

Statistical Survey Series No.3

On the Settlement Desire of Brazilian Migrants
of Japanese Ancestry in Japan

by

Hiromi MORI

October 1993

Japan Statistics Research Institute

Hosei University, TOKYO

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Hosei University, Tokyo

ABSTRACT

Japan, having been newly involved in the waves of international labor migration in the middle 1980s, entered a new stage in 1990 in terms of migration patterns. The amendment of "The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act" (hereinafter referred to as the Immigration Control Act) in 1990 brought about substantial changes in international labor inflow to Japan. These changes are characterized by a massive inflow of Japanese descendants, so-called "Nikkei", mainly from Brazil and Peru.

The main objectives of this paper are two-fold: first, to investigate the factors influencing the desire of Nikkei to settle in Japan, second, to understand how it affects their living behavior. The following analysis relies basically on two statistical surveys on Nikkei working in Japan carried out by Japan International Cooperation Association (JICA) in 1991 and by Japan Statistics Research Institute of Hosei University (JSRI) in 1992.

I. "U-turn Migration of "Nikkei"

The net annual inflow of foreign residents, given as a differential between disembarkation and embarkation, has increased dramatically since late 1980s. One of the most prominent characteristics in labor inflow after 1990 is the massive inflow of Japanese descendants, so-called "Nikkei" from South American countries, mainly from Brazil and Peru.

The amendment of Immigration Control Act opened the door not only for Nikkei of third generation but even for non-Nikkei married to a second generation Nikkei to reside under the newly introduced "long term resident" status. Since the Act stipulates no legal restriction in activities for foreign nationals who stay in Japan under such statuses as "spouse or child of Japanese nationals" and "long term resident", they are legally permitted to work in not only skilled but unskilled jobs which is prohibited by law as well. They are invited as main source of "legal" un-

(*): This paper was originally presented on 1st September 1993 at the 49th Session of International Statistical Institute at Florence (Italy) under the title of "Brazilian Migration of Japanese Ancestry in Japan".

skilled labor force.

The influx of Nikkei into Japan differs in some aspects from guest workers from many Asian countries who started to immigrate in mid 1980s. First, compared to guest workers from many other, mainly Asian countries, Nikkei are characterized by the considerably high ratio of workers accompanied by their families, although many families were reunified afterwards. Among many Nikkei workers, families were unified from the outset.

Second, the inflow of Nikkei to Japan is characterized as the migration of emigrants and their descendants to their country of origin. This is substantially different from the "return migration" of emigrants from host to home country after having achieved their desired objectives. It has an aspect of "U-turn" for migrants of the first generation. In this respect a new terminology of "U-turn migration" is introduced in this paper to denote the unprecedented immigration flow of emigrants including their descendants to their country of origin for working objective.

U-turn migration is generally accompanied with many psychological aspects which are rarely seen either in emigration or return migration: familiarity with the host country as their forefathers' home country, a sort of disappointed sentiment among emigrants of first generation raised by the U-turn migration of their descendants, an unstable feeling among U-turn migrants regarding their national identity, embarrassment caused by the communication problems despite their physical similarity, etc..

It is quite interesting to investigate the factors which regulate the inclination of Brazilian U-turn migrants to settle in Japan. The aim of this paper is to ascertain (1) the factors which can be connected with Nikkei Brazilians' inclination to settle in the host country and (2) how it affects their living behavior based on the following two statistical surveys.

II. Basic Characteristics of Survey Data

The main data sources on which our discussion in this paper relies are a survey undertaken by the Japan Statistics Research Institute of Hosei University (#1) on Japanese Brazilians' Working and Living Conditions in Japan (hereinafter simply referred to as JSRI survey)[JSRI(1993a,b)] and a comprehensive survey of Nikkei workers from five South American countries implemented by the Japan International Cooperation Association (JICA survey) [JICA(1992)].

The JSRI survey was conducted in November-December 1992. On designing our survey we did not apply random sampling method but chose two typical regions (Gunma and Hamamatsu) as survey points where registration data suggest Brazilians' massive habitation.

Survey samples were collected through following three ways:(1) Questionnaires were distributed through the Chamber of Commerce to its member companies for majority of samples in Gunma. (2) Approximately 20 samples in Gunma and about half of samples in Hamamatsu were filled at some of the Brazilian restaurants located in these regions. (3) The rest of samples in Hamamatsu were collected at the night classes where they attend to learn Japanese. As the result, 394 effective returns were collected (291 in Gunma and 103 in Hamamatsu).

