		Facilitation of Procedures	
Health and social work		Technical assistance / advice	
Other community, social and personal		Project	
Domestic services		Tax Benefits	
Extraterritorial activities		Customs benefits	
R17. Have any institution helped you in your projects?		Other (specify)	
Yes			
No			

R18. Does your family or friends helped you in your projects?		R19. What do you think are the three main additional benefits needed to encourage people wishing to return to their country of origin and invest? (In order of priority)			
Yes, my family in the country of origin	Yes / No		First	Second	Third
Yes, my family in the country of last residence	Yes / No	Provision of land			
Yes, my friends in the country of origin	Yes / No	Credit Enhanced			
Yes, my friends in the country of last residence	Yes / No	Investment premium			
[Only for those who answered no to R11 question]		Facilitation of procedures			
R20. Can you tell the main reasons why you have not realized your projects? (Multiple Response)		Technical assistance / advice			
Insufficient capital	Yes / No	Available to banks Projects			
Lack of experience and training	Yes / No	Rebates/ tax advantages			
Administrative and institutional constraints	Yes / No	Benefits Customs			
Insufficient market	Yes / No	Infrastructure			
Health problems or family	Yes / No	Best institutional environment			
I did not want	Yes / No	Other (specify)			
I did not think	Yes / No				
Other (specify)	Yes / No				
S – Social reintegration and report to institutions		T - links with Japan			
S1. The experience you have gained abroad has meant to you ...		T1. What is your opinion on the measures taken to facilitate the return?			
An advantage		They are adequate			
A drawback		They should be improved			
Not important		They are non-existent			
Do not know		I do not have knowledge			
S2. Are you happy to be back to Peru?		No opinion			
Yes		T2. Are you keeping your papers abroad valid?			
No		Yes			
Indifferent		No			
S3. Have you had difficulties in Peru since your return?		T3. Since your return, how often have you received money from Japan in the last year?			
Access to Housing (high rent)	Yes / No	Once a month			
Reintegration difficulties	Yes / No	Once every three months			
Difficulties rehabilitation	Yes / No	Once every 6 months			
No job	Yes / No	Once a year			
Unsatisfactory level of wages	Yes / No	From sporadically			
Unsatisfactory health system	Yes / No	Never			
Red tape	Yes / No				
Other (specify)	Yes / No				

S – Continuation			T – Continuation		
S4. How do you think of your current standard of living compared to the one you had when you lived in Japan?			T3.1. What total amount (Yen/dollars) per year?		
" I am better in my country"			Less than 20,000 yens		
"Nothing has really changed "			From 20,000 to 50,000 yens		
"I live a little less good"			From 50,001 to 100,000 yens		
"I live very bad"			More (specify)		
S5. Have you received assistance from the authorities of Peru, when you returned?			T3.2. For what purpose? (Multiple Response)		
Yes				Yes	No
No			Meet the needs of the family		
S5.1 To what extent? (Multiple Response)			Schooling of children		
Help to find work	Yes / No		Build / buy a home		
Possibility to complete training	Yes / No		Invest in a business project		
To find housing	Yes / No		Purchase of land / farm property		
Facilitate access to education	Yes / No		Modernize agricultural equipment		
Facilitate access to medical care	Yes / No		Construction of public monuments (ex, school, hospital)		
Facilitate procedures of civil status	Yes / No		Other (specify)		
Other (specify)	Yes / No		T4. Since your return, how often have you had contact (phone calls, letters, and e-mail) with family members or friends who are still in Japan in the last year?		
S6. Are you a member or participant of ...			At least once a week		
An association	Yes / No		Sometimes a month		
An union	Yes / No		Once a month		
A political party	Yes / No		Several times a year		
A leisure club	Yes / No		Once a year		
			Sporadically		
			Never		
T5.1 For what reasons? (Multiple Response)			T5. Since your return, how many times have you visited Japan during the last year?		
Family	Yes / No		Two or more times per year		
Business	Yes / No		Once a year		
Holiday	Yes / No		Less than once a year		
Administrative reasons	Yes / No		From sporadically		
Other (specify)	Yes / No		Never		

Appendix 4: Field Survey Questionnaire 4 (February-July 2015) (Japanese and Spanish version)

Encuesta a la segunda generación NIKKEI en Japón (SGN Japón 2015)

(第2世代日系人に関する調査)

La encuesta está dirigida a la comunidad Nikkei de la segunda generación que actualmente reside en Japón. Esta encuesta me ayudará a completar la investigación que estoy realizando para finalizar mi tesis doctoral. La encuesta es anónima. Sus respuestas serán muy significativas para mi investigación, pueden responder en japonés o español.

(このアンケート調査は、日系ペルー人に関する調査で、私の大学博士課程における研究活動の一環です。すべて匿名になっております。下記の質問にお答え頂けると、研究活動に大変役立つため、よろしくお願い申し上げます。回答は、日本語または英語でお願いいたします)。

Información básica

Género (性別) Masculino (男性) Femenino (女性)

Estado civil (結婚) Casado/a (既婚) Soltero/a (独身)

.....

¿Tiene hijos? (お子様はいらっしゃいますか?)

¿Cuántos? (何人?)

¿Cuántos años tienen sus hijos? (何歳ですか?)

¿Dónde nació usted? (どこで生まれましたか?)

○ Japón

○ Perú

¿En qué prefectura o ciudad vive usted? (何県, 何市に住んでいますか?)

Prefectura (県)

Ciudad (市)

¿Cuántos años tiene usted? (あなたは何歳ですか?)

¿Cuántos hermanos tiene usted? (兄弟／姉妹は何人いますか?)

