

リサーチ最前線：博士論文紹介

Nikkei Peruvian First and Second Generations in Japan: Overview of Their Socio Economic Issues After Lehman Shock

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Abstract

日系とは、日本人の子孫である民族的なグループを言う。1989年に、移民に関する日本の法律が改訂されてから、世界中の日系人が日本への入国を容易に許可され、多くの日系ペルー人が仕事と高い賃金を得るために入国した。本博士論文は、日本に滞在する日系ペルー人の波乱に富んだ旅路と挑戦を述べており、特に、2008年の世界経済危機（リーマンショック）が起きた時の彼らの社会的、経済的な状況に焦点を当てた。本論文は、2つの主なトピックスからなっている。はじめに、第一世代の日系ペルー人が日本滞在の継続を決めた主な特徴について分析した。他の研究とは異なり、日系ペルー人は自国の経済状況が改善されても、それを日本滞在の条件とはしなかった。次に、第二世代の日系ペルー人を分析した。その結果、第一世代の未熟なスキルを持った労働者とは異なり、第二世代の雇用状況はケースバイケースであり、彼らの日本での経歴によるところが大きいことがわかった。また、工場での労働者とそうでない労働者との主な違いは、彼らの身分や年齢、学歴、社会的な援助に依存することがわかった。日本とペルーの両文化の経歴を持つ貴重な第二世代の社会的、人的資本は、地方自治体によってもっと考慮されるべきである。

Nikkei are the ethnic groups who are descendants of Japanese people. Since the Japanese law about immigration was revised in 1989, Nikkei from the world have been easily permitted to enter to Japan. Many Nikkei Peruvians have traveled to Japan for working and saving their higher wage in Japan. But after two decades, they have continued living in Japan with their second generation, even their futures are uncertain. This dissertation shows the odyssey and challenge of Nikkei Peruvians during their stay in Japan, particularly focusing on their social and economic situations when the world crisis (Lehman Shock) happened in 2008. This dissertation has two main topics. First, I analyzed the main variables that influenced the first generation of Nikkei Peruvians to continue staying in Japan. In contrast to other studies, this ethnic group did not condition their decision to stay in Japan, even though the economy of their country was improved. Second, I analyzed one more important variable, which is the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians. The results of this study showed that unlike the first generation unskilled workers, the second generation employment status differed case by case, due to their Japanese background. The main differences between factory and not-factory workers depended on their civil status, age group, study status and social aid. The social and human capitals of valuable second-generation Nikkei Peruvians, having two cultural backgrounds, need to be considered by local government.

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the first and second generations of Nikkei Peruvians who have lived in Japan during the world crisis (Lehman Shock) in 2008. Most of them have been living in Japan since 1989. In this study, I considered Nikkei Peruvians, who have Japanese ancestors and traveled to Japan during the 1990s. They have lived in Japan and experienced many economic and social problems for more than two decades since they arrived in Japan. The target of this study is to inquire the challenges of Japanese-Peruvian families in the 21st century through an overview of the socioeconomic issues of these Nikkei.

During the last century, many problems affected the Peruvian economy, as a result, most of Peruvians wanted to go abroad to other countries. In the case of third generation Nikkei Peruvians, it was difficult to travel to Japan because of the visa permission. However, in 1989, the Japanese law regarding Nikkei was revised by the Japanese government, Nikkei from around the world, including Nikkei Peruvians obtained a new status of visa that permitted them to enter Japan.

Since 1990, many Nikkei Peruvians started to travel to Japan to work and save money as *dekasegi*. The first group of Peruvians who traveled to Japan are called "first generation Nikkei Peruvians", and their children are called "second generation Nikkei Peruvians". The goal of the first generation group was to save money and to return back to Peru. Altamirano claimed that migrants carried their human, social and cultural capitals to the country that received them in this global context (Altamirano, 2009), but after many years living in Japan, the first generation continued working in factories as unskilled workers, and they could not return to their country as they planned before. Instead, they brought their family from Peru to Japan. Thus, the life for them became more difficult in Japan.

On the other hand, even though they could send remittance to their country, some researchers have argued that Japan became one of the most important countries where the *dekasegi* sent remittance to Peru. It had a major impact on Peruvian economy (Vela, 2006; Aquino 2011). It seems that they did not find another alternative than to stay in Japan even during the world crisis (Lehman Shock) in 2008. Many studies focused on different migrant groups, but there are not many studies regarding to the ethnic group as Nikkei in Japan. Some important studies were focused on Nikkei or young foreigners as a general group as I describe in this paper.

First, one of the most important researches regarding the first generation of Nikkei in Japan was the studies by Yamanaka (Yamanaka, 2000). She focused on Nikkei Brazilian, and found that not only economic factors, but also gender, age generation, class, and ethnicity were their main variables for Nikkei Brazilian to return to Japan. Second, regarding to the second generation of South Americans who stay in Japan. Sueyoshi's research (Sueyoshi, 2011) was the most remarkable achievement to describe how this group built their educational and professional careers in Japan.

Although Yamanaka studies (Yamanaka, 2000) explained the main factors of first generation to return and stay in Japan, and Sueyoshi research focused on the factors of second generation for overcoming academic adversity in Japan. They could not deal with the main factors of Nikkei families to continue staying in Japan even though the world crisis happened. As Yoshikawa confirmed "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). It is important to research the socioeconomic situation of second generation Nikkei Peruvian who grew up in Japan.

