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ARTICLE

Socioeconomic Characteristics of First-Generation Nikkei Peruvians Who Remained in Japan During and After the Lehman Shock (2009–2014)

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Abstract

In Japan there are ethnic groups, such as Nikkei Peruvians, who have been permitted to enter Japan as descendants of Japanese people since 1990. Now, they continue to reside in Japan with their second-generation families. This study shows the reasons why Nikkei Peruvian family residents in Japan decided to continue staying there even after the Lehman Shock in 2008. Using interviews, surveys and regression analysis, this research found the main variables that helped them in their decision to stay in Japan. Firstly, I analyzed the social and economic situations of Nikkei Peruvians in 2009 (during the crisis) and then I compared the results with those in 2014 (after the crisis). Finally, to support these results I performed a case study with five families. Based on the results, this study found that marital status and Japanese language are the main variables during the crisis in 2009 and that age and children are the main variables after the crisis in 2014. I ascertain that children, age, Japanese language ability and their marital status are the most important variables that influence first generation Nikkei Peruvians in their decision to continue staying in Japan during and after a world crisis happens. I argue how those characteristics across Nikkei Peruvians in the initial period 2009 change over time in 2014. Thus, this study found that Nikkei Peruvians first generation did not condition their decision even with an improving Peruvian economy.

Keywords: Nikkei Peruvians, Lehman Shock, First -Generation, Families

1. Introduction

This paper is focuses on Nikkei Peruvian families who migrate to Japan, a country with big differences in culture, language and distance for them. Moreover, this study will answer the question “Why do Nikkei Peruvians continue living in Japan?” The main focus of the present research lies in Nikkei Peruvian families, as an ethnic group, and as descendants of Japanese people who were living abroad (Matterson, 2004; Adachi, 2006). After the Japanese Immigration law was revised in 1990, Nikkei Peruvians were able to enter Japan as Japanese descendants. Their main purpose of entry was to work, save money, and then return to Peru. However, after two decades, they continue working and residing in Japan with their families. Most of them work at factories (Goto, 2007; Moorehead, 2002). Despite the fact that the world crisis (Lehman shock) happened in 2008, they did not return to their

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country. This study describes the reasons why they continue residing in Japan. I argue how those characteristics across Nikkei Peruvians in the initial period 2009 change over time in 2014.

Keiko Yamanaka (2000: 139) 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 Nikkei Brazilians to return to their ancestral land Japan. She also emphasized the importance of historical 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 in the early 1990s and then begun to circulate between the two countries (Yamanaka, 2000: 146). It could not deal with the first-generation Nikkei and their children who after two decades continue living in Japan (Sueyoshi, 2011; Yamasaki, 2010; Preston, 2011). Yamanaka’s research focused only on the first-generation Nikkei Brazilians returnees to Japan between 1990 and 1999. Other studies investigated before the experience of the global economic crisis 2008 (Lehman Shock) (Goto, 2007; Moorehead, 2002).

In order to tackle the problems confronted by the previous studies, this study focuses on the socioeconomic characteristics and socioeconomic differences of the Nikkei Peruvian ethnic group in Japan in 2009 (during the crisis) and 2014 (after the crisis) called Lehman Shock. These viewpoints were compiled from surveys, interviews and case studies completed in 2009 and 2014.

2. Peruvian Nikkei Affluence & Outflow

This study discusses which variables were significant in the decision of Nikkei Peruvian families to return to Peru or to stay in Japan in 2009 and 2014 after living for more than two decades in Japan. In particular, this article is laid out in the following way: In Section 2, I give the background of the Nikkei Peruvian families since Japan’s new immigration policy was revised in 1990, which permitted Nikkei to enter to Japan; in Section 3, I explain the social and economic characteristic of five Nikkei Peruvian families who stayed in Japan and the methodology used. Finally, this study shows the results of the research describing the main variables for Nikkei Peruvians to continue staying in Japan after the world crisis in 2008.