- Soy hijo/a único/a (わたしだけが子供です。兄弟／姉妹はいません。)
- uno (一人, 兄弟／姉妹がいます。)
- dos (二人)
- tres (三人)
- cuatro o más (四人以上)

¿A qué edad llegó usted a Japón? (日本に来たとき, 何歳でしたか?)

¿Ha visitado usted Perú? (ペルーに行ったことがありますか?)

¿Qué país le gusta más, Perú o Japón? (ペルーと日本, どちらが一番好きですか?)

.....

¿Por qué? (なぜですか?)

¿Qué tipo de visa tiene usted? (滞在ビザの種類は何ですか?)

Educación

¿Actualmente es usted estudiante? (あなたは学生ですか? それとも労働者またはその他ですか?)

- Escuela secundaria superior 高校生..... año (学年)
- Primer año de facultad (大学生1年)
- Segundo año de facultad (大学生2年)
- Tercer año de facultad (大学生3年)
- Cuarto año de facultad (大学生4年)
- Primer año de postgrado (大学院生1年)

- Segundo año de postgrado (大学院生 2 年)
- Instituto (専門学校の生徒)
- Graduado (学部卒業)
- Trabajo/otros (労働者／その他)

¿Dónde estudia usted? (どこで学校勉強していますか?)

.....

Información del idioma

¿Qué idiomas habla usted? (何の言語を話しますか?)

¿Qué idioma usa en las redes sociales? (Por ejemplo: Facebook, Mix, Twitter, LinkedIn) (フェイスブックやツイッター, メールなどでどの言語を使いますか?)

- Español (スペイン語)
- Japonés (日本語)
- Inglés (英語)
- Otros (その他)

Información económica

¿Trabaja usted? (あなたは働いていますか?)

¿Dónde? (どこで?)

¿Cómo encontró usted su trabajo? (どのようにその仕事を見つけましたか?)

.....

¿Cuántas entrevistas realizó usted para conseguir su trabajo?

(仕事を得るまでに何回面接しましたか?)

¿Cuánto gana usted por hora de trabajo? (1時間の給料は?)

¿Cuánto es su salario mensual? (Aproximadamente) (一ヶ月の給料?)

¿Cuál es el ingreso anual de su familiar? (あなたの家族の一年間の収入レベルは?)

.....
Menos de 3,000,000 yen

3,000,000 yen ~5,000,000 yen

5,000,000 yen~7,000,000 yen

¿Cuál es el salario mensual de su familia? (あなたの家族の1ヶ月の収入は?)

.....
¿Aproximadamente, cuánto es el gasto mensual de su familia? (あなたの家族は1ヶ月にいくらついていますか?)

¿Su pareja trabaja? (あなたの夫／妻は働いていますか?)

¿Qué tipo de comida consume usted más durante el mes, peruana o japonesa? (どのようなタイプの食べ物を食べていますか? 日本料理? ペルー料理?)

Redes sociales

¿Quién fue el primer contacto de sus padres cuando llegaron a Japón por primera vez? (あなたの両親が日本に来たとき、誰が最初に出会った人ですか?)

¿Por qué vino su familia a Japón? (なぜ、あなたの家族は日本に来ましたか?)

.....
¿De qué nacionalidad son la mayoría de sus amigos? あなたの友達の大半は、どの国籍ですか?

- Peruanos (ペルー国籍)
- Japoneses (日本国籍)
- Peruanos y japoneses (ペルーと日本の国籍)
- Otros (その他)

¿Cuántas veces ha cambiado usted de domicilio en Japón? (日本で、何回引っ越しをしましたか?)

¿Cuál fue la razón? (その理由は何か?)

Ayuda social (seguro social, seguro de trabajo, seguro de accidentes, ayuda a los niños, etc.)

(社会的援助：健康保険，仕事上の保険，傷害保険，子供保険など)

¿Qué tipo de ayuda social recibe o ha recibido su familia? (どのような社会的援助を持っていますか).....

Discriminación

¿Se ha sentido usted discriminado en Japón? (日本で社会的な差別を感じていますか)

¿Dónde? (それはどこですか?)

¿Por quién o quiénes? (誰からですか?)

¿Qué piensa usted acerca de la discriminación? (社会的差別についてどのように
思いますか?)

¿Ha sufrido usted de hostigamiento en Japón? (日本で、いじめにあったことがあります
たか?) ¿Dónde? (どこで?)

¿Por quién o quiénes? (誰から?)

Religión

¿Cuál es su religión? (あなたの宗教は何か?)

¿Asiste a la iglesia? (あなたは、教会や寺など集会所にいきますか?)

¿A qué iglesia? (何の集会所?) ... ¿Dónde? (どこですか?)

¿Asiste a eventos religiosos? (ejemplo, la procesión etc.) (宗教のイベントに参加して
ますか?)

Preguntas abiertas

Describa la historia de sus padres antes de su viaje a Japón (trabajo en Perú, viajes, redes sociales, dinero para el costo del viaje). ¿Por qué ellos vinieron a Japón? ¿Cuál es la red social de ustedes en Japón? ¿Tienen mucha familia viviendo en Japón? ¿Envían remesas a Perú? ¿En qué ciudades de Perú vivían sus padres? ¿Ha viajado a otros países? ¿Qué tipo de trabajos han realizado y realizan sus padres en Japón?

(日本に来る前のあなたの両親の経歴について記述してください。たとえば、ペルーでの仕事、旅、ネットワーク、旅のためのお金、日本で住む場所など)。なぜ両親は日本に来たのか？家族、日本でのネットワーク、日本での仕事や送金など。両親が生まれてから、両親はペルーの異なる市に引っ越ししましたか？日本に来る前にどの国に移住したことがありますか？両親が日本に来てから、両親はどんな仕事、どんな場所で仕事をしましたか？

Muchas gracias