

# Career Building among Second Generation of Peruvian Returnees in Peru

## Becoming global human resources in their homeland?

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### I. Introduction

After the second half of the 1990s, the nature and the scope of the immigration of Latin American workers to Japan suffered a significant change. What was meant to be an economic immigration of working-age single adults, and therefore intended to be temporal, became a long-term residence of entire nuclear and even extended families, most of them Brazilians and Peruvians of Japanese ancestry. Bringing their spouses and children from Brazil and Peru and raising them in Japan has encompassed a new set of issues around their lives as immigrants in Japan that goes beyond visa status, working and living conditions, health care, remittances and keeping communication with their families in the homeland. Their children education, real estate purchase, social welfare, pension funds, building community ties and engaging in volunteer activities, are among those new issues associated to their permanent residence.

As Peruvian immigrants have settled in Japan, some of them have also decided to come back home. Achievement of their saving goals, reinsertion in their country's labor market or family circumstances, such as their own illness or elderly care, were the main reasons for their return. Children who were raised in Japan have also been part of this return flow. Few of them came back with both parents, most of them with only one parent, who in most of the cases was the mother, and occasionally children had to be back even alone with their siblings, if there any, and be left to the care of their relatives.

In March-April, 2008 and August-September, 2009 for two consecutive years, a survey was administered in some Peruvian cities where there was observed a concentration of *Nikkei* population, and

therefore a concentration of returnee Peruvian children from Japan. This survey targeted returnee Peruvian children in Peru who had received Japanese education at any level, while in Japan. The subjects filled out a questionnaire and were interviewed in the most important *Nikkei* organizations such as schools, sport facilities and associations, in Lima and in another city, different from the capital.

In March of 2015 it was conducted a new survey, whose target population was part of the sample of March-April, 2008 and August-September, 2009. This new survey aimed to shed light on the path taken by the former pupils right after graduation from secondary education in Peru. As they belonged to an emigrant family or to one that was in the past, having tightly-knit relationships abroad and being exposed to a culture different from their own, are already part of their main features, so that transnational movements after graduation could be also expected. After graduation from secondary education former pupils could choose one of these paths: in Peru, going onto tertiary education (universities, technical or professional schools) or entering the labor market, mostly as white-collar workers or working in the family business; and in Japan, joining the unskilled labor market as blue-collar workers, or pursuing tertiary studies.

This survey also provides with conclusions on the careers they have chosen and their connection with their education and life experience in Japan. Regardless of the selected career paths, their Japanese education and live experience become an asset in their education and life in Peru? What are the main determinants in their decision to stay in Peru or to re-emigrate to Japan? Their Japanese education and life

experiences can be linked to another destination as emigrants? This paper will address these questions, and will attempt to answer them.

## II. Methodology

Considering that returnee parents would like their children to continue studying Japanese and also share their past school and life experience in Japan with other returnee children, *Nikkeijin* schools and *Nikkeijin* associations in Lima were the main places for finding our survey's respondents.

### 1. The 2008-2009 Survey

In 2008 in April and March, and 2009 in August and September, data on young Peruvians who came back from Japan was collected through a questionnaire, interviews and a psychological test. The subjects were surveyed in *Nikkei* schools and *Nikkei* associations: *Nikkei* schools in Lima such as La Unión, La Victoria and Hideyo Noguchi; in the Constitutional Province of Callao, José Gálvez; in Huaral, department of Lima, Inka Gakuen; and *Nikkei* associations such as Asociación Estadio La Unión (AELU), Asociación Peruano Japonesa (APJ) and Asociación Okinawense del Perú (AOP), all of them located in Lima, and Sociedad Japonesa de Auxilios Mutuos in Chiclayo.