To tackle the problem confronted by the previous researches, my research focuses first, on determining 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 even though the world crisis happened. Because as Takashi claimed "Due to the recession, a large number of Japanese descendant in non-regular employment were laid off. As a result, unemployment increased in the Japanese descendant community" (Takashi, 2013:318). Second, this study explains the impact of socioeconomic characteristics of second generation Nikkei Peruvians on their decision to remain in Japan and on their employment status. Finally, it describes the lifetime achievement of the first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians who stay in Japan through many case studies. To achieve these goals, the dissertation focuses on the next objectives.

Research Objectives

- 1) To describe the odyssey of Japanese and their descendants migration between Japan and Peru in three stages.
- 2) To describe the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan or returned to Peru after the world crisis in 2008.
- 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.
- 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.
- 5) To describe the lifetime achievement of the first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians who stay in Japan.

2. Research Methodology

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

To answer the third main objective of the study I used mixed methodology; quantitative research was undertaken in April and August 2009, and in March and June 2014, consisting of 100

interviews with Nikkei Peruvians in Japan. Afterwards, I used regression analysis (Probit Model). This study also utilized qualitative methods; snow balling and case study research with five in-depth interviews with Nikkei families. 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 author. The aim was to understand the reasons Nikkei Peruvians continued living in Japan after the world crisis, and their socioeconomic characteristics in 2009 and 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 utilized a logistic regression model to estimate the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians in making a decision to stay or not to stay in Japan. 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 author. I also used the Chi-square test. This study used 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 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.

Finally, to answer the fifth objective of this study I used a survey, interviews and case studies of the first and second generation Nikkei Peruvians. Interviews were found using the snowball sampling and the personal networks of each interviewer.

3. Finding

The research questions and results of the dissertation are:

What are the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who stayed in Japan during the world economic crisis in 2008?

This question had been analyzed in three stages; the first stage describes the crossing of the Japanese people in Peru as a first migrant and their settlement in Peru. This part describes how Japanese people in Peru overcame the limitation of the language and culture to become a successful migrant in a new country, very different than their own country. In the second stage, this part shows that after poverty, inequality and unemployment the revised law that gives a visa permission for Nikkei was one of the main factors that pushed Nikkei Peruvians to travel to Japan in the 1990s.

In the third stage, this dissertation found two groups. One group is regarding to the Nikkei Peruvians who decided to stay in Japan after the world crisis in 2008 and the Nikkei Peruvians

who decided to return to Peru after the crisis. Regarding to the people who stayed in Japan, it seems that they did not have enough savings to return to their country because of many factors, as a result of their demographic characteristics.

What are the demographic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru since the first migration as dekasegi in the 1990s?

The second question also is regarding to Nikkei Peruvians who returned to Peru and brought their savings from Japan. But unfortunately, from this study, their savings were not enough to open a big business compared to 15 or 20 years prior when they left Peru. This group saved some money while they were working in Japan, but most of the people who were interviewed did not do a market study before thinking to open a business in Peru, because even though Peru is their country, the reality after 15 or 20 years later is very different than when they left Peru 20 years ago. Other problems for returnees after living a long time in Japan were their reinsertion in the Peruvian society, the inadequate health insurance system compare to Japan, findings jobs, and low salaries. On top of this, they found that the bureaucracy to open a business was another limitation for them.

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

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 Nikkei Peruvians. According to the quantitative result, the variable of marital status during 2009 demonstrated that most of Nikkei Peruvians who married seems to stay in Japan compared to the contrast group. This result was analyzed in the qualitative method in-depth interview; most of the Nikkei Peruvians with their children have to decide to stay in Japan, because those children who belong to the second generation of Nikkei already settled down in Japan. But not only married people with children but also Japanese language ability were important variables that influenced the Nikkei Peruvians to stay in Japan even though the world crisis happened. Therefore, the children of the first generation who were raised in Japan could manage the Japanese language that their parents could not, in this situation the first generation started to receive help from their children and this limitation for the first generation become reduced.

In the second result of the study in 2014, the age of Nikkei Peruvians is an important characteristic to explain who stayed in Japan. According to the result, most of Nikkei Peruvians were more than 40 years old. At this age or more if they came back to Peru they may not be able to find a job to maintain their family. In the case they continue living in Japan, there is the chance for them to continue working in factories and preparing for their future retirement insurance. It would be impossible for them if they went back to Peru. Therefore, age, Japanese language ability, marital status, and children are the main variables that influenced the Nikkei Peruvians to remain in Japan

even the world crisis happened. In contrast to other research, in this case the economy situation of the country of origin do not influence their decision to return. Because even the economic situation improved in Peru, according to this study, other factors influence the Nikkei Peruvians decision not to return to their country.

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

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. Then, 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.

How is the lifetime achievement of Nikkei Peruvian families 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 overcame the barriers between Japan and Peru in different ways to settle in Japan. As the case studies described.

4. Conclusions

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

To solve the problem of the instability of the 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 for them to return to Peru.

In another way, the second generation Nikkei Peruvians and their problem of employment status after 2008 seems to be less severe than the first generation. Unlike the first generation of unskilled

workers, the second-generation employment status differs case by case due to their Japanese background. Even though some percentages of the second generation continue as unskilled workers in Japanese factories, their social and human capitals differ 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.

Important realizations drawn from this study 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.

The second generation, with backgrounds of two cultures and two languages, might be undervalued if they become unskilled workers. Therefore, their social and human capitals as a bridge between two cultures should be considered by local government in building programs to help the second generation integrate into the workforce.

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