

EXPATRIATES IN THEIR MOTHERLAND: BRAZILIAN *DEKASSEGUI*S IN JAPAN

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I – Introduction

Between January and February 2004, The Brazilian *Dekasseguis* Association (Associação Brasileira de *Dekasseguis* – ABD), as part of a project on Brazilian *Dekasseguis*¹, collected data on three different Brazilian Nikkey² groups: (i) potential *Dekasseguis*, *i.e.*, Brazilians of Japanese extraction who had short-term plans to work abroad in Japan (Questionnaire A); (ii) *Dekasseguis* who were already living in Japan in January 2004 (Questionnaire B) and (iii) *Dekasseguis* who had already returned to Brazil (Questionnaire C) by January 2004. The project also included a documented survey (see www.abd.net.org.br for a full description of the project).

Naoto (2004) classifies migration of Brazilian *Dekasseguis* to Japan in four distinct periods: (i) invisible (early 80's); (ii) commodified (second half of the 80's); (iii) *sanseis*³ (beginning of the 90's); and (iv) Brazilian recession and transformation of the labor market (after 1993). During the first period of (nearly) invisible migration, the ones who went back to Japan were *isseys*, fluent in the spoken and possibly in the written language. The commodified period, according to Naoto, starts with the opening up of recruiting agencies in Brazil targeting *nikkeys* for work in Japan. The author argues that there was a qualitative change in the migration process with the advent of ads in Brazilian newspapers of work opportunities in Japan – transforming the migration process into a commodity, *i.e.*, available on the market, irrespective of the potential candidate's "social capital". The commodified market is not based on social networks connecting the regions of origin and destination. Besides, through these recruiting agencies, *Nikkeys* already went to Japan with a concrete job – contracted migration as opposed to speculative migration (Molho, 1986). In this second phase, before the approval of the new 1990 Immigration Law (Immigration

¹The term *dekassegu* in Japanese is composed of two ideograms (*kanji*): *deru* (出る – to leave) and *kassegu* (稼ぐ – earn money), and is applied to any person who leaves his/her homeland to work elsewhere, temporarily or otherwise. See Hoshi, 1969.

² The term Nikkey is composed of two ideograms *ni* (日 – the first ideogram of Nihon -日本 – Japan) and *key* (系 – meaning bloodline) and refers to Japanese and their descendants (usually living outside Japan).

³ In Japanese, descendants abroad are classified as: *Isseys* (those born in Japan); *Nisseys* (those born abroad to Japanese parentes and not registered in Japan); *Sanseis* (the grandchildren of Japanese citizens); *Yonseys* (great-grandchildren of Japanese citizens); etc. These terms are combinations of cardinal numbers (one, *ichi* [一]; two, *ni* [二]; three, *san* [三]; four, *yon* [四]) with the ideogram *sei* 世 which can mean generation, time period, etc. See Hoshi, 1969.

Control and Refugee Recognition Act), entry of *Nikkeys* into Japan took place through the side door (Naoto, 2004). *Nikkeys* were issued visas as offspring of Japanese citizens. It was only after 1990 that Japanese legislation formally regulated this type of temporary migration and also conceded access to renewable long-term work visas for *Sanseys* and for the spouses of *Nisseys* and *Sanseys*, this time though, through the front door. Questionnaire C interviews refer to *Dekasseguis* who had returned, and includes as well comparable data in the 2000 Brazilian Census are part of Naoto's second phase, with a possible leakage to the third. They represent the oldest cohort in our study. Questionnaire A interviews refer to *dekasseguis* in the third phase, which refers to the newest generation and Questionnaire B, to the in-between generation. Of course with all this coming and going, it is a hard task to pigeonhole *dekasseguis* in a specific group. Generally speaking, more recent *dekasseguis* present a more distant connection to Japan, being only grandchildren of Japanese nationals. For this reason they have less proficient skills in understanding, speaking, reading and writing in Japanese. This text compares the findings of the three Questionnaires and contextualizes them as proxy of Naoto's different phases.

Nowadays, another phase could be added to Naoto's list: one characterized by the recent global economic crisis, which hit Japan severely. As an example of this crisis one can mention that Toyota, Japan's largest carmaker announced its first loss in 71 years⁴.

This global economic crisis has taken its toll, and Brazilian *Dekasseguis* in Japan have also paid a price. Temporary workers in the automotive and electronics companies were particularly hit and many Brazilian workers were among them. The Japanese government recently created an emergency plan: Brazilians and Peruvians were offered US\$3,000 to go back to their home country (with an extra US\$2,000 for each family member). There is a catch, though, those who accept the offer cannot return to Japan until economic and employment conditions improve.

This text is comprised of three sections, the first one being this introduction. In the second section we present results for every variable in the Questionnaires using tables and graphs. Comments and conclusions can be found in the third section. The Questionnaire

⁴ <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/32279158/ns/business-autos/> accessed in August 10th, 2009.

and details on the sampling scheme can be found in Beltrão & Sugahara (2008a and 2008b) and Sugahara & Beltrão (2008).

II – Characteristics of the *Dekasseguis* in the survey

In this section we describe characteristics of *nikkey* Brazilians that have either worked, are working or have the intention to work in Japan based on the ABD dataset. The reference date is January 2004.

II. 1 – Personal Characteristics

The number of men and women in the sample is quite balanced: basically half and half men and women in all Questionnaires. As can be seen in Table 1, this is a very young group (around 70% of the men and women are under 40 years of age in all three Questionnaires).

Table 1– Age Distribution by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<18	3,9%	7,7%	0,84%	0,00%	3,90%	7,70%
18/19	9,5%	9,0%	1,67%	2,13%	9,50%	9,00%
20/24	17,2%	17,2%	12,97%	16,54%	17,20%	17,20%
25/29	11,4%	18,0%	23,77%	21,08%	11,40%	18,00%
30/34	10,8%	8,5%	17,43%	18,52%	10,80%	8,50%
35/39	17,2%	18,2%	10,81%	10,06%	17,20%	18,20%
40/44	6,4%	6,9%	13,76%	10,43%	6,40%	6,90%
45/49	8,3%	6,1%	8,34%	11,58%	8,30%	6,10%
50/54	3,2%	2,7%	4,58%	2,95%	3,20%	2,70%
55/59	6,4%	4,8%	5,84%	4,53%	6,40%	4,80%
60/64	3,2%	1,0%	0,00%	1,44%	3,20%	1,00%
65/69	1,3%	0,0%	0,00%	0,00%	1,30%	0,00%
70 e +	1,3%	0,0%	0,00%	0,76%	1,30%	0,00%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

The great majority of potential *dekasseguis* (Questionnaire A) are married (51.6% of males and 42.7% of females), followed by bachelors, as can be seen in Table 2 which presents marital status distribution by gender and Questionnaire. Divorcees, unmarried couples living together and widows make up 13.4% of males and 18.1% of females in Questionnaire A. The existing difference between the proportion of married men and women indicate that families have become separated (at least temporarily). The proportion of separated/divorced/single women is consequently greater than that of men, indicating

that they migrate alone or as heads of family. A change in profile can be observed when comparing the results of the other two Questionnaires: previous waves (Questionnaire C and Questionnaire B) presented a smaller proportion of single individuals and a greater proportion of married individuals (see Table 2 and Graph 1). Taking into consideration the time trend suggested by Questionnaires C and B (in that order), one would expect a greater proportion of married individuals in Questionnaire A. The greater proportion of single individuals may be an indication of an inflection in the nature of the migration. The change would be in the direction of migration of a more speculative nature, as opposed to the contracted nature of earlier groups (see Molho, 1986). The change in nature of the demand for unskilled labor in Japan (with the increase in “*arbitto*”⁵) may explain part of that change.

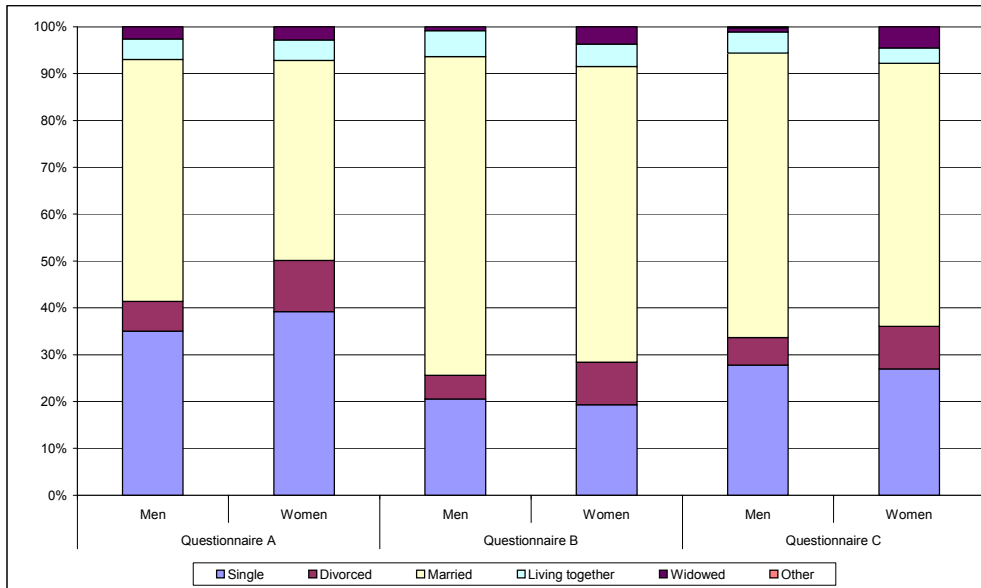
Table 2 – Distribution of marital status by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Single	35,0%	39,2%	20,4%	19,3%	27,6%	26,6%
Divorced	6,4%	10,9%	5,0%	9,1%	5,9%	9,0%
Married	51,6%	42,7%	67,5%	63,1%	60,4%	55,4%
Living together	4,4%	4,4%	5,5%	4,8%	4,5%	3,2%
Widowed	2,6%	2,8%	0,8%	3,7%	0,9%	4,5%
Other					0,2%	0,0%
No response			0,8%	0,0%	0,4%	1,2%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