The questionnaire was applied in these two consecutive years to 167 youngsters (53 at elementary level, 114 at secondary level), whose parents have worked or were still working in Japan as *dekasegi* when the survey was administered. They were surveyed either in Japanese or Spanish, depending on the youngster's Japanese or Spanish language proficiency. The children of Peruvian parents who did not work as *dekasegi* in Japan, such as Peruvian government officials, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) officers, Peruvian financial institutions' employees, or parents who went to Japan to engaged in religious activities, were excluded from the sample. The respondents provided information on basic personal data (age, place of birth, sex, school grade, school attended in Japan and Peru, period of stay in Japan, period of stay in Peru and family information);

regarding their life in Japan (Japanese language proficiency, and family and school situation); their life in Peru after coming back from Japan (Spanish proficiency, and family and school situation); and finally, regarding their links with Japan (current feelings toward their life in Japan, if a family member is still in Japan, reasons for their return, own future plans and family plans).

A psychological test, TAMAI (by its Spanish acronym, *Test Autoevaluativo Multifactorial de Adaptación Infantil*, translation into English by the author, Auto-evaluative Test of Children's Multifactorial Adjustment) was applied in August and September of 2009 to 64 returnees (7 subjects were eliminated from the sample later on), whose ages were between 8 and 18, and who were enrolled in three main *Nikkeijin* schools (La Victoria, La Unión and Hideyo Noguchi). All of them at least studied 3 years in Japan, and have spent more than 3 months and less than 10 years in Peru after their return. By applying a psychological test, in Japanese or Spanish, according to the language proficiency of the subject, this test intended to shed light on these returnee children's degree of adaptation or inadaptation in their homeland by dividing the results into three different categories: individual adjustment, school adjustment and social adjustment.

Out of 167 target students for the questionnaire, only 128 were interviewed. Based on the possibility of providing reliable information, only older than eight-year-old respondents were interviewed and this is the reason for the attrition. They were open-ended interviews, whose purpose was to gather extra information that could not be collected through the questionnaire, which in most of the cases was followed by the interview. These interviews, rather than gathering basic factual data on respondents, they focused more on the respondents' thoughts, feelings, emotions, memories, experiences, perceptions, ideas and preferences. Usually each one of the 128 interviews lasted 45 minutes or one hour on average, very few were shorter and for some respondents took even up to two hours to make a personal recount of

their young lives. Depending on the interviewee's language proficiency, it was conducted in Japanese or Spanish, or a combination of both languages.

The main results of the 2008-2009 survey are as follows. According to the information collected by the questionnaire, most of them were *Nikkeijin* (84.5%); approximately half of the sample was born in Japan and the other half in Peru, while 1 subject was born in Brazil; in spite of their young age, more than one fourth (26.3%) lived in Japan for more than 10 years, one third (32.3%) for less than 10 but more than 5 years, and the majority (41.3%) for less than 5 years; according to self-reported data, only 40.7% stated to have a "Japanese-language native level," which means that the remaining 59.3%, in different degrees, lacked of the Japanese language proficiency expected in a Japanese children of the same age; despite the previous figure, only less than one third (30.4%) of the respondents were provided with extra Japanese language lessons at Japanese elementary and lower-secondary schools, while in Japan. Regarding their home and school lives in Japan and Peru, more returnees liked or liked very much their home life in Japan (more than 70%) than in Peru (less than 60%). Specifically children's comments on why they liked their lives in Japan were as follows: "Japanese cities and streets are clean," "there is no garbage on the streets," "cities are safe," "there are no thieves," "I can freely go out, because cities are safe," "people follow the rules." On the other hand, regarding their Peruvian home life: "Peruvian cities and streets are dirty," "there is nothing but garbage on the streets," "cities are dangerous," "there are a lot of thieves," "I cannot freely go out, because cities are not safe," and "no one follows the rules." However, when returnees were asked about their school lives, more returnees liked or liked very much their school life in Peru rather than the one in Japan, and the underlying reason is that approximately 30% of them has been victim of some sort of bullying (*ijime*) when they were in Japan. Another important finding of the questionnaire was that after their return from Japan only little more than one third (35.6%) of the targeted children lived