Among 394 of productive age samples, 54.1% were male and 44.2% female and 1.8% N.A.(no answer). As for the decomposition by age class, samples of 20s occupy 47.7% and those of 30s and under 20 years old were 18.5% and 10.9%, respectively.

According to the report, the JICA survey was undertaken nationwide in April-July 1991. Questionnaires were distributed with envelop for return through following four channels: (1) distributed randomly through local coordinators of each survey region, (2) handed directly to Nikkei workers, (3) distributed through supporting organizations and (4) distributed in Nikkeis' gatherings or on the road [JICA(1991) p.(2)].

Among 1,027 effective returns, 641 samples (62.4%) were Brazilians, 406 of which were male and 235 female. Although report does not carry breakdown of the number by nationality, 47.9% of total returns were 20s and 23.8% 30s. Samples of under 20 years old were 4.9%.

A brief comparison of these survey results with other administrative data which afford basic characteristics of population may help to assess the possible deviations of respondent samples from population. Assuming that the overwhelming majority of latest Brazilian registrants is Nikkei, let us undertake a simple comparison on some basic parameters with registration data as of the end of 1990, the existing latest available data.

According to the comparison, while JICA survey gives almost equivalent percentage for sex, JSRI survey tends to show relative preponderance of female percentage, say by about 8%, to registration data of corresponding age class (15-59). As for the age groups, either two surveys demonstrate no significant difference with registration data for 20s and 30s. However, as for the age group of 15-19, the JSRI survey and registration data show 10.9% and 9.0%, respectively, while the percentage stays at the level of 4.9% in JICA survey. Despite such deviations inherent in these surveys, they do not seem to liquidate totally the validity of survey results.

(#1):The research members of JSRI survey are as follows:
Iwao KAMOZAWA(*), Daijiro NISHIKAWA(*), Hiromasa MORI(*), Tatsuya CHIBA(**), Hiromi MORI(*), Kenji YAMAMOTO(*)
*:Hosei University, **:Meiji Gakuin University

III. Settlement Desire of Foreign Guest Workers

The two surveys inquire respondents the intention of stay in host country in different manner. According to the JICA survey, the breakdown of replies which give any positive answers were as follows: "stay at any rate"(1.4%), "stay if could find appropriate jobs"(6.4%), "stay if could call family from home"(4.4%), "stay if could be accustomed to Japan"(4.8%). The JICA survey also shows that the percentage of persons with such settlement desire among Brazilians is comparably lower than those of Peruvian (42.1%) or Argentine (30.8%) of Japanese descent [JICA(1991) p.135].

The JSRI survey asked their intention by the intended duration of stay. According to the results, persons replied "less than one year" were 19.8% and "less than two years" 56.1%. 19.5% of respondents from the 394 effective replies in this survey showed a desire to stay in Japan "as long as possible".

In spite of the many differences in survey methods, these two surveys provide similar percentage as for the Nikkei Brazilians' desire to stay in Japan. We define those who indicated desire to stay in two surveys, i.e. the 77 JSRI and 119 JICA respondents, as "settlement desire holders" and the rest "non-desire holders" in the following discussion.

It is interesting that among early migrants from Mediterranean countries to West Germany the percentage of those who intend to stay "forever" did not exceed 10%. Even the positive answers to the question asking the desire to stay in Germany forever stay at 12% in average [Bohning(1972) p.185].

Neither two surveys undertaken by JICA nor JSRI explicitly include "N.A." or "D.K.", while survey results in West Germany carry from 8% to 39% of N.A.(D.K.)s [Bohning(1972) p.185]. This supports the indication that the settlement desire holders introduced in this paper are defined as of relatively broad character including some respondents with unclear attitude to the question. Said differently, it is probable that the survey results may tend to prove rather vaguely the functioning of the factors regulating the settlement desire and the living behavior of Nikkei workers in Japan.