2.1. Nikkei Family in Japan: Newcomers in Japan 1990

Ethnic groups like Peruvian and Nikkei Brazilian in Japan were not so often researched in migration studies, because they are newcomers (Tsuneyoshi, 2010). Newcomers mean the 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. Nikkei Peruvians have been continued living in Japan with their second, third generations, and it is possible that future generations will live in Japan too. It is important to research the main variables for Nikkei who continue staying in Japan even though

there are differences in distance, culture and language barriers. One of the most important academic works on this particular issue is Yamanaka Keiko's "I will go home, but when?" (Douglas & Roberts Publishers, 2000). This paper analyzes the labor migration and circular diaspora formation by Japanese Brazilians in Japan which is three times bigger Nikkei population compare to the Nikkei Peruvian population in Japan¹. However, this academic work focused only on Nikkei-Brazilians ethnic group.

In this work, Yamanaka's showed the reason this ethnic group was motivated to come to Japan and described the first decade living standards after the first migration to Japan until 1999. 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 (Lehman Shock) in 2008. It is important to understand the variables for Nikkei after the second decade of migration in Japan and why they continued staying in Japan after the crisis. In fact, Yamanaka strongly analyzed the diaspora of Nikkei Brazilians until 1999, one decade after the first Nikkei migration to Japan. This study focuses on the Nikkei Peruvians ethnic group who continue residing in Japan after the world crisis in 2008.

I made some interviews with Nikkei Peruvian families. Most of them came to Japan alone without family because of many factors, as one of the interviewees said:

"First I came to Japan alone, because my wife and three children had to stay in Peru until I saved the necessary money for airplane tickets to bring them to Japan and to accommodate them in a better place of living. I also had to send remittances for them while saving money and cover my living costs in Japan, too".

Before the world crisis (Lehman Shock) almost all the Nikkei living in Japan were working at factories, even though they didn't have the Japanese ability. As the above interviewee explained, he could work many hours to cover his expenses, even though he just entered Japan he didn't have Japanese ability. So he thought that if he bring his family as soon as possible his wife could enter a Japanese factory and help him with the living costs for their family.

After the wife came and started to work, the family's savings increased and they could bring their last daughter one year later in 2008. During this period of time the world crisis started but for them the most important was the reunification of the family and as they told me "How can we think to come back to Peru after all the odyssey that it cost to us to bring all my family to Japan". For them a big family with three children in their early ages, and without savings they decided to settle in Japan, and thinking to come back to Peru meant the failure. The Japanese government offered Nikkei families some solutions to go back to their native country because most of them had lost their jobs. But, they decided to continue living in Japan. I wanted to analyze in more Nikkei Peruvian families as to their reasons for their decision and how that differs from Nikkei Brazilian families.

3. Main Socioeconomic Characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian Residents in Japan: (2009–2014)

Until 2008, before the Lehman Shock, the standard life of Nikkei Peruvian was as one of the interviewer described:

“Before the world crisis we had more working hours at the factories, and we could work extra hours on weekends, too. Regarding to the language, it was not a big problem because even though we could not speak Japanese, we worked because of the lack of labor force. My wife and I worked together to increase our monthly wage; we could send remittances to our family, but after the crisis we had to reduce the remittances, because my wife lost her job and I was unemployed.

Another interviewer explained: “Before the crisis we could visit our country at least once per year. Also, we could save some money and send remittances to our family, but sometimes we had to stop sending remittances or reduce it in some months.”

As I describe above, the financial and economic crisis that the world has experienced since 2008 has had a great impact on labor migration for Nikkei living in Japan too. There is a vast amount of literature on the Nikkei Peruvian family returnees to Japan. The determinants of staying in Japan have not so far been researched according to the previous studies. This lack of research on the subject of return dekasegi² migration to Japan first and second generation is mainly due to a lack research. In Nikkei Peruvian families there is no studies of the dekasegi living in Japan during and after Lehman Shock. The research objectives of this study is to describe the socioeconomic characteristics and socioeconomic differences of Nikkei Peruvian Families in 2009 and 2014 (after the Lehman Shock) and their decision to continue staying in Japan.

3.1. Methodology

I use the mix methodology, because the quantitative methods that are most popular in migration research cannot provide the necessary data analysis. On the other hand, qualitative methods, which are used more often in case study’s research, can provide descriptive and analytical explanation to a single phenomenon, like Nikkei Peruvian families. In quantitative research one of the sources was data obtained between April and September 2009 and May and June 2014; which it consisted of 100 interviews with Nikkei Peruvians in Japan. I used the regression analyze (Probit model). This study also utilizes qualitative methods; snow bowling and case studies with five families.