with their parents, 40.2% lived with their mothers and still almost one fourth (23.2%) lived with relatives that could be grandparents, uncles or aunties. If they did have some family members still living in Japan, nearly 60% have both parents living there, and 33.2% have only their fathers working in that country. When students were asked how often they communicate with that person who is in Japan, more than one fourth (27.8%) said "everyday or almost every day," little less than one third (30.6%) "once per week," 16.7% "once per month," and 14.9% said "sometimes, twice per year and almost never." Finally, less than one third (30.4%) had met that person who is in Japan less than a year ago, another one third (36.2%) had met between 2 and 5 years ago, 16.7%, more than 6 and less than 9 years, and another 16.7% more than 10 years. It is evident that Peruvian children feel nostalgia about their lives in Japan. Approximately 80% said "missing Japan," and when asked why, one of the reasons the respondents gave was not related to Japan at all -- it was because when they were there, they lived with their parents or one of them. More than 30% gave this reason. Other reasons included, "missing friends," "speaking Japanese," "Japanese food," among others.

In addition, pertaining to their adjustment to the homeland this is the outcome of the psychological test. Regardless of waxing nostalgic about Japan upon their arrival to Peru, the length of the post-arrival period or the Spanish language proficiency, this research found that there is no statistical evidence of disadjustment at individual, school or society level, by applying the TAMAI (Sueyoshi and Yagui, 2011). It is important to emphasize that as this survey was conducted on *Nikkeijin* schools and *Nikkeijin* associations, even the lack of language proficiency does not become a source for disadjustment in schools, according to our results. The reason for this outcome can lie on the fact that all subjects were from *Nikkeijin* schools, where most of the other students, teachers and administrative staff have some knowledge of the *dekasegi* phenomenon and understanding of the hurdles that *dekasegi*'s children face upon arrival in Peru, and therefore they are tolerant towards them.

On the other hand, the findings from the questionnaire and the interviews pointed out to the existence of a mental mechanism that allows them to cope with the adjustment process in the homeland. When the young Peruvian returnees moved from Japan to Peru felt deprived of the economic or material wellbeing that they had to leave behind unwillingly in most cases. However, at the same time their deprivation of economic or material wellbeing is compensated by gaining moral or emotional wellbeing in Peru, which in turn is also supported by the previous Japanese experience and the potential future experience in Japan. This mental mechanism allows young Peruvian returnees not only to develop a dual perspective (Sueyoshi, 2011; and 2015) that transcends time and space, but also to resort to it because it is a source of strength for bearing an unfavorable new environment, in which the past experience can help them go on, because their previous life in Japan remains also as a possibility in the future.

Finally, a salient outcome of the 2008 and 2009 survey is the importance of the role of the *Nikkei* community in the returnees' adjustment process. Through their schools and different recreational and cultural associations, the *Nikkei* society serves as a transitional step between Japan and Peru for the young Peruvian returnees. *Nikkei* schools have played an important role in the adjustment process of these returnees in Peru, by serving as a socializing agent that offered a safety network along with other *Nikkei* organizations. In *Nikkei* schools and *Nikkei* associations, returnees can continue recreating their Japanese school and social life, because they can use Japanese language, celebrate Japanese events, practice the same sports they did while in Japan, eat similar food, etc. *Nikkei* associations also offer spaces for returnees' socialization outside *Nikkei* schools. It is common for the pupils who attend *Nikkei* schools in Lima to go to this *Nikkei* associations after school or during weekends, so they can continue experiencing Japanese culture or practicing sports, and gathering with other pupils who have lived in Japan before. The most popular *Nikkei* associations among returnees