IV. Some Factors Ruling the Settlement of Nikkei

In the first place, either the JSRI nor JICA survey suggests that such fundamental factors as sex, marital status and age did not significantly influence settlement desire. Concerning the individual's parentage, it was hypothesized that those with both Nikkei parents would have a strong inclination to settle. The JSRI survey results, however, shows that the percentage of SD holders were 26.5% among families with "either Nikkei parents"

and "Nikkei spouse", whereas 16.4% among "both Nikkei parents". The degree of Nikkei parentage, therefore, has no direct relationship to the individual's settlement desire. There was also no evidence from survey that such social attributes as educational background, former occupation and position in work in Brazil relate to settlement desire.

The full-scaled U-turn migration of Japanese Brazilians has only a short history. As was already described above, it was not until the revision of Immigration Control Act that their influx took the form of massive phenomenon. Reflecting this, there are only 9 among 394 total respondents in the JSRI survey who reside since before 1989. Therefore, any longer-range characteristics cannot be drawn concerning their settlement desire out of this survey.

According to the JSRI survey, among Nikkei Brazilian who have resided in Japan since the years before 1990 their 33.3% wanted to settle. On the other hand, among residents having entered after 1990 the percentage stays at the level of 17.9%. For those who had entered in 1992, only 14.8% wished to settle in Japan.

As experience in Germany illustrates, the proportion of migrants who want to stay in host country increases with increasing length of time [Bohning(1972) pp.244,246]. According to a survey, after 20 years of working in Germany, about 40% of Turkish workers wanted to stay in the host country [Sen(1989) p.5]. However; while the repatriation campaign by the German Government called upon many Turkish guest workers to leave the country, far greater numbers immigrated under the family reunification program. As the result of these bidirectional human flows, settlement desire among Turks residing in Germany increased.

The JICA survey, however, offers quite interesting results on Brazilians' settlement desire, highlighting a slight decline in the ratio during their stay in Japan. This seems to be mainly attributed to their experience of living in Japan: high commodity prices, astronomical housing expenses among other things, discourage them from wanting to remain.

The majority of respondents (60.2%) in the JSRI survey migrated with their families, in contrast to those foreign guest workers from other regions, e.g. Southeast Asia, who were mostly unaccompanied. Although not so high as was hypothesized in advance, the percentage of people with settlement desire is comparably higher among workers attended with families than those unattended. For reference, among workers accompanied by their families, the percentage of respondents who intend to reside less than one year stays at 16.9%. On the other hand, more than a quarter of unattended workers answered the intention of staying less than one year.

According to the JSRI survey, 28.5% of all respondents moved with their children. Children's attendance seems to have substantial implications in deciding the settlement of Nikkei in host country. Because the JSRI survey shows that the percentage of people

with settlement desire stays at the comparatively low level (17.2%) among families without children in Japan. The percentage, however, reaches 24.6% among families accompanied by their children. The families with school-aged children are characterized by the strikingly high percentage of 32.6%.

V. Settlement Desire and its Effect on Nikkei's Living Behavior

We investigated in the JSRI survey the relationship between settlement desire and satisfaction at work, as well as the likelihood of job change. These factors were unrelated to the immigrants' desire to settle in Japan.

On the other hand, settlement desire is strongly tied to the manner in which they dispose of their earnings in Japan. First, as for the savings, among respondents with less than ¥50,000 and between ¥50,000-100,000 monthly savings, the percentage of people with settlement desire were 26.5% and 29.9%, respectively. The percentage drops to 10.6% among stratum with over ¥100,000 monthly savings. According to Sen, living behavior of early Turkish guest workers in Germany is characterized by high saving ratio, strong ties with their home country and, therefore, strong intention to return [Sen(1989) p.7]. He also traces through a series of surveys the fact that their average saving ratio decreases in later days, which was mainly accounted for by additional expenses caused by the family reunification [Sen(1989) p.31].

The fact that monthly savings are greater among non SD holders than others indicates that their stay is more strongly related to their potential earning power. Distinct differences in intention to spend the money saved in Japan between two categories of Nikkei may support this fact. Among non-SD holders, such future intentions as "buying land for a home", "buying a new home", "children's education, "funds to start a new business" are common. On the other hand, among SD holders saved money is directed mainly at "liquidating personal debt" or to cover "daily expenses".