3.2. Interview (2009–2014)

In 2009, the interviews were conducted between April and August 2009 in the target area of Aichi prefecture and its surroundings. Interviews were conducted in Spanish. Aichi prefecture has a big concentration of manufacturing industries in Japan producing in specialized automobile parts which serve 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 May in Aichi Prefecture and also in Tokyo city, because Tokyo is the Japanese management and finance center with successful industries located in cities like Chiba and Yokohama, where many Nikkei Peruvians are also concentrated.

3.3. Data Collection

The data collection method were two interview questionnaires surveys Japan Nikkei Survey 1 (JNS1) in 2009 and Japan Nikkei Survey 2 (JNS2) in 2014 created by the research:

The aim was to understand the reasons why Nikkei Peruvian continued living in Japan after the Lehman shock and their socioeconomic characteristics in 2009 and 2014, and possible results with different characteristics. The exploration of the data base was based on various types of analytical approaches: descriptive, exploratory and interpretative. I collected the 2009 data information to describe the economic and social situation that Nikkei Peruvian family had in the time of crisis (Lehman Shock). During the first stage of the financial crisis in October 2008 when the world crisis started many Nikkei factory workers lost their jobs, but during this year most of those who lost their jobs maintained unemployment insurance from the Japanese government. In 2009, the unemployment insurance was ended for many of them. Therefore, it became a big socioeconomic problem for them. What happened with Nikkei Peruvian family during this period of time is one of the questions that the data of 2009 will help to answer this question. This data which I collected in 2009 in Aichi Prefecture gave me the socioeconomic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian during that period of time, and after that, I could compare with the data from 2014 in Aichi prefecture to describe the socioeconomic characteristic of Nikkei Peruvian family during and after the world financial crisis in 2008.

In 2014 a new economic measure in Japan affected the Japanese population economy, including the Nikkei Peruvian families. Yoshihisa Kitai from IIST, affirmed in 2014 that: “The Japanese economy has maintained a steady recovery in 2013. Moreover, the pace of that recovery is picked up on the back of the February 2013 supplementary budget and a last-minute surge in demand ahead of the consumption tax hike in April 2014.” (IIST).³ Therefore, I decided to make the second survey in 2014, to understand the socioeconomic characteristics of Nikkei Peruvian after the Lehman shock and after the new economic measures made by the Abenomics⁴ program in Japan regarding to the consumption tax hike beginning in April 2014.

Hence, in this research one of the sources was data obtained in April and September 2009 and May

and June 2014; it consisted of 100 survey interviews with Nikkei Peruvian in Japan. Therefore, I used the regression analyze (Probit Model) using data collected in 2009 and 2014 in Aichi Prefecture. This study also utilizes deeply interview and case studies to five typical Nikkei Peruvian families in 2009, and the same group was interview in 2014 again. Five Nikkei Peruvian families (A, B, C, D, and E)⁵ were interviewed from 2009 until 2014.

3.4. Data Description: 100 Family's Selection Criteria

The Nikkei Peruvians in this study were a similar demographic sample, regarding to their ethnicity, nationality, language, job type, visa type, income and religion. Therefore, they are first generation of Nikkei Peruvians who have a family in Japan, they speak Spanish language, they work in factories, they have a legal Japanese descendant visa, their income is little similar at the factories and most of them are Catholic. For this reason, the author choose 100 samples between Aichi Prefecture and Tokyo area because Nikkei Peruvians demographic characteristics are similar as a sample study. This means the sample is representative of first-generation Nikkei Peruvians First generation in Japan. In consequence, the findings of the investigation from the sample can be generalized to the population (Bisquerra, 2009).

3.5. Data Description: Five Families' Selection Criteria

Most of Nikkei Peruvian families in Japan work in factories, and some of them have international marriages with children, too. Some samples of married couples are conformed by Peruvian-Brazilian, Peruvian-Japanese, Peruvian-Peruvian, and others. The five families that I will describe have all these characteristics and most of the other Nikkei Peruvians international families are the same as them.