are Asociación Estadio La Unión (AELU) and Asociación Peruano Japonesa (APJ). The first one is the largest sport facility of the *Nikkei* community, it is a membership-based organization, and it is very well known in Peruvian society as they even have a professional first league soccer team. Returnees are affiliated at some specific sport clubs such as soccer, volleyball, basketball, baseball, softball, and Japanese martial arts. As baseball and softball are not very popular in Peruvian society, most of the athletes in the Peruvian national teams of these two sports come from AELU. However, even for the returnees who are not interested in practicing sports, AELU is a good space for socialization and a place they just can hang around with their peers. The second one is a cultural center, where Japanese language and Japanese arts and crafts are taught. There are also Japanese restaurants where returnees like to gather with their friends. These two associations, AELU and APJ, offer more than spaces for recreation and entertainment, both provide a safe environment for the returnees, where they can feel the freedom they have being deprived of once they arrived in Lima. For Japan-raised returnee youngsters, *anzen* and *anshin* are very important concepts, both are similar and connected, and they mean safety and security, but the first one refers more to the environment (macro) and the other to the self (micro). Without a doubt, returnees feel that AELU and APJ are *anzen*, where they can feel *anshin*, therefore the anxiety caused by the Peruvian environment can be abated and feel free and act freely.

## 2. The 2015 Survey

In March of 2015, a follow-up survey of the 2008-2009 survey was conducted on secondary-education graduates from three of the most returnee-populated *Nikkei* schools in Lima Metropolitan Area. The subjects were asked about their chosen career paths that could be one or more than one of the following: in Peru, going onto tertiary education (universities, technical or professional schools) or entering the labor market, mostly as white-collar workers or working in the family business; and in Japan, joining the unskilled

labor market as blue-collar workers, or pursuing tertiary studies. Particularly, the interviewees provided information on the circumstances that led them take such a decisions, whose support they could count on, to what extent their previous experience in Japan had an impact on their decision, further steps in their careers, and the possibility of extending it to Japan or even to a third country. In the case of those graduates who went on to tertiary education, their entrance examination process, as well as the area of studies chosen were examined in detail.

The targeted *Nikkei* schools were La Unión, La Victoria and Hideyo Noguchi. The remaining schools from the original sample, such as José Gálvez in the Constitutional Province of Callao, and Inka Gakuen in Huaral, department of Lima, were not included because of the small number of returnees from Japan, and the distance from the capital city, respectively. Regarding the latter, it is important to indicate that as the interviewees for this new stage of the survey were going to be approached on individual basis, setting up interviews in an area different from Metropolitan Lima would have being logistically difficult to manage. The previous 2008-2009 survey also included a significant number of interviewees recruited in *Nikkei* associations in Lima and Chiclayo, a city in the northern coast of Peru (Asociación Estadio La Unión (AELU), Asociación Peruano Japonesa (APJ), Asociación Okinawense del Perú (AOP), in Lima; and Sociedad Japonesa de Auxilios Mutuos in Chiclayo). They were 29 subjects who represent a little more than 17%, most of them in secondary education. The reason for excluding them in the 2015 survey was the low likelihood for locating them again.

Considering that exactly seven years have past since the administration of the 2008-2009 questionnaire and that the Peruvian basic education system is composed of 6 years or elementary education, after preschool education and kindergarten, and 5 years of secondary education, at least all the secondary-education interviewees (114) were expected to become secondary-school graduates by March 2015. Likewise, the pupils who were in the last two

years of elementary education (fifth and sixth grade) in 2008, and one year prior to elementary-school graduation (sixth grade) in 2009 were supposed to become secondary-school graduates by March 2015. However, it is important to indicate that the existence of grade repetition in the Peruvian educational system does not assure that all expected graduates could finish the secondary education in the same number of years.

In the 2008-2009 survey, the subjects from La Unión (LU), La Victoria (LV) and Hideyo Noguchi (HN) schools totaled 120 (48 in elementary education and 72 in secondary education), out of 167, that is to say almost three fourths (71.9%) of the sample (see table 1).

**Table 1**  
**Surveyed schools in 2008-2009**

	Elementary Education	Secondary Education
LU	27	33
LV	15	31
HN	6	8
Total	48	72

First, the above schools were visited and information on the 2008-2009 survey's targets was provided, regarding their basic-education completion, their status as still currently enrolled students or enrolled in another school, or their returning to Japan.