Now let us proceed to the analysis of whether or not the settlement desire influences association with Japanese. 72.3% of all respondents in the JSRI survey responded that they had Japanese relatives in Japan. It is said that kinship sometimes plays important role among Korean and Chinese in accepting immigrants. In contrast to them, it is quite seldom that Japanese relatives play any active roles in inviting Nikkei to Japan. Nikkei generally find their jobs in Japan in regions which are different from their parents' or grandparents' hometown. According to the JSRI survey, only 27.4% of those surveyed have visited their relatives in Japan. The JICA survey also recorded that the percentage with close relations is only 5.8%. Quite apart from that, in some cases there even exists some reasons to keep distance from each other on both sides. Nikkei workers are often hesitant about

meeting long lost relatives without any success in life, while their kinsfolk are occasionally afraid of any possible inheritance claims, etc..

It is more likely that foreign guest workers generally desire more contact with native population than really achieved. The likelihood of associating with Japanese other than relatives depends on their intention to remain in Japan. The JSRI results showed that 18.0% "associate very often", even though this association is generally not very intimate. And also, according to the JICA survey, replies such as having "many Japanese friends" and "a few Japanese friends" given by Brazilians represented only 4.1% and 6.9%, respectively, which is lower than ones given by Nikkei from other countries [JICA(1991) p.128]. For reference, according to a survey undertaken in Cologne in 1967, only 10% of Turks and 8% of Spaniards "often spend" some time with German family [Bohning(1972) p.236].

Nikkei's association with Japanese correlate considerably whether or not they have settlement desire. For reference, 33.8% of SD holders answered in the JSRI survey that they "associate often" with Japanese. On the other hand, among non-SD holders this ratio stays only at the level of 14.0%.

When immigrants maintain their work and life in host countries, they often encounter various kinds of harassments by indigenous residents. 25.4% of all respondents in the JSRI survey answered that they had experienced harassment by Japanese. On the other hand, in the JICA survey (which include unfair treatments in work in the scope of harassments), 31.2% of Brazilians respondents stated that they had experienced unfairness.

It is quite interesting that the Nikkei Brazilians' settlement intention is inversely correlated to their discriminated experiences in Japan. Among SD holders persons with such experience stay at the level of 19.5%, however, among people with intention to stay less than one year, this percentage reaches 37.2%.

The settlement intensity among immigrants depends more or less on the adaptability in daily life to the custom and culture of the host country. The JICA survey results record that 32.9% of Nikkei Brazilian became "accustomed quickly". This percentage of Brazilians is not so high as those of Nikkei from Bolivia and Paraguay where immigration has a comparably shorter history than in Brazil. This result attests the fact that the earlier the time of immigration, the more difficult it becomes to adapt themselves when they U-turn migrated.

We could identify in the JSRI survey the clear difference in adaptation between SD and non-SD holders in Japanese food and custom. 33.3% of respondents who intended to stay less than one year found difficulty in adapting to Japanese food. On the other hand, the percentage is only 18.2% among SD holders.

As for "troubles with neighbors" in daily life, the JSRI survey

recorded no substantial difference between SD and non-SD holders. This seems to result from the fact that they mostly live in company dormitories or apartments prepared by employers or intermediators, and therefore, they have little contact with the local community.

The longing for home by immigrants is the other side of the coin in measuring incongruence to the host country, which reveals itself in homesickness, telephone call to family in order to dissipate ones loneliness.

The JSRI survey listed "homesickness" as the largest troubling issue in life (58.4% of all respondents). However, the percentage among persons who want to stay less than one year (70.5%) is considerably greater than that of SD holders (40.3%). The difference of the sentiment of loneliness among SD and non-SD holders is directly reflected in the frequency the call family in back home. Among SD holders, the percentage of calling "more than once a week" is 16.1%, however, among non-SD holders it reaches 83.9%. The strong longing for home makes immigrants hesitate to settle in host country.

Unless the size of immigrants is large enough to form their own ethnic society, communicability in the indigenous language has crucial importance for immigrants vis a vis their decision to settle in the host country. Among respondents who marked "Portuguese" as an easier language to use in the JSRI survey, the percentage of people with settlement desire was 17.6%. In contrast to this, the percentage was 31.0% among those who marked "Japanese" and "the same degree". As was already described, age and family descent had no significant relationship to settlement intention. If we take these into consideration, capability to communicate in Japanese, which is a necessary communication measure to work and live in Japan, seems to be concerned with the formation of settlement intention.