Family A is formed by a Nikkei Peruvian husband and no Nikkei Peruvian wife. They have been living in Japan since 2004 (10 years), and they have three children: five years old; nine years old and thirteen years old. Both wife and husband work through Monday to Sunday for about eight hours every day at the factory. Family B is formed by a Nikkei Peruvian wife and Nikkei Brazilian husband. They have been living in Japan since 2004 (10 years), they are living in Japan with their three children: four years old, seven years old and eleven years old. The wife works eight hours at the factory Monday to Friday and the husband works eight or ten hours every day through Monday to Saturday at the factory too. Family C is formed by Iraqi husband and Nikkei Peruvian wife. They have been living in Japan since 1991 (23 years), and they have three children: eight years old, nineteen years old and twenty one years old. The husband and Peruvian wife are working at the factory everyday through Monday to Friday for about eight hours. Family D is formed by Nikkei Peruvian husband and no Nikkei Peruvian wife. They have been living in Japan since 2006 (eight years), and they have three children: five years old, nine years old and thirteen years old. Usually the wife works at the factory through Monday to Friday for about eight hours. In the case of his husband, he has been working at the factory

through Monday to Saturday for about eight or ten hours per day at the time of the interview. Family E is formed by Nikkei Peruvian husband and a Japanese wife. The husband has been living in Japan for about 24 years, and they have three children: four years old, six years old and nine years old. The wife is a part-time office worker, as she has a professional license in Japan, and the husband is a factory worker. The husband works through Monday to Saturday between eight and ten hours every day. Therefore, the wife spends more time with children in the house, which means the children received Japanese education at school and at home, so the Japanese language is their native language compared to other families.

3.6. Model: Logistic Regression Model

Moreover, this research utilizes a logistic regression model to estimate the main variables for Nikkei Peruvian in making a decision to stay or not to stay in Japan. In this model, 1 if the Nikkei Peruvian family stayed in Japan and 0 if they do not. Since the dependent variable is a binary variable, I have used the qualitative response regression model, under this model there are three possible models available; Logistic Model; Probit Model and Tobit Model. The Probit Model has been widely used by many scholars for their studies; therefore, my study will also use the Probit Model.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + e$$

Where $Y = 1$ is for Stay in Japan, and zero otherwise.

Table 1 Probit Regression 2009 and 2014 Based on Variables

Independent Variables	Estimated result of 2009			Estimated result of 2014		
	(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)	-0.0116 (-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: own source

The Independent Variables are Age, education, civil status, gender, Japanese language ability, employability, children and visa type.

3.7. Variables Analyzed in 2009 and 2014

- **Education:** the reference groups are high school and university.
- **Gender:** “1” is equal to male and “0” is equal female
- **Japanese Language ability: (jpnability)** here the value is “1” if the Nikkei Peruvian has Japanese language ability and “0” if they do not have the ability.
- **Visa Type:** Here “1” means if the Nikkei Peruvian are a descendant and “0” if they are spouse of a descendant.
- **Marital Status:** Here married Nikkei Peruvian is “1” if they are married and “0” if they are single.
- **Age:** is a numerical variable, refers to the age of Nikkei Peruvian at the time of the interview.
- **Children:** the values are equal to “1” if Nikkei Peruvian have children and “0” if they do not have children.
- **Job:** The values are equal to “1” if they have job and 0 if they do not have a job.

4. Quantitative Analysis

4.1. Interpretation of the Variable in a Quantitative Analysis:

Marital Status

The Regression Model in 2009 shows that people who are married are more likely to be in Japan

compared to unmarried people, so this relationship is significant. Of the survey JNS1⁶ in 2009 of 50 interviewed Nikkei Peruvians in Nagoya city, 60% of them had a married marital status; and 20% answered that they were single.

Japanese Language

The Regression Model in 2009 demonstrates that this variable is significant, as this means that people who have Japanese language ability is more likely to be in Japan compare to the people who don't have Japanese language ability.

Age

This variable is not significant regarding to the Regression Model in 2009. The JNS1 survey reports that in 2009, 62% of those interviewed were between 20 & 39 years old. The other 38% are more than 40 years old. Most of Nikkei Peruvians between 20 and 30 years old are second generation of Nikkei in Japan.