⁵ Temporary work

Graph 1 – Distribution of marital status by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data – Questionnaires A, B and C

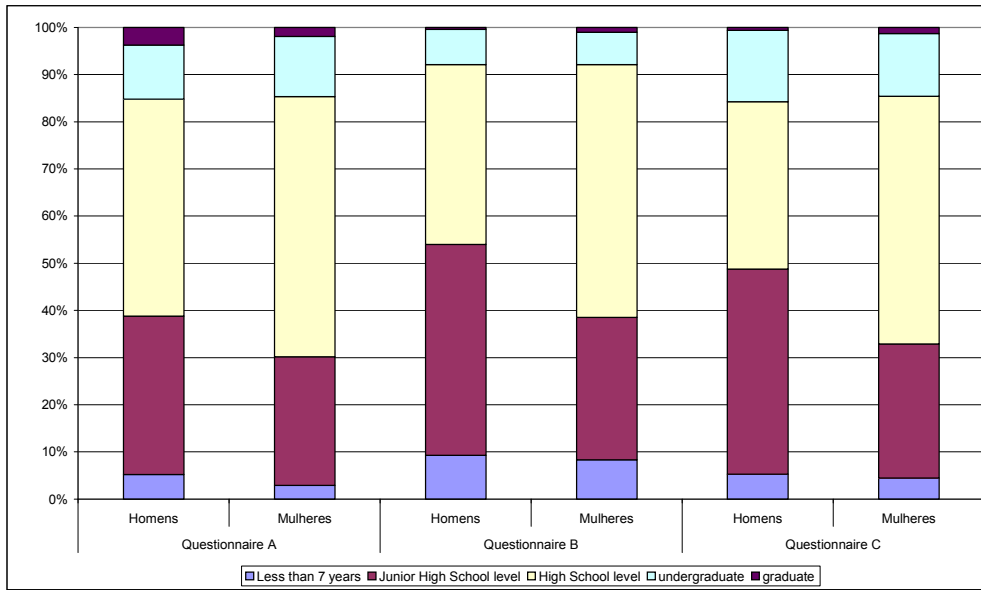
When considering the educational background of potential *dekasseguis* (Questionnaire A), one can see that the great majority has completed high school, followed by those who have completed junior high school. Together they form 79.6% of males and 82.4% of females, as shown in Table 3 and Graph 2. Comparing the results of the remaining Questionnaires shows a greater proportion of individuals with high school level and greater schooling (graduate degree) among potential *dekasseguis*. The rise in the economic instability previous to the 2003 Brazilian presidential inauguration together with possible alterations in the manpower demand profile could have pushed more learned individuals to migrate.

Table 3 – Distribution of schooling by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres
Less than 7 years	5,2%	2,9%	9,3%	8,3%	5,3%	4,5%
Junior High School level	33,6%	27,3%	44,7%	30,2%	43,5%	28,4%
High School level	46,0%	55,1%	38,2%	53,6%	35,5%	52,6%
Undergraduate degree	11,4%	12,8%	7,5%	6,9%	15,2%	13,3%
Graduate degree	3,8%	1,9%	0,4%	1,0%	0,6%	1,3%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 2 – Distribution of schooling by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

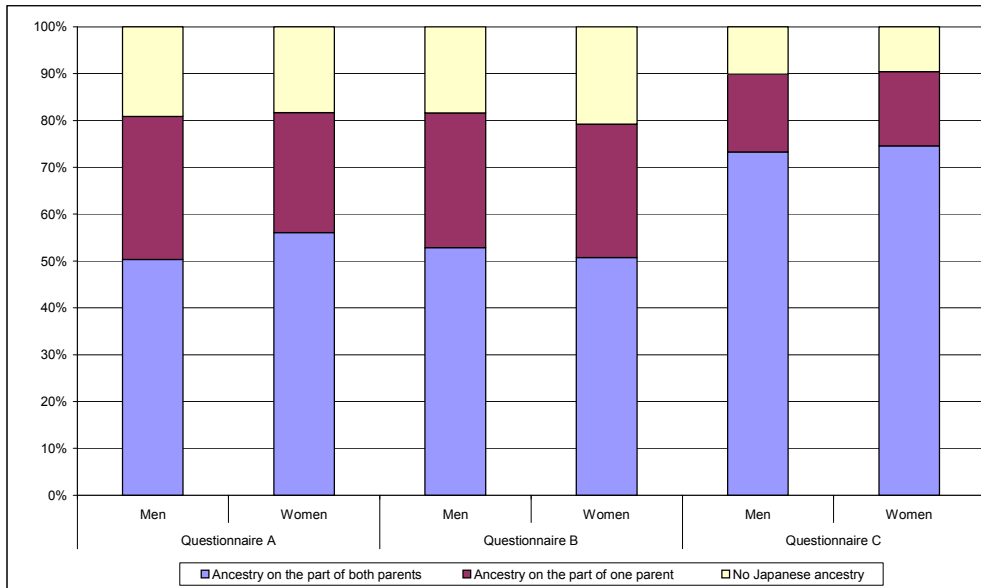
In terms of ancestry (see Table 4), the great majority of potential *dekasseguis* descend from Japanese parents on both sides, or on one side (the remainder must be married to a *nikkey* to be a *dekassegui*): 80.9% of men and 81.7% of women. The great majority has very close Japanese ancestry: 79.5% of men and 79.7% of women have Japanese ancestry at least as close as that of grandparents. And at least half of the descendents have grandparents or great grandparents as their closest ancestry coming from Japan. There are more male potential *dekasseguis* with no Japanese ancestry than females. With regard to the respondents of Questionnaire C who correspond to an earlier wave, one can see a greater number of Japanese descendents on the part of both parents and fewer with no Japanese ancestry, when compared to respondents of Questionnaire A and Questionnaire B, possibly indicating an increase in exogamic marriages among *nikkeys*.

Table 4 – Distribution of ancestry by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ancestry on the part of both parents	50,3%	56,1%	52,9%	50,7%	72,2%	74,2%
Ancestry on the part of one parent	30,6%	25,6%	28,8%	28,5%	16,3%	15,8%
No Japanese ancestry	19,1%	18,3%	18,4%	20,8%	10,0%	9,5%
No response					1,5%	0,5%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 3 – Distribution of ancestry by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

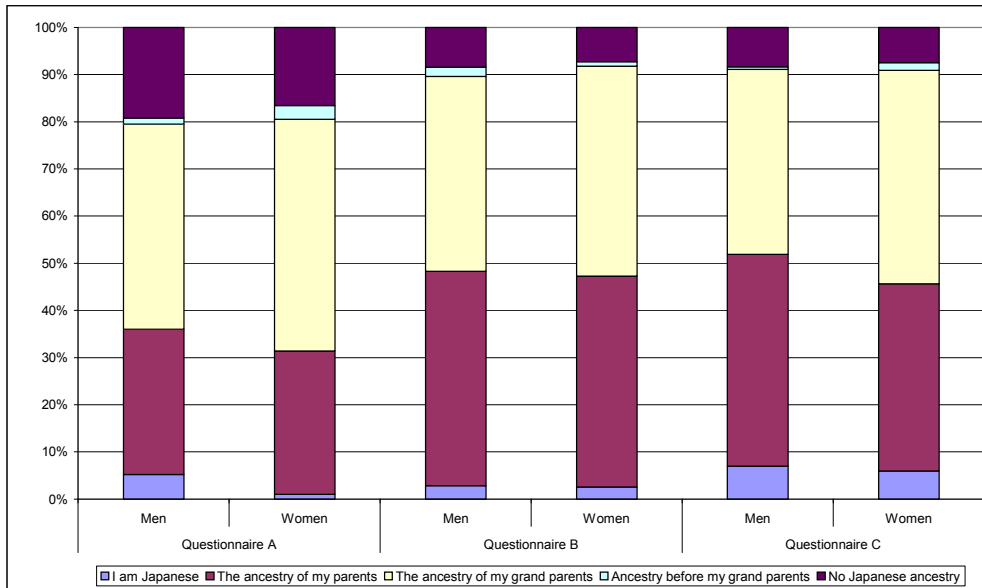
Among potential male *dekasseguis* there are more individuals with no Japanese ancestry, though among descendents, the relation to Japan is closer among men than women. When we compare these to earlier waves of *dekasseguis* (Questionnaire B and Questionnaire C), one can see greater distancing with regard to Japan, as can be observed in Table 5 (there does not seem to be a major difference between respondents of Questionnaires B and C). The sum of the last two lines is comparable to the last two lines in Table 4.

Table 5– Distribution of distance to Japan born generation by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
I am Japanese	5,2%	1,0%	2,5%	2,2%	6,6%	5,8%
The ancestry of my parents	30,8%	30,1%	40,4%	38,2%	42,4%	38,7%
The ancestry of my grand parents	43,5%	48,6%	36,7%	38,0%	37,0%	44,2%
Ancestry before my grand parents	1,3%	2,9%	1,7%	0,8%	0,5%	1,6%
No Japanese ancestry	19,2%	16,4%	7,5%	6,2%	7,9%	7,3%
No response	0,0%	1,0%	11,2%	14,7%	5,7%	2,4%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 4 – Distribution of distance to Japan born generation by gender and Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

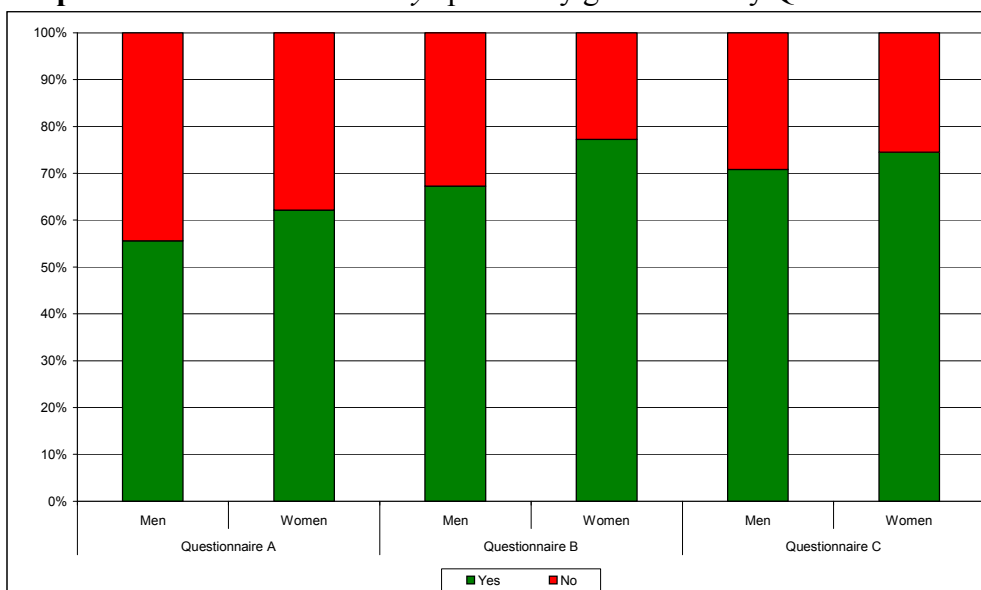
Among potential migrant married women, *nikkey* couples are preponderant, though when compared to earlier waves of migration, there is a smaller proportion of *nikkey* couples (see Table 6). Among males, the behavior is the same, but the time trend is maintained (greater proportion in Questionnaire C, a smaller one in Questionnaire A and an intermediary situation in B).