Settlement intention has some difference in access media to the news. While SD holders rely more on "television", "radio" and "Japanese newspapers" to get news about Japan, among non-SD holders the role of "Portuguese newspapers" including those published in Japan is relatively important. Proficiency in Japanese among SD holders over non-SD holders seems to account for this difference. As far as news about Brazil is concerned, however, there is no substantial difference among access measures between SD and non-SD holders. Since Japanese media seldom cover news about Brazil, Nikkei Brazilians are obliged to follow Portuguese newspapers.

Finally, whether he/she has an intent to settle or not regulates emigration behavior itself. According to the JSRI survey, among respondents who have an intention to stay less than one year, 55.1% have no wish to visit Japan again after return. On the other hand, this percentage is only 6.5% among SD holders.

VI. Concluding Remarks

The JSRI survey results indicate that among the main attributes which characterize Nikkei Brazilians in Japan, being accompanied by their children, especially school aged ones has crucial meaning in forming settlement intention. If we look at this factor from another standpoint, it is the reason and at the same time outcome of settlement intention for "U-turn migrants" with school-aged children in Japan.

As was already referred to before, among SD holders the way of using money earned reflects relative difficulties in life in Brazil comparing with non-SD holders. It can be supposed that difficulties in life in the homeland induced many SD holders to decide to migrate with their children or, conversely, the fact that they are accompanied by their children may support their settlement intention.

It has special meaning for U-turn migrants to come with school aged children, because Nikkei attach special emphasis to their children's education in Brazil(#1). If they have an intention to return, it is definitely disadvantageous for school-aged children, especially pupils in primary or secondary schools to be absent from school for considerable duration of time. This risk taking inflow seem to dominate their settlement intention of U-turn migrants.

The history of U-turn migration of Brazilian to Japan is not long enough to prove the duration of residence in host country as a ruling factor of settlement intention. The JICA survey indicates the fact that settlement intensity decreases among Nikkei Brazilian during their stay in Japan due to the difficulties in life; high commodity prices and housing costs, among other things. The JSRI survey on the other hand shows that the time of arrival to Japan is positively correlated to settlement desire. Among Nikkei who entered in earlier years there are not a few who successfully adapted themselves to Japan. Those who could not adapt seem to have already left. It may very well be that, among those who entered lately, there are a lot of Nikkei who feel some difficulties in adapting themselves in host country. These facts may lower the percentage of persons with settlement desire among newcomers.

In the course of the recent serious and protracted economic recession, many foreign as well as Japanese workers lost their jobs. The fact that the Employment Center for Returning Migrants of Japanese Origin is crowded with Nikkei job seekers proves that employment conditions were unfavorable for them as well. The extended working opportunity in companies, which had hitherto promised additional income for them, has been mostly extinguished since 1992. Some of them were dismissed and obliged either to find new jobs or to return home. However, misfortunes were less serious among Nikkei than other, for example "illegal", foreign guest workers. Immigration data recorded only a slight

decline in the number of Nikkei residing in Japan, despite the serious slump in economic activities. This indicates that they already constitute a structural part of Japanese labor market.

As for the introduction of unskilled workers, the Japanese Government has adopted a de facto "rotation system" (#2) on foreign guest workers in order to maximize the benefits of unskilled foreign labor while minimizing its economic and social costs. The structural character of Nikkei workers in the labor market on the one hand and the rotation policy for the introduction of a foreign labor force on the other may sooner or later bring forth some contradictions connected with the settlement of the labor force. In this context, we should keep our eyes in the issue of settlement intention of Nikkei workers together with that of other categories of foreign workers.

(#1):The gross enrollment rate for third level education among persons of 20-24 years old in Brazil stays at the level of 11.2% for 1989 (UN(1992) p.57). For reference, 23.1% of total respondents in the JSRI survey answered that they "finished higher education". As returns collected through companies cover almost all Nikkei employed in each establishment under study, this percentage shown in survey indicates the higher educational career among Nikkei in Brazil and U-turn migration of particularly highly educated and qualified people among Nikkei.

(#2):Western European governments had also pursued "a policy of rotation" when they signed agreements in the late 1950s and early 1960s with a number of Mediterranean countries, including Turkey, for recruitment of migrant workers [Centre(1993) p.69].

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