Children

Regarding to the Regression Model 2009, this variable is not significant. In 2009, the JNS1 survey illustrates that 34% of those interviewed has children, and the other 66% did not have children, at the time of interview.

Job

The Regression Model in 2009 showed that this variable is not significant and the JNS1 survey demonstrated that 58% of Nikkei Peruvians maintained their job at the time of interview and the other 42% lost their job because of the world crisis in 2008 (Lehman Shock). As we can observe according to the survey, 50% of Nikkei Peruvians lost their jobs during the world crisis. Therefore, some of them received an unemployment insurance⁷ (Shitsugyou Hoken), Japanese government assistance for unemployment people while they were looking for new job.

Savings

In this point, I could not obtain any answer because they felt they could not save what they proposed to save before coming to Japan, and some of them also acquired debts at the Japanese bank. 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 is connected and has a relation with the case study of five Nikkei families that I interviewed between 2009 and 2014. The five families were selected as a typical Nikkei families in Japan who had more than two children, and at least one of

the members worked in the Japanese factory.

5. Qualitative Analysis

The data collection method included two interview questionnaires surveys Japan Nikkei Survey 1 (JNS1) in 2009 and Japan Nikkei Survey 2 (JNS2) in 2014 created by the author. Thus the connection with deeply interview and case study of five Nikkei Peruvian families who have been living in Japan before 2009 until the time of the last meeting with them in 2014. The aim was to understand the reason why Nikkei Peruvians continued living in Japan during and after Lehman shock and their socioeconomic characteristics in 2009 and 2014.

5.1. Qualitative Results: Interview Results 2009–2014 from Five Nikkei Families who Continue Living in Japan

Nikkei Family in Japan 2009: Five Samples Families and Survey Description

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

Table 2 Nikkei Family in Japan, 2009

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

Source: Own source 2009

Nikkeijin Family in Japan 2014: Five Samples Families and Survey Description

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

Table 3 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 13 years 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: Own source 2014

5.2. Qualitative Results: Variables Results 2014

Marital Status

In the regression result this variable is not significant and interview data in 2014 demonstrates that 22% of Nikkei Peruvians were single and the other 78% were married. This shows that most of Nikkei Peruvians who continued living in Japan had families and this is one of the reasons that they could not go back to Peru even after the world crisis. The wife of 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 jobs, therefore we could not support a higher education for her. Now we are supporting my grandson too. My second son is 19 years old and decided to stop the high school and start 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 another type of job.”

Age

In the Regression Model 2014 this variable is significant, this means that age is positively related with the decision of being in Japan. This means old people are more willing to be in Japan compare to the young people. In 2014; 36% of the interviewed has between 20 and 39 years old and 64% are more than 40 years old. Families A, C and D are more than 40 years old. The wife of Family C temporarily returned to Peru for about four months in order to look for a job or to start 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 the factory and now their two children became independent second-generation Nikkei. Therefore, they thought they could retired in Japan. But, after visiting Peru she noticed that it was not easy for living standard, social networking and the possibility to open a new business for living in Peru. She felt disappointed because she observed and thought that Peru

after 23 years is like other country for her.

Finally, she decided to stay in Japan. Therefore, in Japan elder people can receive some benefits from the Japanese Government, so she realized that the retirement time in Japan is better than in Peru, and she can stay with her family, too.

Children

In the Regression Model 2014 this variable is significant, as it means that the people who have children are more willing to be in Japan compare to the people who do not have children. From the interview 44% of the interviewed have children and 56% Nikkei Peruvians who do not have a child. After 24 years of the first return migration to Japan, the children of Nikkei Peruvians became the second generation, and some of them are having babies that will be the third generation of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan. From the interview, most of the second- generation Nikkei Peruvians did not think to go back to Peru. Even though they have the Peruvian nationality, most of them never visited Peru and they do not know Peru, and also they cannot speak Spanish as well. Even for another group who visited Peru for vacation, Peru was an unknown country for them. They could enjoy it but it is just impossible living in Peru, after comparing the social economic reality between Peru and Japan. Second-generation children are already settled in Japan, and their parents are becoming grandparents of the future third generation. The family ties are crucial for Peruvian Nikkei families in their decision to stay or not in Japan.