Table 6 – Distribution of *nikkey* spouses by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes	55,6%	62,1%	66,9%	77,2%	70,8%	74,5%
No	44,4%	37,9%	32,6%	22,8%	29,2%	25,5%
No response			0,5%			

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 5 – Distribution of *nikkey* spouses by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Among potential *dekasseguis*, the departure seems to be an option primarily for those individuals who have not yet established themselves or are in a transition stage, as for example students, the unemployed, those without an occupation or freelancers: entrepreneurs or liberal professionals. Among the women there can also be found housewives and those in trade and behind-the-counter sales. In earlier migratory waves, the proportion of students was greater, but that of the unemployed, much smaller. One can note that there are potentially no factory workers and that the proportion of men working on farms is quite small (see Table 7).

Table 7 – Distribution of the main work activity in Brazil before departure to Japan by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Farming/ranching	2,6%	0,0%	7,5%	1,4%	6,6%	0,7%
Behind-the-counter/trades person	4,5%	10,7%	10,8%	10,4%	4,2%	6,6%
Factory worker			3,3%	1,4%	0,2%	0,1%
Bank employee	1,3%	0,0%	5,0%	1,4%	3,8%	5,1%
Construction worker			1,2%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%
Other types of laborers			18,4%	2,2%	1,4%	0,3%
entrepreneur/trades person	12,1%	8,9%	9,6%	6,9%	18,8%	6,1%
Junior High or High School teacher	1,3%	0,9%	1,3%	5,4%	0,7%	2,6%
College professor			0,4%	0,5%	0,1%	0,7%
Junior High or High School student	9,6%	10,2%	17,5%	26,5%	15,3%	23,7%
College student	3,2%	6,0%	0,4%	1,0%	5,1%	5,4%
Government employee	0,6%	0,6%	1,6%	0,8%	1,3%	1,2%

freelance: lawyer, doctor, dentist, etc.	10,8%	5,4%	10,8%	8,4%	5,0%	2,4%
Office worker	7,0%	7,6%	4,6%	12,7%	5,3%	9,8%
Hotel, restaurant or bar personnel	1,3%	1,3%	2,9%	1,0%	0,8%	0,1%
Beauty parlor personnel (manicurist, hairdresser, etc.)	0,0%	2,8%	0,0%	1,4%	0,1%	4,2%
Health care workers (hospital, asylum, etc.)	0,0%	3,5%	2,1%	3,9%	0,1%	0,5%
Food industry					0,2%	0,3%
Unemployed	12,7%	10,2%	0,8%	0,0%	0,8%	3,6%
Retired	1,3%	1,9%	0	0,7%	0,0%	0,4%
Housewife	0,6%	10,0%	0,0%	11,7%	0,0%	12,8%
None	22,3%	9,9%	1,3%	0,0%	27,9%	10,6%
No response	9,0%	10,0%	0,4%	2,1%	2,3%	2,8%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

In Japan, the great majority will be employed as workers, in factories or elsewhere. There are also those who declare they will not be engaged in any activity, or at least have not yet defined any work. Comparing activities practiced in Japan by earlier waves of *dekasseguis*, there can now be seen a smaller number of factory workers and hotel services personnel among potential *dekasseguis* (see Table 8). It is worthwhile noting that a significant part of respondents of Questionnaire A still had no work lined up when they were interviewed (no response).

Table 8 – Distribution of work activity in Japan by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Behind-the-counter/trades person	0,0%	1,9%	2,1%	0,0%	0,2%	1,0%
Factory worker	19,1%	21,4%	74,5%	61,6%	51,3%	50,5%
Bank employee					0,5%	0,0%
Construction worker	4,5%	0,9%	1,3%	0,0%	2,7%	0,0%
Other types of laborers	12,7%	13,9%	8,3%	6,5%	19,1%	18,8%
entrepreneur/trades person			1,2%	1,4%	0,2%	0,0%
Junior High or High School teacher	0,6%	0,0%				
College professor	0,0%	0,6%				
Junior High or High School student					0,0%	0,1%
College student			0,4%	0,0%		
freelance: lawyer, doctor, dentist, etc.	0,0%	1,5%	1,7%	1,5%	0,1%	0,2%
Office worker	0,0%	1,5%	1,7%	0,5%	0,3%	1,4%
Hotel, restaurant or bar personnel	1,3%	1,9%	1,3%	2,8%	3,0%	3,2%
Beauty parlor personnel (manicurist, hairdresser, etc.)					0,3%	0,5%
Health care workers (hospital, asylum, etc.)	1,3%	2,9%	0,0%	1,4%	0,1%	2,6%
Food industry	0,6%	6,3%	5,0%	9,8%	1,9%	4,3%

Unemployed			1,7%	4,1%	0,1%	0,0%
Retired			0,0%	0,8%	0,1%	0,0%
Housewife			0,0%	6,6%	0,1%	0,4%
None	19,7%	11,6%			15,9%	11,4%
No response	40,1%	35,6%	0,8%	2,9%	4,3%	5,5%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

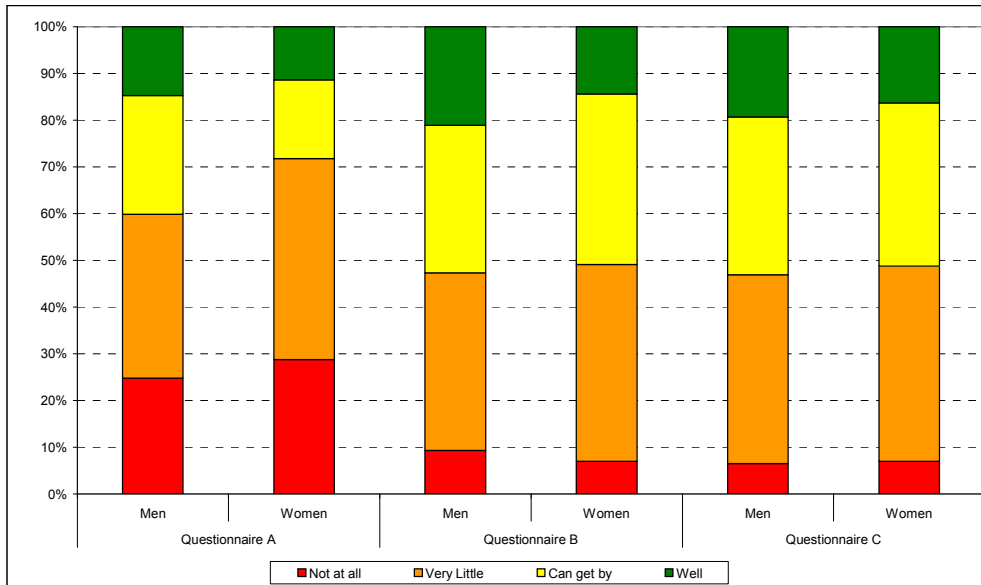
Among men, the proportion of potential *dekasseguis* who declared they could get by on the Japanese they spoke or could actually speak quite well is greater than that among women. More than half of both sexes declared they spoke Nothing at all or Very Little (Table 9 and Graph 6). But compared to the respondents of the remaining Questionnaires, the proportion of those that declared they spoke nothing at all is much greater suggesting weaker links with Japanese culture.

Table 9 – Distribution of whether individuals can speak Japanese by gender Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Not at all	24,8%	28,5%	9,2%	7,0%	6,3%	6,9%
Very Little	35,0%	42,6%	37,5%	42,1%	38,8%	41,2%
Can get by	25,4%	16,7%	31,2%	36,5%	32,4%	34,4%
Well	14,7%	11,3%	20,8%	14,4%	18,6%	16,1%
No response	0,1%	0,9%	1,3%	0,0%	3,9%	1,4%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 6 – Distribution of whether individuals can speak Japanese by gender Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

The situation is quite similar with respect to understanding the language, though slightly better. Among potential *dekasseguis* men, the proportion who declare they

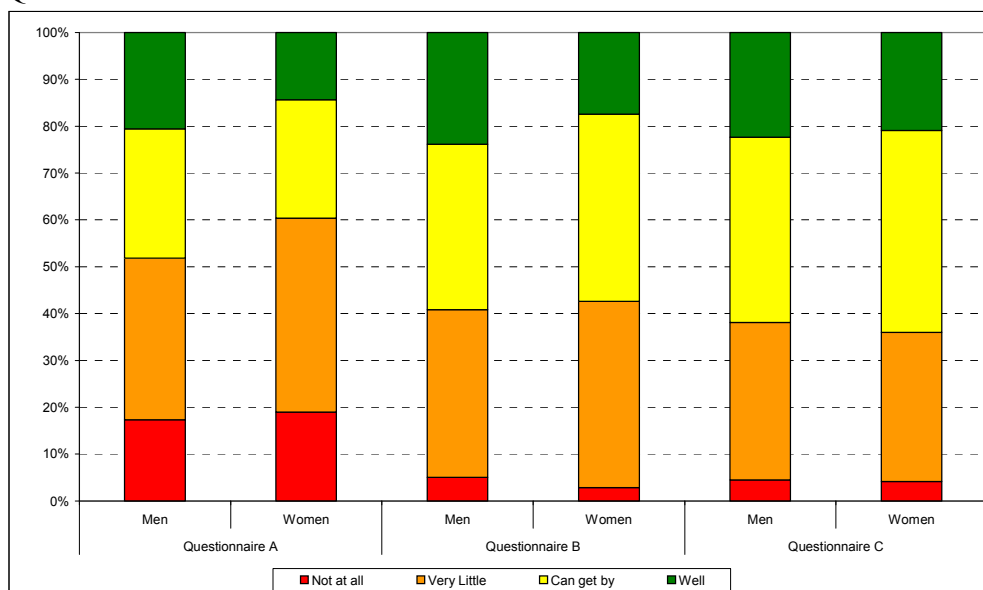
understand Japanese well enough or actually quite well is also greater than that among the women. (Table 10 and Graph 7). Among potential *dekasseguis*, more than half of both sexes claim they understand “Nothing at all” or “Very Little”. Once again, comparing with earlier waves of migration, the proportion of those that understand nothing at all is much greater.