**Table 2**  
**Ex-subjects' status in 2015, right before graduation**

	School	Japan	Graduate	n.a.	Total
LU	2 (1)	0	28	30	60
LV	11 (1)	1	22	13	46
HN	1 (1)	0	7	6	14
Total	17	1	57	49	120

(1) Includes one student who was transferred to another school.

As it can be observed in table 2, it was possible to collect information on the majority (62.7%) of the former subjects. In general, most Peruvian schools are not precisely very interested in keeping the records of their alumni, and the paths they follow after graduation. One reason could be that if their graduates manage to pursue tertiary studies in a prestigious university or professional school, usually almost all the credit goes for the cram school, where the students

prepare for the entrance examination to different higher education institutions.

In table 2, La Unión school has the absolute and relative higher percentage of “not available” information that could be associated with the higher percentage of elementary level subjects they had in the 2008-2009 survey, compared to La Victoria school, for example. After elementary-education completion it is not unusual to change children to another school, for several reasons, such as to be more exposed to English language education, to prepare them better for tertiary education, or to receive an education with emphasis in technical knowledge. Another reason for these high figures for non-availability on the information of ex-respondents in La Unión is the Programa de Educación a Larga Distancia (PEAD). Originally, the PEAD was a long-distance education program aimed at providing the Peruvian children in Japan with a Peruvian-government-approved education program. However, it was extended, so it can also offer education in Peru for the students who just arrive from Japan. After some time in this program that could be of just few months in the case of those students who were also registered in the PEAD while in Japan, or half a year or one year, the returnees share the same classroom with the regular students. During the interview with the school principal and the Japanese language teacher, it was observed that once the returnees are included in the regular classes, their status as returnees faded. Also the number of returnees from Japan has been steadily decreasing every year since 2009 in this school. In 2015 La Unión school authorities reported to have only five returnees in their classrooms. This attrition in the number of subjects of almost half (50.0%=30/60) in the case of La Unión is much higher than the average (40.8%=49/120) of the three schools.

On the other hand La Victoria reported that twelve students were still enrolled in basic education, from which almost all of them (10) were continuing studies at the same school. The population of returnees in La Victoria school compared to previous years has also decreased. However, in 2015 the school principal reported that in 2014 approximately fifty returnees

were transferred to this school and twenty returnees graduated in the same year, out a total of thirty-seven graduates. By March 2015, La Victoria school reported that there was only one new returnee in that academic year and by the end of it, in December of 2015, it is expected the graduation of sixteen returnees out of thirty graduates.

Also table 2 points out that only one student from our 2008-2009 sample returned to Japan, while he was enrolled in secondary education in La Victoria school. This number could be misleading, as there is no information on the whereabouts of 40% of the original sample.

Table 3 and 4 show the absolute and relative figures on the status of the returnees after secondary-school graduation. The common trend in the three schools by far is to pursue higher education. La Unión school has the largest number of graduates who follow this trend. More than two thirds (69.2%) of its graduates were already enrolled in an institution of higher education by March 2015 (see table 4).

**Table 3**  
**Ex-subjects' status in 2015,**  
**after graduation**

	Higher education	Japan	House work	Work	n.a.
LU	18 (2)	1	1	2	4
LV	13	1	2	3	3
HN	7	0	0	0	0
Total	40	38	3	5	7

(2) Includes two students who are enrolled in higher education in Japan.

**Table 4**  
**Ex-subjects' status in 2015,**  
**after graduation (%)**

	Higher education	Japan	House work	Work	n.a.
LU	69.2	3.6	3.6	7.1	14.3
LV	59.1	4.5	9.2	13.6	13.6
HN	100.0				

On the other hand, a lower percentage of almost 60% of La Victoria graduates are pursuing higher education. However, in the case of this school, the number of returnees who opted for other paths, such as working (13.6%) and becoming housewives (9.2%,

all of them female) is relatively higher than in the other two schools. Regarding Hideyo Noguchi school, thanks to the unconditional support of its principal, and considering that is a much smaller number, it was possible to keep track of all returnee graduates, who with no exception went on to tertiary education.