Job

In 2014, 86% of the interviewed had a job; the other 14% did not have a Job. Compare to the percentage of the interviewed in 2009 double of the Nikkei Peruvians recovered their job and were working in Japan. Even the working hours are not the same as before the world crisis, they have a job, both husband and wife. The economy became more stable for their family as one of the interviewed asserted:

“Before the world crisis we could work more than 40 hours per week, there were a lot of extra hours; we could work through Monday to Sunday if we needed it. 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 work also extra hours, and we recovered the normal wage before the crisis but we cannot work every day, because the schedule is still unstable. Also, now the ability in Japanese is more important than in the past if we want to obtain a job”.

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.

Savings

In this point, we 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 expending it on the education of their children in Japan.

5.3. Analysis of Factors Influencing Families' Decision to Stay

In 2014 after the world crisis happens, the main factors that influence their decision to remain in Japan have to do with their age and children.

Age

Old people are more willing to be in Japan. If they return to Peru their oldest age cannot permitted them to find a job, their low or no savings limited them to open a business also. Japan better social benefit for oldest people than their country. In addition, for their retirement in Japan they need to be more than sixties years old and they are almost near their sixties. In the case they want to return to Peru, they will not find a job and they cannot obtain any benefit.

Children

On the other hand most of their children, second young generation, only speaks Japanese, most of them are adapted to Japanese system education and there are social benefits for them that there is not in Peru. As the interviewers said all of them are receiving the social benefit to their children from Japanese government. In Peru there is no social benefit as Japan for their children. And the education will become a trouble for their children because as the interviewer said their children cannot manage the Spanish language to go to Peruvian schools.

6. Discussion

This paper analyzed the main variables of the reason for Nikkei Peruvians to continue residing in Japan after the world crisis in 2008. Nikkei Peruvian is an ethnic migrant group that was not so much researched by scholars, especially after the world crisis in 2008. Regarding the literature review, most of research focused on the first generation of Nikkei Peruvian returnees to Japan since 1990. But, this paper found that their marital status, Japanese ability, the second generation of Nikkei Peruvian (children of the first generation) and their age had high influence on the Nikkei Peruvian families and their decision to stay or not stay in Japan. From the case study result, the children of Nikkei Peruvians are established in Japan because of the children's school, culture, friends and Japanese language. Thus, in the case of Nikkei Peruvian migrants, even the economy in Peru is getting better, Nikkei Peruvians decided to stay in Japan for other factors.

Regarding each Family Interviewed:

6.1. Peruvian - Japanese Family (A)

Family A has been living in Japan since 2004, for about 10 years at that time. During living in Japan their first problem was the language communication. Later when their children grew up, they received the help in language problems from their children. In 2009, the father was 48 years old and found it difficult to find a job in Peru.

6.2. Peruvian-Brazilian Family (B)

In family B, the husband is a Nikkei Brazilian and the wife is a Nikkei Peruvian. After they became an international family the main problem for the children was the language. They are studying in Japanese at school but, when they come back home their mother speaks Spanish and his father uses Portuguese. Some Nikkei people think that their children are becoming multi-lingual, but actually they do not dominate 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 enough compared with monolingual children. Nevertheless, the best talking reading and writing language is the Japanese. Therefore, even though the world crisis happened and their parents wanted to return to their countries, it would be twice as difficult for their children to live in their countries where they had never stayed. They were born in Japan, but they are not Japanese. In this family, the determinant to stay in Japan is because of their children. The wife can stay in Japan because of her marital status.

6.3. Peruvian-Iraq Family (C)

Family C came to Japan 23 years ago with three children. When their children started at a Japanese school, they start to talk only in Japanese, and the communication with their parents was limited. Children's networking at school and their Japanese community increased more than their parents ones because of their ability in the Japanese language. Parents limited to work at the factory, specially, as foreigners they need to work harder so the time with family also decreased. After 23 years living in Japan their two children became the second generation of Nikkei, who become independent and involved in Japanese society. And for parents returning to Peru it becomes just impossible because of their old age to restart their life in Peru. Here age, children and Japanese language are determinant to stay in Japan.