Table 10 – Distribution of whether individuals can understand Japanese by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Not at all	17,2%	18,4%	5,0%	2,8%	4,4%	4,1%
Very Little	34,3%	40,3%	35,5%	39,5%	32,5%	31,3%
Can get by	27,4%	24,5%	35,0%	39,7%	38,3%	42,4%
Well	20,5%	14,0%	23,7%	17,3%	21,7%	20,6%
No response	0,6%	2,9%	0,8%	0,7%	3,1%	1,6%

Fonte: dados da pesquisa - questionários A, B e C

Graph 7 – Distribution of whether individuals can understand Japanese by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

As was to be expected, the situation is similar with regard to understanding the written language, though worse for potential *dekasseguis*. Among men, the proportion that claim they can get by on their reading skills or can actually read quite well is also greater than that of women (Table 11 and Graph 8). Here, though, more than 70% of both sexes claim they read “Nothing at all” or “Very Little”. Compared to the respondents of the other Questionnaires, the proportion of those who cannot read at all is also greater. The written

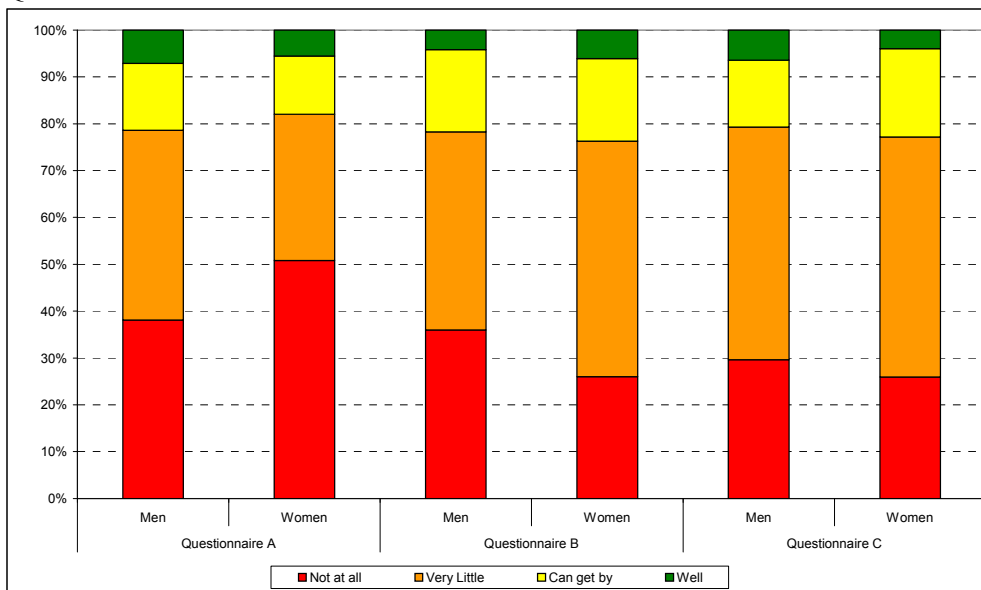
language is even a barrier to understanding ones rights and lack of understanding opens the possibility to exploitation and misunderstandings.

Table 11 – Distribution of whether individuals can read Japanese by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Not at all	37,6%	47,5%	35,1%	26,0%	27,5%	25,1%
Very Little	40,0%	29,2%	41,2%	50,3%	46,0%	49,6%
Can get by	14,1%	11,6%	17,1%	17,6%	13,2%	18,2%
Well	7,0%	5,2%	4,1%	6,1%	6,0%	3,9%
No response	1,3%	6,5%	2,5%	0,0%	7,2%	3,1%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 8– Distribution of whether individuals can read Japanese by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

As was also foreseeable, the worst situation involves skills with written language. Here over 80% of both sexes of potential *dekasseguis* declare they write “Nothing at all” or “Very Little” (Table 12 e Graph 9). Here too, as compared to respondents of the other Questionnaires, the proportion of those that write nothing at all is greater.

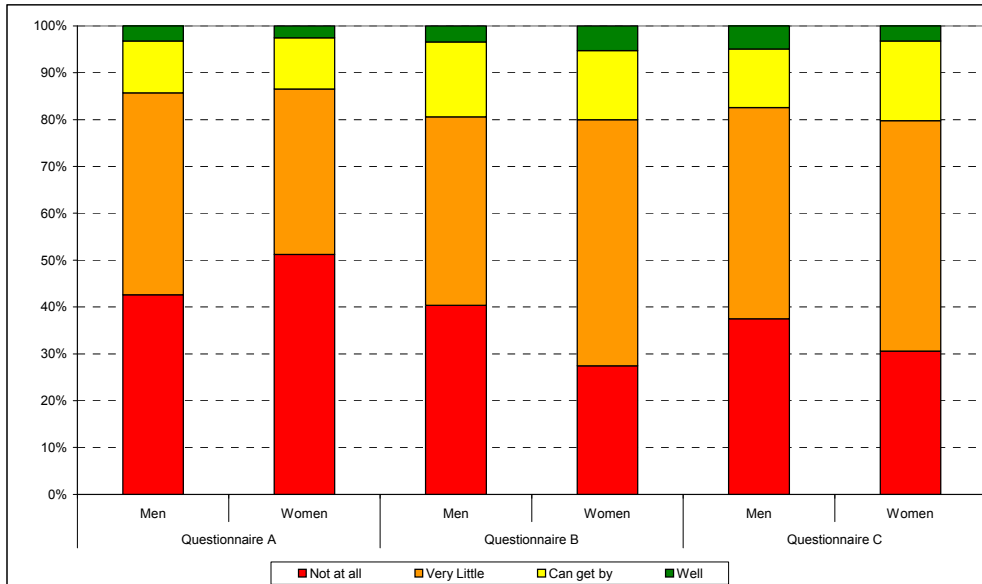
Table 12 – Distribution of whether individuals can write Japanese by gender and by Questionnaire.

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Not at all	42,1%	47,9%	38,8%	27,4%	34,8%	29,6%
Very Little	42,6%	33,0%	38,7%	52,6%	41,8%	47,6%
Can get by	10,9%	10,2%	15,4%	14,7%	11,6%	16,5%
Well	3,2%	2,4%	3,3%	5,3%	4,6%	3,1%

No response	1,2%	6,5%	3,7%	0,0%	7,4%	3,3%
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Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 9 – Distribution of whether individuals can write Japanese by gender and by Questionnaire.



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Among potential *dekasseguis* the proportion of individuals who own real estate is greater than half and quite similar for both sexes: 58.7% of males and 53.8% of females answered to the affirmative.

Among those that own real estate, the preponderant type is homeowners (Table 13 and Graph 10). Note that as it is possible to own more than one type of property, the sum may be greater than the proportion of respondents who claimed to own real estate.

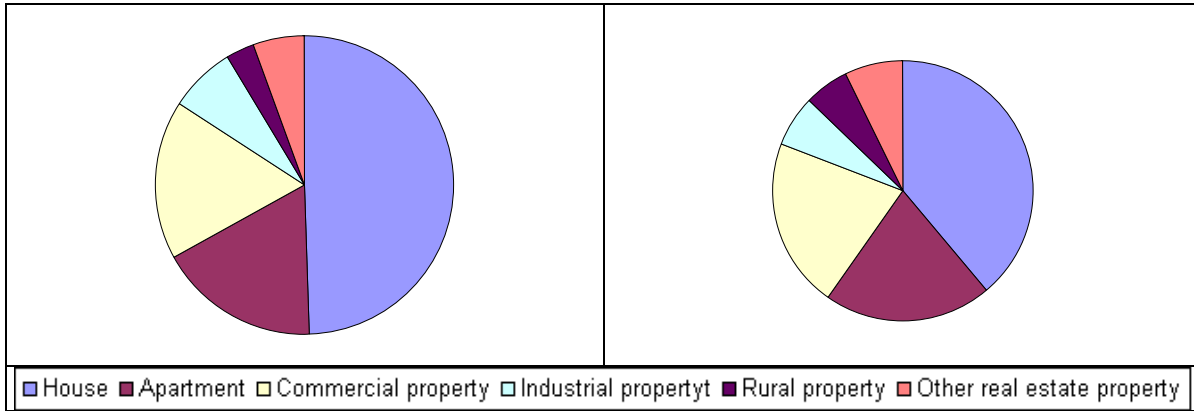
Table 13 – Distribution of indication as to what type of property they own by gender

	Men	Women
House	40,5%	29,0%
Apartment	14,2%	15,7%
Commercial property	14,2%	15,7%
Industrial property	5,8%	4,9%
Rural property	2,6%	4,0%
Other real estate property	4,5%	5,5%

Source: research data - Questionnaire A

Graph 10 – Distribution of indication as to what type of property they own by gender

Men	Women
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Source: research data - Questionnaire A

With respect to Social Security in a general sense (Health, Social Insurance, Accidents), coverage among potential migrants is very low, reflecting to a certain degree the precariousness of the work relations in which they are involved. The largest coverage is Health related, both just for the individual and for the family as a whole. Roughly 75% have no social security coverage whatsoever (neither official nor private - see Table 14). When one compares these values to those presented by the *dekasseguis* who are in Japan and by those who have returned, the latter have lower coverage in terms of health, whereas the *dekasseguis* in Japan present greater proportion in terms of health assistance, with the exception of men and health assistance for their families. In terms of social security, official or private, it is the *dekasseguis* who returned who have greater coverage, with the exception of women in Japan who have greater official social security coverage. The *dekasseguis* in Japan also have greater coverage in case of accidents. It is well worth noting, however, that in Brazil participation in Official Social Insurance coverage includes that for work-related accidents (differently from the situation in Japan).