There is an attrition of almost 50% in the 2015 survey, compared to the 2008-2009 survey (see table 5). That is to say that out of 120 subjects, almost half, fifty-seven subjects' post-graduation information was collected, so their more plausible career paths can be drawn from our information.

**Table 5**  
**Survey attrition**

	2008-2009 survey (1)	2015 survey (2)	(2) / (1) (%)	2015 Testimonies (3)	(3) / (1) (%)
LU	60	26	43.3	6	10.0
LV	46	22	47.8	6	13.0
HN	14	7	50.0	1	7.1
Total	120	57	47.5	13	10.8

Pertaining the detail in higher education, more than the half (63.2%) is enrolled in Peruvian universities, while the remaining one third (31.6%) in technical or professional schools. A little more than 5% is still in cram schools, where they are preparing themselves for entrance examinations at universities and technical or professional schools.

**Table 6**  
**Ex-subjects enrolled in higher education in 2015**

	Universities	Cram schools	Tech./Prof schools	Total
LU	13 (72.2%)	0	5 (27.8%)	18
LV	8 (61.5%)	1 (7.7%)	4 (30.8%)	13
HN	3 (42.9%)	1 (14.3%)	3*(42.9%)	7
Total	24 (63.2%)	2 (5.3%)	12 (31.6%)	38

\* Includes two students who are studying abroad.

La Unión school has the highest higher-education continuation rate (72.2%), among these three schools (see table 6). The Hideyo Noguchi school reported that two students out of three enrolled in professional schools, are studying abroad. Both of them have been

granted respective scholarships to study English in the United Kingdom, and Japanese language, in Brazil.

The most popular higher-education destinations among returnees were private universities and private technical and professional schools.

Ranking universities in Peru is not an easy task, as the criteria to do so, depends on the fields of specialization, the scale and their ratio of employment post-graduation, among others. However it can be said that among the universities chosen by our ex-subjects as institutions of higher education there are two prestigious universities, which were the academic destination for 5 (20.8%) of the subjects. These two universities recurrently appear in most of the rankings either as the number one or among the top five.

**Table 7**  
**Universities chosen by ex-subjects**

	Ex-subject number
Universidad San Ignacio de Loyola	9
Universidad de Lima	4
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	4
Universidad Ricardo Palma	2
Universidad ESAN	1
Universidad de Piura	1
Universidad Cayetano Heredia	1
Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos	1
Nihon Kougyou Daigaku (Japan)	1
Total	24

Regarding technical or professional schools, all of them private, one third of them has chosen to build a career in the cooking business, which has been flourishing in the last 15 years in Peru, as Peru has also become a gourmet destination for tourists from all over the world.

**Table 8**  
**Professional schools**  
**chosen by ex-subjects**

	Ex-subject number
D'Gallia (Cooking School)	4
TECSUP (Institute for Advanced Technological Studies)	2
Instituto Toulouse Lautrec (School of Communication and Design)	2
Columbia (Tourism Management and Aviation School)	2
Nursing school	1
Other	1
Total	12

In the tables above, out of 24 universities chosen as the start of their career paths, only one is public, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; and as it was stated before, all professional schools are private. It can be inferred that the economic burden of higher education in the household budget is an important reason for the parents or at least for one of them to remain in Japan as *dekasegi*. It is evident that the “relative deprivation” (Tsuda, 1999) returnee families are escaping from by going to Japan, keep them engaged in this pattern of economic migration. As Tsuda (1999) has mentioned, rather than “absolute deprivation,” it was “relative deprivation” that drove these *Nikkei* populations to leave unfavorable economic conditions in their countries of origin that threatened their socio-economic status as lower-middle class, middle or even upper-middle class.

