

Second-Generation Peruvians in the Homeland: Debunking the Trade-off Myth between Economic and Moral Well-being

SUEYOSHI Ana

I. Introduction

In the last three decades, the more convenient accessibility to global communication systems and international transportation networks in terms of costs and availability have helped migrants to further develop parallel lives in both, the country of origin and the country of destination. For economic migrants (Althaus, 2016), the host society offers employment, legally or illegally, which is the main reason for moving. On the other hand, migrants have to leave behind family, friends and all that they hold dear and value, everything that right before moving had made their existence meaningful to themselves in a way they and only they could understand.

In the host country, economic or material (hereinafter called only economic) well-being is attainable because it is connected directly to the income migrants receive for their work, which becomes not only the main reason for migrating, but also the source of this economic well-being. In the homeland, before experiencing international mobility, prospective migrants share common values and beliefs with their families, friends and fellow countrymen and countrywomen. This set of tangible and intangible legacy that has been inherited from their ancestors at different levels, familial, communal, national or supranational, and that the migrant himself or herself has helped preserve or discard, serves as a bundle of moral or emotional (hereinafter called only moral) well-being.

While at the country of origin, migrants have a very clear sense of moral well-being, but lack of economic well-being; at the country of destination, migrants can enjoy economic well-being, but lack of moral well-being. Despite economic well-being and moral well-

being appear to be enjoyed just in either the host country or the home country, in the migrant's mindset both types of well-beings are closely interconnected and support each other in order to improve total well-being, as their sense of well-being transcends time and space.

Surrounded by a sense of moral well-being at the homeland, migrants take the decision of moving beyond borders, because they feel the need to cope with the lack of economic well-being, not only for their own benefit but also for the other family members'. Migration decision is usually taken as part of a household economic strategy, in which the migrant is perceived as the one who sacrifices for the sake of the rest of the family. Rather than a personal decision that prioritizes individual economic well-being, it is a household choice, whose purpose is increasing the household well-being.

In the country of destination, migrants are able to attain economic well-being that will be shared with the ones who were left behind, as economic well-being transcends borders and reach the migrants' beloved ones, who are able to improve their own economic well-being as well, by receiving remittances, for instance. This in turn has an effect on keeping familial ties of cooperation and reciprocity, which is nothing but an increase of long-distance moral well-being, for both, the migrant's household and the migrant him or herself as an individual.

The Dual Frame of Reference (hereinafter referred to as DFR) (Suárez-Orozco, 1989) explains the existence of this simultaneous perception that is also interconnected as both well-beings serve as mutual support for reaching economic well-being in the host country and moral well-being in the country of origin.

In spite of the fact that DFR has mainly been studied for adult migrants, as they need to have lived and experienced both societies for making their well-being assessment in each country, DFR has also been observed among “returnee” children from Japan to Peru (Sueyoshi, 2011). The results of a survey conducted in 2008 and 2009 indicate the existence of DFR, based on the data collected through a questionnaire and interviews with these young “returnees” after their arrival in the homeland. The subjects showed a very clear distinction between before and after the “return,” in other words between their life while in Japan and their life in Peru. The first one associated with economic well-being that was possible because of their parents’ work as *dekasegi* at Japanese factories and the material wealth offered by a first-world country; and the second, with moral well-being that was attained because they united or reunited with relatives, whom they had not seen for years, and encountered or reencountered an empathetic Nikkei community that understood their needs as recent “returnees” and that went through the efforts for supporting them.