Table 14 – Proportion of those who had access to health assistance, insurance and social security coverage by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B (in Japan)		Questionnaire C (in Brazil)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Health assistance for the individual	34,0%	32,5%	43,7	50,4	11,1%	15,2%
Health assistance for the family	43,6%	37,5%	34,5	42,0	23,6%	24,4%
Life insurance	12,1%	5,1%	17,5	16,4	11,3%	8,3%
Accident insurance	16,7%	2,7%	25,4	20,8	9,5%	4,5%
Official Social Insurance	16,0%	14,5%	13,3	26,3	32,3%	22,4%
Private Social Insurance	12,8%	9,1%	4,6	2,1	13,2%	15,2%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

II. 2 – Trips to Japan

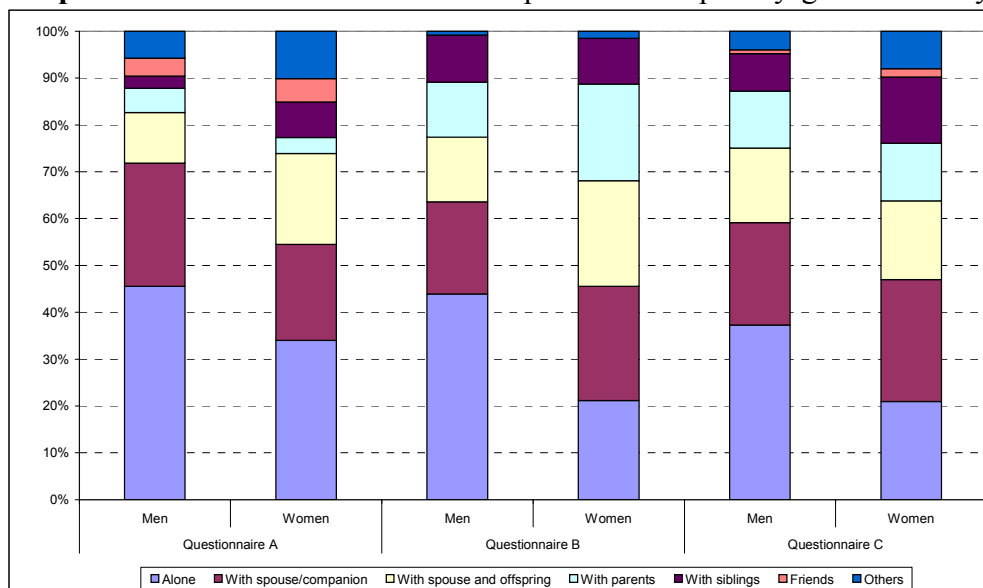
Men and women travel mostly alone, confirming the hypothesis of temporary separation of families (as a large proportion are married), but what one also sees is that among potential *dekasseguis*, there is a large increase in the number of women traveling alone (Table 15 and Graph 11). Family migration is important among women, be it with spouse or siblings, though less so among potential *dekasseguis*. A decrease in the proportion of those traveling with parents and siblings can also be noted among potential *dekasseguis*.

Table 15 – Distribution of travel companions to Japan by gender and by Questionnaire.

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Alone	45,6%	34,0%	43,7%	21,2%	37,2%	21,0%
With spouse/companion	26,3%	20,5%	19,6%	24,3%	21,8%	26,0%
With spouse and offspring	10,8%	19,4%	13,7%	22,6%	15,9%	16,8%
With parents	5,2%	3,4%	11,7%	20,6%	12,1%	12,3%
With siblings	2,6%	7,6%	10,0%	9,8%	8,0%	14,1%
Friends	3,8%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,8%	1,8%
Others	5,8%	10,1%	0,8%	1,5%	4,0%	8,0%
No response			0,4%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 11 – Distribution of travel companions to Japan by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Roughly half of potential migrants would be going for the first time, though men are more frequently inclined to return than women. Compared to the answers from other Questionnaires, the proportion of those who went two or three times is smaller among

potential *dekasseguis* and among those who were already in Japan (questionnaire B) and those who were already back in Brazil (questionnaire C – see Table 16).

Table 16 – Distribution of the number of times individuals traveled to Japan by gender and by Questionnaire.

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B*		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
0	47,0%	52,3%	53,4%	62,4%		
1	22,0%	27,0%	12,4%	12,5%	47,6%	55,0%
2	14,9%	12,4%	22,7%	15,7%	30,3%	26,8%
3	7,1%	7,4%	7,3%	4,9%	14,7%	13,2%
4	3,9%	1,0%	2,6%	2,1%	5,0%	3,8%
5	3,2%	0,0%	1,7%	2,3%	1,5%	0,5%
6	1,3%	0,0%			0,4%	0,1%
7 or +	0,6%	0,0%			0,5%	0,6%

*Note: the question refers to previous trips to Japan.

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Eliminating null values, corresponding to individuals who never traveled to Japan, the modal period was a two-year stay for men and women among potential *dekasseguis* as well as among those who were in Japan. Among the *dekasseguis* who returned, the modal period was two years for women and three years for men (see Table 17).

Table 17 – Distribution of the time of permanence in Japan (in years) by gender and by Questionnaire.

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B (previous time)		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
0	46,5%	53,9%	43,0%	52,0%	8,5%	9,9%
1	2,0%	4,5%	6,7%	4,8%	7,9%	10,1%
2	10,0%	9,4%	10,3%	7,0%	10,9%	12,9%
3	3,4%	7,1%	3,1%	0,8%	12,8%	12,7%
4	6,7%	2,9%	5,8%	6,2%	8,9%	10,8%
5	5,3%	6,8%	6,7%	5,6%	9,7%	7,4%
6	3,3%	4,9%	3,6%	5,7%	8,0%	7,0%
7	5,4%	1,0%	2,3%	0,6%	5,0%	7,7%
8	4,0%	2,0%	3,1%	3,2%	10,1%	7,3%
9	1,4%	0,0%	1,8%	1,7%	5,5%	3,7%
10	4,0%	3,8%	3,6%	2,4%	1,6%	2,9%
+ de 10	8,1%	3,6%	9,9%	10,0%	10,7%	7,6%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

The main reasons claimed for going to Japan are linked to the labor market: unemployment, dissatisfaction with income and the search for better opportunities (Table 18). Savings also stand out as a great motivating factor, especially for those looking to open up a business in Brazil. Other objectives were also frequently mentioned, such as providing

for the family, getting to know Japan, and obtaining the means to pay for studies. Molho (1986) listed as the main reasons for migration the work factor and the search for improving human capital. The temporary nature of the movement becomes even more clearly evident due to the lack of representation for objectives such as settling in Japan and saving money to invest in Japan. Respondents were given the option of presenting up to three answers. The great majority restricted themselves to just giving the one most pertinent answer.

Table 18 – Distribution of the objectives for going to Japan by Gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Escape unemployment	25,0%	27,7%	9,5%	4,9%	26,0%	16,9%
Dissatisfaction with income/wages	47,4%	49,0%	17,4%	15,9%	35,7%	29,1%
Search for an opportunity to improve	69,3%	63,4%	47,5%	40,6%	61,7%	58,6%
Save money to invest in Japan	2,6%	0,6%	1,7%	0,7%	1,5%	1,9%
Accompany family members	12,2%	21,7%	11,3%	28,8%	11,8%	21,4%
Save money to open up a business in Brazil	48,7%	35,9%	46,2%	28,1%	41,0%	27,3%
Save Money to help with the family business	8,4%	8,7%	7,5%	5,9%	13,2%	11,7%
Get more experience in a work area	11,5%	10,6%	12,1%	5,7%	6,9%	6,4%
Provide for the family	29,5%	23,3%	20,9%	16,0%	20,3%	17,9%
Get to know Japan	25,7%	32,3%	17,5%	15,1%	35,6%	41,4%
Settle down in Japan	3,8%	4,5%	1,7%	4,0%	1,1%	0,5%
Obtain means to pay for studies	25,6%	27,1%	6,6%	15,0%	14,4%	13,0%
Get the resources to pay off debts	8,9%	7,6%	8,7%	2,9%	10,7%	12,6%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Among potential *dekasseguis*, few individuals declare they do not know how long they plan to stay in Japan. More than half of the respondents said they wanted to stay three years at most (Table 19), which coincides with the allotted long-term visa period.