One of the findings from the aggregate results of the 2008-2009 survey was the lack of Spanish proficiency among returnees. Some secondary-education graduates due to their short period of stay in Peru were not able to improve their Spanish ability before graduation. However, many of them have managed to enter Peruvian universities, and some of them to the most prestigious universities, despite their Spanish language deficiency. In the last two decades there is a proliferation of higher educational institutions all over Peru, due primarily to the recovery of the Peruvian economy followed by a robust growth that can be associated with an increase of the middle-

class population, who consequently demand higher levels of education as part of their consumption basket.

Responding to this increasing demand, new institutions of higher education have entered this business, creating a very competitive market that can be evidenced in the multiple entrance-examination systems all year round. Once standardized-test based entrance examination were the usual form, now there are various modalities of entrance examinations, aimed at picking up the largest number of entrants from the newly secondary-education graduates. Besides the general exam, which is based on a standardized test, there are referral-entrance modalities for those who are directly recommended by their secondary school, or based their application on extra-academic skills, mainly sports.

**Table 9**  
**Jobs chosen by ex-subjects**

	Ex-subject number
Sport business	2
Travel agent and interpreter (travel agency)	1
Secretary (accounting office)	1
Employee (family business)	1
Total	5

Finally, for those ex-subjects who were located and identified and were currently working by March 2015, table 9 summarizes the jobs they were engaged in. Out of 5, two were employed in the sport business, one as soccer player in a professional team, and the other as a team manager of a sport club.

### 3. 13 testimonies

Out of these 120 ex-respondents, approximately one tenth (see table 5) of them were contacted again directly, through their former schools, or through snowball sampling, and new interviews were conducted.

In this new sample, there were 5 males and 8 females in their early twenties who offered their personal testimonies of their lives between Japan and Peru. This transnational experience that took place



mainly in Japan and Peru, was also extended to other countries, such as US and Spain. Usually, it implied two movements, generally from Peru to Japan, and then to Peru again; or from Japan to Peru, and then Japan, and Peru again. However, there is one subject that despite his age, he is in his early twenties, has been moving more than 10 times in these four countries: Japan, US, Spain and Peru. Most of the subjects were born in Japan or were taken there at very early ages and then spent their earlier developmental age there. Many of them returned to Peru either for starting secondary education under the Peruvian educational system, or due to the financial crisis of 2008, or a combination of two of them. Family matters such as elderly care and illness were other reasons that drove the families of these returnees to the homeland.

After graduation all thirteen subjects went on to higher education, and at the time of the interview, two of them already graduated from professional schools whose programs last two years. One was still enrolled in a professional school. One was between jobs and the other was currently working. The subjects who enter universities, all of them were still current students, mostly at private universities, only one was enrolled in a public university.

Regarding their fields of study, among the subjects who graduated from professional schools, one of them graduated from cooking school (D'Gallia) and the other from a technical school (TECSUP). Another was studying tourism management and aviation. University students' scope of studies is wider, there is one enrolled in a medical college (Universidad Cayetano Heredia), biology (Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos), International Business (Universidad de Lima), Information Technology (Universidad San Ignacio de Loyola), Tourism Management (Universidad San Ignacio de Loyola), Accountancy (Universidad Ricardo Palma), among others.

These are the most salient features, some of them common to most of them, some just single out from the rest.

#### **a. Resolutely building their careers**

More than the half of the subjects was not only very resolute in their decision to pursue higher education, but also in the chosen discipline of studies, and even in a specific university. For instance, the only subject who was currently enrolled in a Medical College failed to enter during his first year right after graduation. In Peru the university he intended to be admitted is the best in Peru and very prestigious in Latin America. It is a private higher education institution with a very low acceptance rate, and therefore extremely difficult to be admitted. However, he persevered and for a whole year attended a cram school, where he could prepare for the next admission exam. Another subject, female, also faced a similar situation. She plan to study biology in the best public university that offered that program, because she did not want to add more burden to the already bulky family budget. As a very prestigious public university, its admission rate is very low. The subject failed her first admission test, then she prepared herself in a cram school for a year, and then she was able not only to clear the exam, but to be the applicant with the highest score in the standardize test of her batch.