6.4. Peruvian -Peruvian family (D)

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. However, after the world crisis started, his working hours were reduced and he was sometimes obligated to take a rest from the factory. Thus, he found a new job at a garbage company as a permanent employee, he received less salary per hour

but he received more benefits than the other jobs, approximately his salary was about 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 has overcome by this family using their job-hunting strategy in Japan during the world crisis. In 2014, after the world crisis their situation improved, even his salary was the same, now the husband can work more hours. His motivation to challenge in Japan as he said are his children and his wife.

6.5. Peruvian- Japanese Family (E)

The husband is a Japanese descendant, and the wife Japanese. The children were born in Japan. Therefore, they had already assimilated to the Japanese school without any problems; they have their own social network with Japanese friends. If they want to go back to Peru, the children does not have the ability to speak in Spanish, as 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 the factory as a permanent job (Seishain) and the wife is an office worker. In Peru it will be difficult for the husband to find a job, 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 to return to Peru is difficult for them. For this family the age, children and Japanese language influence in their decision to staying in Japan.

Significant Variables Studied Interviewed in 5 Families:

Family.

As Yoshikawa affirmed “Immigrants families raises children in a different country ... immigrant families consist of parents born outside but with children born inside 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). Some second generation of Nikkei Peruvians has Peruvian nationality, but their background of social and human capital is 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 (cited in Yoshikawa 2008: p10). Actually Nikkei Peruvian children second generation provide support to their parents (first generation). This means that the different problems that parents had in the past, will be solved by their children (second generation); for example, the Japanese language problem. Therefore, social networking with Japanese society will be supported by their children second-generation children too.

Children Settlement.

Nikkei second generation have already settled in Japan, because of their family, social network, and human capital already settlement in Japanese society. There are no motivations or reasons to go back to their country of origin, as the economy of Peru was becoming better than past years. Their decision is not only for monetary aspects, they have another reason as a family with a second generation connection. On the other hand, the reality would be different for children who already started their elementary school education in Peru, and they were obligated by the parents' circumstances, to continue their studies in Japan. Children who started their education in Japan from second or third grade of elementary school would have difficulty getting 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 be finished their basic knowledge in their native language and also they cannot become native Japanese speakers.

Age.

In the second result that I analyze in 2014, Nikkei Peruvians stayed in Japan because of their old age to apply for a job. From the interview and survey, 64% of them are 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 without savings in their country. In Japan, older Nikkei Peruvian already have a job, and some of them are paying the social security insurance for their retirement. Older Nikkei Peruvian in Japan, even if they lose their job, they can survive because of job insurance that some of them received from the Japanese Government. This kind of job insurance does not exist in Peru.

Marital Status.

In both results (2009 and 2014) marital status was significant for Nikkei Peruvians to continue staying in Japan. Most of married people have children studying at Japanese schools and the married status permitted some of them to maintain their visa status as a wife or husband of a Nikkei Peruvians. Therefore, they shared the wages and expenses of their family, because most of the Nikkei Peruvians couples work together at the factories. In some cases their income became higher than typical Japanese couples.

7. Conclusion

This study compared the social and economic situation of Nikkei Peruvian families during and after the world crisis 2008. Using the Probit Model, this research pointed out the main variables influencing on their decision to stay or not to stay in Japan during and after the world crisis happened. Furthermore, these results were analyzed with the qualitative method by conducting interviews

and case studies. As a result, this study found that marital status and Japanese language are the main variables during the crisis in 2009 and that age and children are the main variables after the crisis in 2014. Regarding the literature review, most of research focuses on the first generation of Nikkei Peruvian returnees to Japan since 1990. Thus, this study found that Nikkei Peruvians first generation did not condition their decision even with an improving Peruvian economy, because children, age, marital status and Japanese language of Nikkei Peruvians have a crucial influence in the first-generation Nikkei Peruvians decision to settle or not in Japan during and after the world crisis happened.

According to the literature review, migrants wants to improve their economic situation and after that they want to return to their country of origin. This paper argues that in the case of Nikkei Peruvian migrant in Japan the situation is different. They become only unskilled workers at the Japanese factories and they cannot upper their social mobility as other migrant groups. Therefore, even a world crisis happen and the economic situation of their country of origin improve, Nikkei Peruvian have to continue staying in Japan because of language, age, child and marital status factors according the research results. Compare to other migrant groups, Nikkei Peruvian cannot upper social mobility, they are unskilled factory workers, they become oldest, their children speaks Japanese but their mother tongue ability is very low. In addition, their savings cannot improve because of the high living cost in Japan.