Table 19 – Distribution of the period of time individuals plan to stay in Japan by gender

period	Men	Women
0	26,5%	35,3%
1	12,0%	12,9%
2	14,3%	10,2%
3	12,8%	5,6%
4	4,0%	3,7%
5	4,0%	2,9%
6	6,4%	10,6%
7	3,2%	3,3%
9	2,4%	0,0%
10	0,0%	0,8%

11	0,8%	1,2%
12	11,2%	11,4%
24	2,4%	1,2%
No response	0,0%	0,8%

Source: research data – Questionnaire A

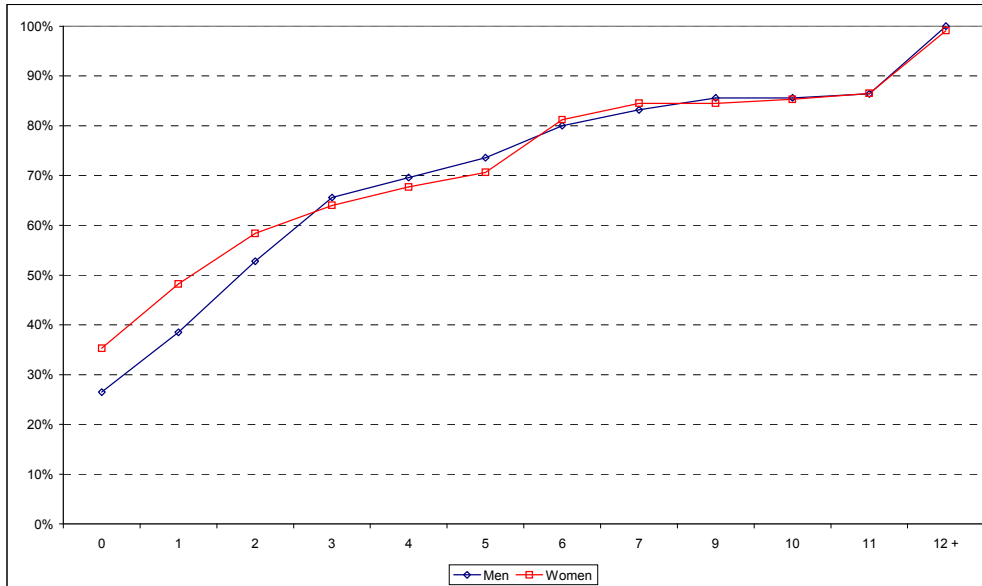
More than two-thirds of potential *dekasseguis* (questionnaire A) plan to travel within the following three months after the interview, but about 10% of the group plan to travel within the following year, pointing to the possibility of greater planning/preparation for the trip (Table 20 and Graph 12).

Table 20 – Distribution of when individuals are planning to travel to Japan (in months) by gender

	Men	Women
0	26,5%	35,3%
1	12,0%	12,9%
2	14,3%	10,2%
3	12,8%	5,6%
4	4,0%	3,7%
5	4,0%	2,9%
6	6,4%	10,6%
7	3,2%	3,3%
9	2,4%	0,0%
10	0,0%	0,8%
11	0,8%	1,2%
12	11,2%	11,4%
24	2,4%	1,2%
No response	0,0%	0,8%

Source: research data – Questionnaire A

Graph 12 – Cumulative distribution of when individuals are planning to travel to Japan (in months) by gender



Source: research data - Questionnaire A

Over half of the respondents of questionnaire A claimed to have researched into the situation in Japan. Relatives and friends (in that order) are the main source of information for potential migrants. Travel agencies and firms are next, but with much smaller values (see Table 21 and Table 22). This information brings out the changing nature of Brazil-Japan migrants. Naoto (2003) describes the “commodity” nature of this migration, a characteristic which disregards reciprocal networks between the two poles or market access (by means of agents, firms, etc) as would be the case with any other goods and/or service. This group seems to rely more strongly on networks of reciprocity (family and friends) rather than on the channels that Naoto considers typical and were in fact important in the case of respondents to Questionnaires B and C.

Table 21 – Distribution of whether individuals looked into the situation in Japan by gender

	Men	Women
Yes	52,5%	51,8%
No	12,2%	12,5%
A little	35,3%	34,8%
No response	0,0%	0,9%

Source: research data - Questionnaire A

Table 22 – Distribution of where and with whom individuals looked into the situation in Japan by gender

	Men	Women
Travel agencies/agents	29,1%	22,2%
Firms	25,4%	21,9%

Friends in Japan	48,1%	44,6%
Relatives	53,9%	56,6%
Books/newspapers/brochures	12,3%	12,3%
Organizations	11,0%	6,8%
Elsewhere	12,2%	10,4%

Source: research data – Questionnaire A

Similar to previous waves of migrants, those respondents of questionnaire A more often declare they are ready to work in Japan than ready to live in Japan, showing that there is a possible understanding of the difference between the two questions, as if it would seem that work could take place in a void far from where they live (Table 23). The proportion of affirmative responses (with no doubts whatsoever) is greater among men.

Table 23 – Distribution of whether individuals are prepared to work and live in Japan by gender.

	Work in Japan		Live in Japan	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes	80,6%	73,5%	74,4%	68,9%
No	0,6%	1,3%	1,9%	2,6%
In doubt	18,7%	25,2%	23,7%	28,5%

Source: research data – Questionnaire A

The modal choice for female prospective migrants and for a considerable number of males is that they intend to go to Japan with no definite work in sight. This answer though, can not be taken as definite since not all of them have already bought their tickets. The majority managed to find work with agencies and with friends/relatives (Table 24 and Graph 13). Compared to the data of the other Questionnaires, a decrease in participation of travel agencies/agents/ Japanese firms can be seen throughout the three Questionnaires, signaling a possible change in the nature of the migration or a strengthening of other components: the speculative, characterized here by the significant percentage of “no work” and of the social network; by the indirect signaling of a large percentage for the friends-and-relatives-in-Japan option as a data source on the situation in Japan; and by the marked percentage of friends/relatives in the way they found work, among potential *dekasseguis*, reinforcing the commentaries on Table 22.

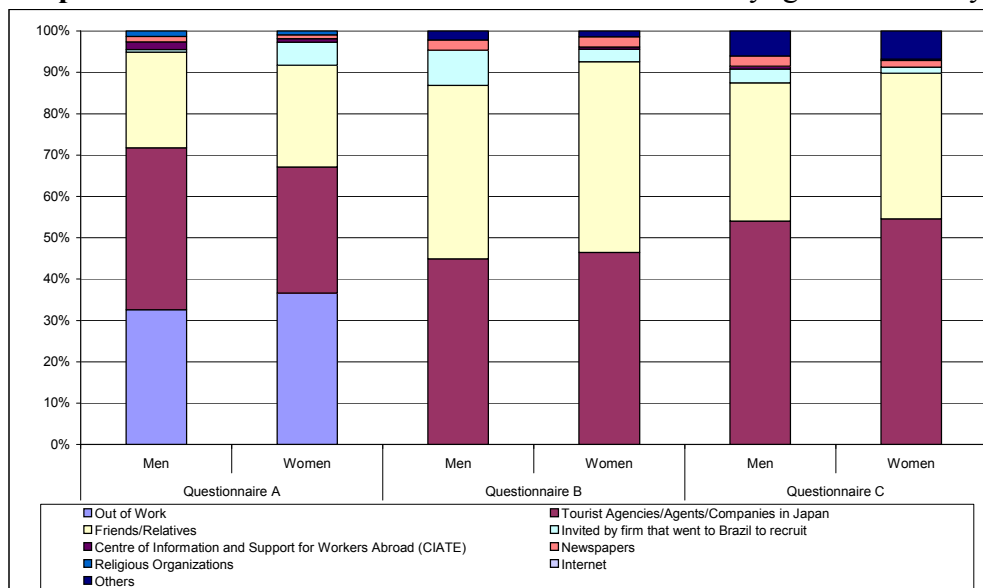
Table 24 – Distribution of how work was found by gender and by Questionnaire.

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Out of Work	32.6%	36.6%				
Tourist Agencies/Agents/Companies in Japan	39.2%	30.5%	44.5%	46.4%	54.0%	54.5%
Friends/Relatives	23.1%	24.6%	41.7%	46.2%	33.4%	35.2%

Invited by firm that went to Brazil to recruit	0.6%	5.6%	8.4%	3.0%	3.3%	1.5%
Centre of Information and Support for Workers Abroad (CIATE)	1.9%	0.9%	0.0%	0.5%	0.7%	0.0%
Newspapers	1.3%	0.9%	2.5%	2.5%	2.5%	1.6%
Religious Organizations	1.3%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Internet	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Others	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	1.4%	6.0%	6.8%
No Response	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 13 – Distribution of how work was found by gender and by Questionnaire



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

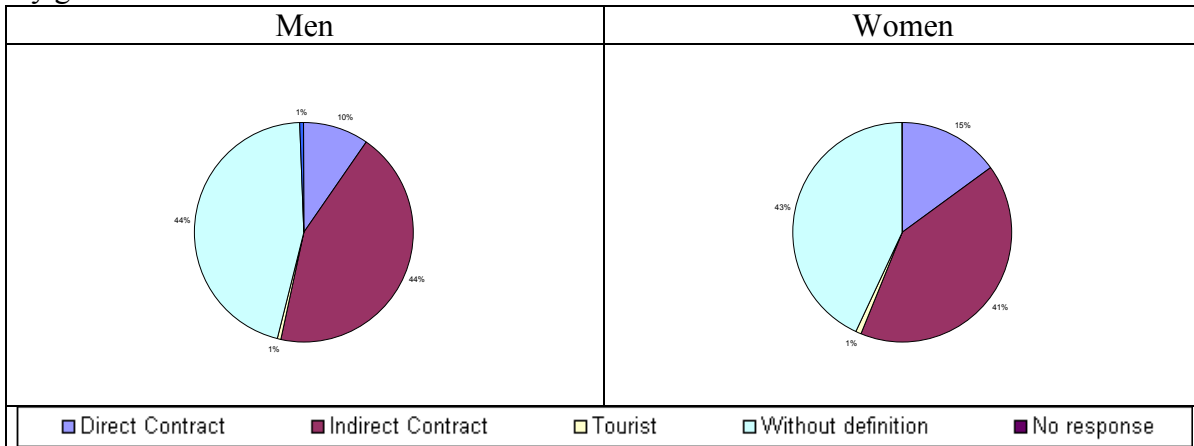
The precariousness of the situation and/or the change in the nature of the migratory pattern is also reflected in work relations: almost half of those interviewed in Questionnaire A still have not defined the type of work relationship they will have (Table 25 and Graph 14). The proportion of individuals that still do not have defined work may be due to time constraints undergone before their trip.