#### **b. Parents' support**

This has been a common characteristic of all subjects. They could not have succeeded to enter a higher education institution without their parents' support, particularly because of the economic support, considering that almost all institutions were private. However, besides paying the tuition fees, parents' role in offering moral support and guidance when they had the experience, has been also a determinant factor in a successful admission to a higher education institution. A subject who was admitted to an international business program of a private university mentioned his parents' support during the admission process. He successfully entered the two universities he applied, and his parents' wanted him to enroll in that they considered the best university in the discipline of his interest. However, after convincing his parents, the subject opted for the university whose program was

closer to his study plans.

### c. Satisfaction and pride

Most subjects were very satisfied with the chosen career paths and the final and partial outcomes. In the case of the three subjects who studied in professional schools, only one was very determined to work under the direction of the best professional in that field, that is why she was between jobs. However, from the other two subjects, one said that she was not sure about her field of studies, and the closest she found was what she was currently studying, and the other who already graduated said that in fact she wanted to attend another professional school or even be admitted to a university, but it was impossible due to family reasons, particularly because of economic factors. However, this last subject stressed that in spite of her current situation, she is very glad to be of economic support at home because it was needed.

On the contrary, university students, at least most of them, were prouder of their academic outcomes, which are linked with the expectations they have regarding the future, which in turn become a source of further motivation. The two subjects who failed to be admitted right after graduation and who passed the standardized exam in the second year are very proud of their admission achievements. In addition, both of them mentioned that it was worth all the effort for the admission process. The contents of the chosen disciplines, the college life, the relationship with their peers, all was as they expected. Regarding their grades, most of the subjects who are enrolled in universities said to be among the top ten in their batches.

### d. Fractured families

As it was mentioned before, almost all universities that admitted the survey subjects were private, which imposed an extra burden to the household budget. More than the half of the subjects still has at least one parent, in most cases the father, in Japan, where he is working as *dekasegi*. Higher education in Peru has gone through an accelerated process of privatization, as almost every new university in the last twenty years

is funded with private capitals. Many of them explain in their testimonies, how their higher education was discussed with both parents, even if one of them is in Japan. It can be affirmed that the admission of the subjects to institutions of higher education leads to a protracted stay of at least one of the parents. One subject, the only one who was admitted to a public university expressed that she wanted to enter a public university, because it could alleviate the family budget, so her father who was in Japan could come back to Peru and join her mother and her. However, her father joined them in Peru in 2013, unfortunately as things were not very favorable to him regarding job opportunities, he had to go back to Japan to continue working as *dekasegi*.

### III. Final remarks

The main objective of this study was to collect information regarding the career paths of young returnees from Japan. Gathered information indicates that their previous experience in Japan has not particularly had a positive or negative impact in the development of their professional careers in Peru. Likewise, their previous experience in Japan is not necessarily paving a way for careers, in which they can directly make use of their Japanese language ability or their knowledge of Japanese culture.

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# 日本からペルーへ帰国した二世ペルー人のキャリア形成 ～「母国」にグローバル人材として～

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## 概要

本研究の目的は、2015年3月に行った調査の結果に基づき、日本からペルーへ帰国した児童・生徒の「母国」における中等教育卒業後の進路先を明確にすることである。ペルーの中等教育の課程を終了後、「ペルーの高等教育（大学・専門学校）に進学」、「ペルーの事務職か家業に就職」、「日本で未熟練労働者として就職」が主な進路先になり、本研究は進路選択と日本での生活・教育経験の間の繋がりを検討する。また、どのような進路選択をするかに関わらず、日本の生活・教育経験はペルーでの生活・キャリアにメリットになるのか、中等教育卒業後、ペルーに残るか日本に戻るかの選択はどのような要素で決まるのか、日本で経験した日本教育・日本の生活は日本・ペルー以外の受け入れ国への移動と繋がりがあのか、なども明らかになる点である。

(2016年11月8日受理)