Marital status, Japanese language, children and age have a significant influence in their decisions to stay or not in Japan. Five case studies showed in this study the importance of these four variables in the social and economic aspects of Nikkei Peruvian, who are staying in Japan after the world crisis in 2008. In the first results, the variable of marital status in 2009 for Nikkei Peruvian family asserts that Nikkei Peruvians who are married are more like to be in Japan compared to unmarried people. These results were confirmed in the deeply interview, case studies and observations that the author did since 2009. Moreover, the Japanese language ability was one of the main factors that allowed Nikkei to maintain their job during the crisis compared to those who did not speak Japanese.

In the second result of the study in 2014, the age and children of Nikkei Peruvians were important characteristics for Nikkei to stay in Japan after the world crisis. Regarding to the age in the interview and survey, 64% of Nikkei Peruvian 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 social security insurance for retirement, and there's a job insurance system in Japan that is not available in Peru. Thus, most of Nikkei Peruvians who had second-generation children were indirectly forced to stay in Japan.

The second-generation Nikkei have already settled down in Japan studying at Japanese schools. Furthermore, those Nikkei Peruvian families with second-generation children raised in Japan have

received the support of them reducing the cost of using a translator as in the past in their daily life. Because even though the children's nationality is Peruvian, their social and human capital background is Japan. Therefore, social networking with Japanese society will be supported by their children. Additionally, the case studies showed that their savings, remittances, extra hours, visiting Peru, during the crisis were reduced and cancelled in some cases, but a group of them study technical courses as unemployment people offered by Japanese Government. As a result, it helped them to improve their technical ability to have more labor options than factories.

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 Crisis (2009–2014). On the other hand, the economic factor of the country of origin does not influence in the decision of Nikkei Peruvian families to stay in Japan. Therefore, the Nikkei Peruvian immigrant families and the important variables for second generation Nikkei Peruvians settled in Japan have a number of challenges for future studies. What is the social and economic conditions of young second-generation of Nikkei Peruvians in Japanese society is a question for future research.

Notes

- 1 In accordance with the Aliens Registration Law 2011, Peruvians population are 52,843 and Brazilian population are 210,032 (<http://www.stat.go.jp/English/data/nenkan/>).
- 2 Dekasegi refers to Japanese descendent who were living abroad and then return to Japan as temporary labor force for saving money temporarily and later return to Peru. In the case of Peruvian Dekasegi they have the same goal but they had to continue living in Japan for many reason and they could return Peru as they though. Takenaka (: 234) adds "The Japanese term is officially defined by the Ministry of Labor (1993) as laborers who leave home for more than one month to engage in temporary work return home with less than one year". Stanlaw (2004, p. 123) points out that *Dekasegi* literally means "temporary migrant worker" in Japanese, it is commonly restricted to foreign nationals of Japanese descent (Nikkei) who return to Japan to work temporarily-usually in the unskilled employment sector- to make money before they return home.
- 3 Yoshihisa Kitai Nippon Steel and Sumikin Research Institute. Institute for International Studies and training IIST. Available at <http://www.iist.or.jp/>Last accessed May, 15, 2015.
- 4 "The government of Shinzo Abe, which was elected in December, 2012, introduces a reform program called Abenomics, which aimed to revive the sluggish economy with "three arrows". "Fiscal consolidation, more aggressive monetary easing from the Bank of Japan, and structures reforms to boost Japans competitiveness and economic growth." (Yoshino, N. and Taghizadeh-Hesary, F. 2014).
- 5 In this paper I used letters as pseudonyms to conceal and protect the residents' identities.
- 6 JNS1 I called the first survey for this study JNS1 (Japanese Nikkei Survey 1) that was collected between April and August 2009 in Nagoya, Japan.
- 7 "Unemployment insurance provides benefits to employees who become unemployed. Duration of benefits is limited to a period of time usually 3 months to one year and depends on length of employment and age. Unemployment benefits usually do not reach more than 350,000 JPY per month". (<http://www.japan-payroll.com/labor-insurance-in-japan/>).

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