Table 25 – Distribution of the work condition under which individuals are going to Japan by gender

	Men	Women
Direct Contract	9.6%	14.9%
Indirect Contract	43.8%	41.2%
Tourist	0.6%	1.0%
Without definition	45.4%	42.9%
No response	0.6%	0.0%

Source: research data – Questionnaire A

Graph 14– Distribution of the work condition under which individuals are going to Japan by gender



Source: research data - Questionnaire A

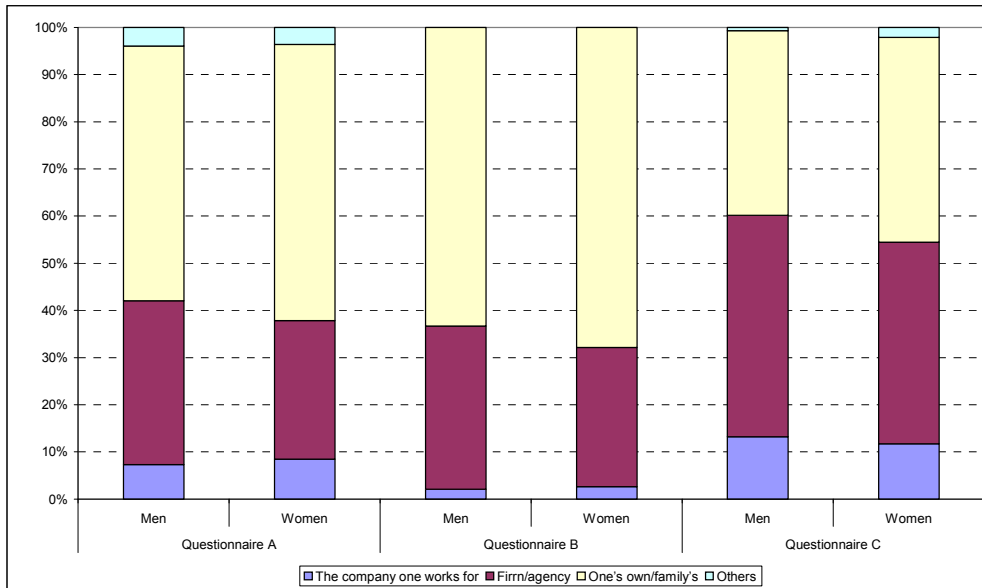
The majority of respondents of questionnaire A will put up the money for their own ticket (Table 26 and Graph 15). At any rate, roughly a third have their ticket defrayed by the firm/agency, which is a matter of concern as it is widely known that there is much abuse and over-billing in such cases. On the other hand, one can see that there is a drop in percentages of tickets defrayed by firms/agencies with respect to the first wave of *dekasseguis* (Questionnaire C) *avis-a-vis* the potential *dekasseguis*, which may be one more sign of the changes in the nature of the migratory process.

Table 26 – Distribution of defrayal of air ticket to Japan by gender and by Questionnaire.

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
The company one works for	7.2%	8.1%	2.10%	2.60%	13.20%	11.70%
Firm/agency	34.0%	28.2%	34.60%	29.30%	46.70%	42.60%
One's own/family's	52.9%	56.2%	63.40%	67.30%	39.00%	43.30%
Others	3.9%	3.5%			0.70%	2.10%
No response	1.9%	3.9%	0.00%	0.80%	0.50%	0.20%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Graph 15 – Distribution of defrayal of air ticket to Japan by gender and by Questionnaire.



Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Letters, phone calls and e-mails at home were the most common forms for future contacts with the family (Table 27) claimed by respondents of questionnaire A. Upon comparing answers in Questionnaires B and C, one can see the growth in the e-mail at home option and the cell phone e-mail option, compatible with temporal differences between the waves of *dekasseguis* and the changes in the communication technology paradigm. It is worthwhile noting that for potential *dekasseguis*, it is merely a question of conjecture, which does not allow for a *stricto sensus* comparison with answers obtained in the other Questionnaires.

Table 27 – Distribution of how individuals plan to obtain news from family/friends by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
letters	52.50%	65.40%	17.50%	17.80%	60.10%	70.70%
phone calls	85.20%	86.30%	93.50%	94.60%	94.60%	96.60%
e-mail at home	32.00%	37.50%	43.20%	48.40%	9.50%	11.30%
e-mail at work	1.30%	2.80%	0.40%	0.00%	0.10%	0.00%
public access e-mail	9.50%	15.70%	1.20%	1.50%	2.60%	2.10%
cell phone e-mail	10.30%	5.60%	8.50%	9.50%	4.60%	4.40%
will not get in touch/did not get in touch	0.60%	0.00%	0.40%	0.70%	1.60%	2.60%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Ways of getting news from Brazil undergo a transformation between the *dekasseguis* that have already come back and those that are still in Japan. There is an

observable increase in the internet option and the radio and TV programs option, with a concurrent decrease in the options by means of relatives/friends and newspapers/magazines, compatible, as seen before, with temporal differences (Table 28). Here also the answers of potential *dekasseguis* are not comparable to the rest as they are mere conjectures. The small proportion of “internet” and the large proportion of “relatives/friends” among respondents of Questionnaire A point to their probable lack of knowledge of Japanese reality.

Table 28– Distribution of how individuals plan to obtain/have obtained news from Brazil by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
by means of relatives/friends	51.00%	64.90%	25.40%	27.50%	43.80%	46.00%
radio and TV programs	69.30%	77.80%	68.30%	60.30%	49.20%	50.60%
videos	36.00%	45.40%	10.10%	14.50%	27.00%	24.90%
internet	5.20%	1.60%	39.10%	37.20%	13.20%	15.10%
newspapers and magazines	12.40%	4.70%	30.00%	32.70%	50.30%	50.00%
will not get news/have not gotten news from Brazil	1.90%	0.00%	3.30%	7.10%	3.00%	3.10%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

A matter of concern is the proportion of individuals, among potential *dekasseguis*, who declare they do not know or have not decided whether their children will attend school: 37% among men and 41% among women (Table 29). Among *dekasseguis* who returned and those who remained in Japan, the majority showed preferential option for the Japanese school, possibly due to their lower cost and their closeness to Japanese culture. The preference for the Brazilian school among potential *dekasseguis* probably indicates less integration with the reality of the country, the desire linked to an expectation of temporary migration and the lack of knowledge of corresponding costs, as well a further distancing from Japanese language and ancestors.

Table 29 – Distribution of school attended by children by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Undecided	36.5%	41.4%				
Japanese school	22.1%	32.0%	29.9%	51.6%	57.2%	59.4%
Brazilian school	31.7%	36.9%	9.0%	8.8%	9.2%	10.6%
Long-distance supplementary education	4.8%	0.0%			0.7%	0.5%
Will not/do not/did not attend school	4.8%	25.0%	37.1%	22.0%	32.8%	29.6%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Over three-fourths of those interviewed with questionnaire A had not yet established a goal for saving money in Japan (74.4% of men and 86.2% of women), but among the men the majority plan to send regular remittances to Brazil (Table 30). Among the women, a little over one-third also plans to do so.

Table 30 – Distribution of plans for remittances to Brazil by gender

	Men	Women
Yes	51.7%	36.8%
No	48.3%	62.3%
No response	0.0%	0.9%

Source: research data – Questionnaire A

II. 3 – *Enterprising spirit and human capital improvement*

Among women, there are a larger proportion of questionnaire A interviewees who declare having had neither prior business experience nor experience as heads of departments: 73.8% as opposed to 54.5% of men. Labor and tax laws were indicated as being the greatest obstacle among potential *dekasseguis*, followed by planning. On average, roughly one third of potential *dekasseguis* interviewed pointed to difficulties in each of these items. These proportions are different for the remaining *dekasseguis*: for those who returned, the proportion of those who declared having had difficulty with legislation (tax and labor laws) and opening up businesses is much greater (Table 31) probably showing the lack of knowledge when confronted to the real world of potential migrants.

Table 31 – Distribution of whether individuals had prior business experience and/or had faced obstacles by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Planning	15.30%	10.10%	16.20%	10.00%	20.90%	13.40%
Deployment	10.20%	8.50%	7.50%	8.00%	14.40%	12.70%
Open a business	7.70%	6.10%	7.10%	2.00%	12.70%	10.00%
Follow up	8.30%	8.50%	10.40%	5.00%	14.80%	8.60%
Leadership	10.30%	4.90%	8.30%	3.00%	9.70%	8.10%
Management	12.80%	9.20%	17.50%	6.00%	15.30%	9.70%
Tax laws	16.00%	10.90%	12.00%	4.00%	26.00%	12.60%
Labor laws	13.50%	10.90%	9.10%	5.00%	23.40%	11.60%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

The majority of potential *dekasseguis* interviewed plan to open up a business or are in doubt about this matter (Table 32), but the majority did not look for information on the subject (Table 33), a coinciding answer in all Questionnaires. Even though savings was not

identified as the main reason for going to Japan, it seems to be the underlying reason in the interviews given. There is less doubt among the *dekasseguis* that returned, who also presented a higher percentage of answers to the effect that they had not planned to open up their own businesses.

Table 32 – Distribution of whether individuals plan to open up their own businesses by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes	49.90%	37.60%	68.97%	58.26%	41.00%	25.70%
No	20.50%	34.70%	10.50%	13.50%	47.30%	59.20%
I am not sure	29.50%	23.00%	18.01%	27.54%	9.90%	13.60%
No response	0.00%	4.70%	1.69%	0.69%	1.70%	1.60%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

Table 33 – Distribution of whether individuals have looked for information by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes	28.9%	22.7%	40.9%	26.8%	29.7%	27.3%
No	69.2%	76.5%	56.2%	72.5%	69.1%	69.8%
No response	1.9%	0.9%	2.9%	0.7%	1.2%	2.8%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

A minority of questionnaire A interviewees is firm about not wanting to work in cooperatives, but the majority are not sure about this subject, the same pattern found for all Questionnaires (Table 34).

Table 34 – Distribution of whether individuals are willing to work in cooperatives by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes	27.6%	19.0%	43.2%	31.8%	33.5%	27.9%
No	20.5%	15.8%	25.0%	29.6%	16.3%	16.2%
I am not sure/I never thought about that	49.3%	62.5%	31.3%	37.9%	48.6%	51.2%
No response	2.6%	2.7%	0.4%	0.7%	1.6%	4.7%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

A significant portion of potential *dekasseguis* declare never having thought of attending courses (39.8% of men and 40.2% of women), although the majority only express an interest in doing so, though they do not feel there will be enough time for such activities. Language and culture awaken greater interest than do professional courses, which to a

certain degree goes to confirm the fact that they accept working as *dekassegui*, i.e., unskilled workers, as a temporary situation (Table 35).

Table 35 – Distribution of whether individuals are interested in attending language courses by gender – Questionnaire A

	Language		Culture		Professional		Management	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
No Time	6.40%	3.80%	6.40%	3.80%	3.20%	3.80%	4.50%	5.20%
No Interest	42.90%	48.30%	42.90%	48.30%	33.20%	35.30%	33.90%	32.20%
Neither Time nor interest	3.80%	5.10%	3.80%	5.10%	2.50%	2.70%	3.80%	0.90%
No response	46.80%	42.80%	46.80%	42.80%	61.00%	58.30%	57.80%	61.70%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A

Among previous waves of migrants, “no time” was the modal answer (see Table 36 and Table 37).

Table 36 – Distribution of whether individuals are interested in attending language courses by gender – Questionnaire B

	Language		Culture		Professional		Management	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Neither Time nor interest	3,7%	1,4%	6,7%	4,2%	4,6%	4,7%	10,4%	10,0%
No Interest	3,8%	2,4%	5,9%	4,6%	2,9%	3,2%	5,0%	2,4%
No Time	50,4%	53,0%	32,9%	44,2%	49,5%	56,1%	37,9%	39,3%
Doesn't know how to	7,5%	8,8%	5,8%	8,4%	11,7%	10,5%	7,9%	8,7%
Attends	5,4%	10,1%	0,0%	2,1%	1,7%	1,2%	0,0%	0,0%
No response	29,2%	24,3%	48,7%	36,6%	29,6%	24,3%	38,8%	39,6%

Source: research data - Questionnaires B

Table 37 – Distribution of whether individuals are interested in attending language courses by gender – Questionnaire C

	Language		Culture		Professional		Management	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Neither Time nor interest	13,1%	16,0%	6,7%	8,0%	4,6%	5,0%	2,6%	1,8%
No Interest	2,8%	2,0%	6,6%	3,0%	4,1%	5,0%	5,4%	9,6%
No Time	20,1%	23,0%	18,7%	19,0%	21,5	20,2%	19,3%	17,5%
No opportunity	6,8%	6,0%	7,4%	13,8%	9,6%	15,4%	11,9%	15,8%
No response	57,1%	51,0%	60,6%	55,0%	60,3%	53,9%	60,8%	55,2%

Source: research data - Questionnaires C

A minority of potential *dekasseguis* does not claimed they will need help/aid when they come back to Brazil (questionnaire A), as opposed to previous waves that already either needed the help (questionnaire C) or sense they will need it (questionnaire B). Different from the demand for professional courses in Japan, on their return the majority opt for management courses to help in opening businesses. This goes to show that prior preparation is not a marked characteristic of these potential migrants, a fact which is

coherent with the lack of interest in professional courses mentioned above. Getting a job/work is also indicated as being important. Help with documentation and adapting to the country takes third place. One notes there is a growth in the entrepreneurial management option among *dekasseguis* in Japan and among potential *dekasseguis* as opposed to *dekasseguis* who have returned.

Table 38 – Distribution of type of help needed to adapt back into Brazil by gender and by Questionnaire

	Questionnaire A		Questionnaire B		Questionnaire C	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Support given by friends and relatives to adapt back into the country	17.40%	15.70%	30.00%	28.50%	35.20%	38.80%
Support given by friends and relatives to arrange work	23.00%	31.60%	15.00%	15.00%	29.80%	25.10%
Professional courses to get a job	22.40%	38.70%	12.10%	17.70%	29.00%	34.90%
Educational support to help adapt children back in school	11.60%	16.70%	11.20%	25.20%	8.20%	13.80%
Entrepreneurial management resources to open up one's own business	50.60%	40.40%	57.90%	50.50%	33.40%	25.30%
Help regulating documentation	16.00%	16.30%	12.90%	14.60%	11.60%	10.40%
Medical care	11.50%	19.20%	10.40%	15.00%	10.80%	14.40%
Psychological assistance	5.70%	12.40%	2.10%	5.70%	11.10%	14.20%
Other help	1.90%	1.80%	2.10%	2.10%	8.90%	4.80%

Source: research data - Questionnaires A, B and C

For control purposes, Table 39 and Table 40 present the distribution of the city and UF (Unit of Federation) of origin of those interviewed.

Table 39 – Distribution of city of residence by gender – Questionnaire A

	Men	Women
	0.0%	0.9%
ARAPONGAS	0.6%	0.0%
ASSAI	0.6%	0.9%
BANDEIRANTES	0.0%	0.6%
BASTOS	2.6%	3.6%
BELÉM	1.9%	3.6%
BOITUVA	0.6%	0.0%
CAMPO GRANDE	6.4%	10.1%
CAMPO MOURÃO	1.3%	1.9%
CARAPICUOBA	0.6%	0.0%
CIANORTE	1.3%	0.0%
COLOMBO	1.9%	1.0%
CURITIBA	15.9%	11.6%
DIADEMA	0.0%	1.0%
FORTALEZA	0.0%	1.0%
IAERÍ	0.6%	0.0%
JACAREÍ	0.6%	0.9%

LONDRINA	10.8%	10.6%
MARIALVA	1.3%	0.0%
MARINGÁ	7.0%	3.6%
MATO GROSSO	0.0%	0.9%
MOGI DAS CRUZES	1.3%	0.9%
OSASCO	1.3%	0.0%
PARANAVAÍ	0.6%	0.0%
PIRAJU	1.3%	0.0%
POMPÉIA	1.3%	0.6%
SANTO ANDRÉ	3.2%	1.8%
SAO JOSÉ DOS CAMPOS	2.5%	1.8%
SARANDI	0.0%	1.5%
SOROCABA	3.2%	4.7%
SÃO BERNARDO DO CAMP	0.0%	2.5%
SÃO PAULO	31.2%	33.1%
TUPÃ	0.0%	0.9%

Source: research data – Questionnaire A

Table 40 – Distribution of state of residence by gender – Questionnaire A

	Men	Women
Ceará	0.0%	1.0%
Mato Grosso do Sul	6.4%	11.0%
Pará	0.6%	2.7%
Paraná	43.9%	32.7%
São Paulo	49.0%	52.6%

Source: research data - Questionnaire A

III – Final Comments

The changes that have occurred in the profile of potential *dekasseguis* are apparent *vis-à-vis* the respondents of other Questionnaires. These changes have somehow followed the characteristics associated with Brazilian *nikkey* migrants for some of the temporal phases proposed by Naoto (2003). The three groups interviewed obviously also have many points in common.

The great majority of potential *dekasseguis* are married (a characteristic of the three groups under study). Comparing the results of the other two Questionnaires, one notes a change in profile: the first ones presented a smaller group of single individuals and a larger group of married individuals. This larger proportion of single individuals could be an indication of an inflection in the nature of this migration. The change would be towards migration of a more speculative nature, in contrast with earlier groups, of a planned work-for-hire nature (see Molho, 1986). The change in the nature of demand of unskilled labor in Japan (with an increase in “*arabaito*”) might explain part of this change.

With regard to the generation distance to Japan born ancestor, as was to be expected, one can see that there is greater in Questionnaire A as compared to the others. Among potential and married migrant women, there is a preponderance of *nikkey* couples, though when compared to earlier migration waves, the proportion of *nikkey* couples was smaller. Among men, the behavior is the same, but the time trend is respected (greater proportion in Questionnaire C, smaller in Questionnaire A, with an intermediary situation in Questionnaire B). This distancing is concomitant with worse command of the Japanese language (spoken, written, reading and understanding), which can implicate in a slower and more painful process of adaptation. One factor that could counterbalance this characteristic is the change to a migration supported by social networks, as opposed to that of the earlier migrants, more commoditized.

Men and women mainly travel alone, confirming the hypothesis of temporary separation of families (since a great percentage are married), but what one can observe is that among potential *dekasseguis*, there is a large increase in the number of women traveling alone. Family migration is important among women, either with the spouse or with siblings, though less so among potential *dekasseguis*. One can also see a drop in the proportion of those that travel with parents or siblings among potential *dekasseguis*, thus also reinforcing the change in the nature of migration.

Predominant reasons that substantiate going to Japan are linked to the labor market and to human capital: unemployment, dissatisfaction with income, search for better opportunities and being able to pay for one's studies. The temporary nature of the movement is once again brought out by the fact that there is little representativeness among potential *dekasseguis* for settling in Japan or for saving money to invest in Japan, different from what occurred with their counterparts in Questionnaires B and C.

Over half of those interviewed in Questionnaire A declared having conducted research on the situation in Japan. Relatives and friends are the main source of information for potential migrants. Travel agencies and firms come second, though bearing much lesser weight. This information goes to prove the hypothesis of an inflection in the nature of Brazil-Japan migrants. As has already been pointed out, this group seems to rely more heavily on reciprocity networks (families and friends) than on the channels Naoto considers

typical and that in fact were important for the respondents of Questionnaires B and C. Another indicator of this inflection is the decrease in the percentage of air tickets defrayed by firms/agencies, being the family the most important source now.

What seems to be the registered trademark of these interviewees (all three questionnaires) is that they do not believe it is necessary to make preparations to start a business. The majority of potential *dekasseguis* interviewed either plans to open a business or is in doubt about whether to do so, but a large number did not look for any information on the subject (these answers coincided on all of the Questionnaires). This non-preparation to return to Brazil explains the level of failure and frustration of the returning *dekasseguis* and their repeated comings and goings along the Brazil-Japan axis.

The migration process is now in a stand still due to the international economic crisis. Many Brazilians already returned or are up to. Most probably after the recovery new waves will take place. Japan is ageing society that cannot afford the lack of foreign manpower.

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