After a decade, our former interviewees are still in the early years of their professional careers. Some of them already graduated from tertiary education, because very few joined the job market right after high-school graduation. To what extent for these young graduates, the homeland has also become the space they can also achieve economic well-being? Is it possible to attain both, economic and moral well-being in the same space and time? Is it possible to prioritize individual well-being over household well-being for second-generation Peruvians in Peru, and still be able to achieve both, economic and moral well-being? If it is possible, what are the factors for breaking this trade-off between economic well-being and moral well-being observed among second-generation Peruvians or *dekasegi*’s children? These are the main questions posed by the current paper, in which a sole interviewee’s testimony will serve as a roadmap to help us find answers and draw conclusions on reaching both, economic and moral well-being, after the “return”

to the homeland. This testimony shows a very typical pattern among “returnees,” in which firstly, they go through a period of adjustment, strongly impregnated with the binary perspective of DFR: longing for the economic well-being they associate with Japan, and enjoying the moral well-being that is associated with the homeland. Secondly, as the second-generation “returnees” grow, graduate from secondary education, go on to tertiary education or join the labor market, they realize that the homeland can become also a place they can attain not only moral well-being, but also economic well-being. The second-generation Peruvians start perceiving that for the previous generation, that is to say their parents’ generation, Japan was the source for economic well-being, but for them, the second generation “returnees”, when they become adults and have to take their career and life decisions, they realize that they do not have to postpone economic well-being anymore as it was associated with Japan and it had to be deferred until they could be physically in Japan again; on the contrary, by getting inserted into the Nikkei society and later on into Peruvian society, they understand that Peru offers spaces in which they can calibrate their abilities and ambitions, in a way they can improve their economic well-being along with keeping or improving their moral well-being too, so they can have entirely meaningful lives, in which their individual well-being is not necessarily offset by the household well-being.

II. Previous studies

In March-April, 2008 and August-September, 2009 for two consecutive years, a survey was administered in two Peruvian cities, where there was a concentration of Nikkei population, and therefore a concentration of “returnee” children from Japan. This survey targeted “returnees” who had received Japanese education at any level, and whose parents, at least one of them, was working as *dekasegi*, while in Japan. Quantitative data was collected through a questionnaire that was applied to 167 subjects, who were interviewed at Nikkei organizations such as schools, sport facilities and associations, in Lima the capital city and Chiclayo.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted and through them, qualitative data from 128 interviewees was gathered. Besides, 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), the questionnaire and the interviews focused on 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*) Auto-evaluative Test of Children's Multifactorial Adjustment (own translation) was also applied in 2009 to 61 returnees, whose ages were between 8 and 18, and who were enrolled in three main *Nikkeijin* schools (La Victoria, La Unión and Hideyo Noguchi). 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 adjustment or dis-adjustment in their homeland by dividing the results into three different categories: individual adjustment, school adjustment and social adjustment.

The results of these three different methods for collecting data were analyzed and gave a clear picture of the circumstances surrounding "returnee" children in Japan and Peru. Almost for the half of them it was the first time to visit the homeland, the lack of both, mental and emotional preparedness and post-return family fracture, poor Spanish and Japanese language skills and evidence of adjustment at individual, school and society level, in spite of the lack of language skills, are some of the main findings. The data also allowed us to deepen the study by framing the discussion on the development of DFR (Suárez-Orozco, 1989) and on the importance of Nikkei institutions and schools that provides the returnees with spaces for supervised

socialization, which make their transition to Peruvian society smoother.

III. Dual Frame of Reference (DFR)

Regardless of age, country of birth, year of return, Spanish language proficiency, Japanese language proficiency or the circumstances that surrounds their school and family life, there was one striking commonality across subjects of the survey conducted in March-April of 2008 and August-September of 2009: the development of a DFR, between Japan and Peru, in which Japan is associated with economic well-being, while Peru with moral well-being. When the "returnees" were still in Japan, they could assess their well-being on the basis of feeling material satisfaction as they could enjoy the benefits of being in a first-world country that were affordable because Japan provided the household with the main source for economic well-being, the household-head income or both parents' income. Once in the homeland, "returnees" can assess their perceived well-being as mainly moral, as they are with their nuclear and extended families, friends, and members from the same Nikkei community, including school teachers and classmates, who may have never been to Japan, but who understand all the hardships the "returnees" have been through and are ready to go through the efforts for supporting them.

1. Theoretical framework

According to Suárez-Orozco (1989) "Migration has afforded many migrants a dual perspective on the nature of their unfolding lives. As they made sense of their current reality, they often paused to make reflective statements comparing a given issue in the two social contexts: their past home and the new host society." Scholars who study Mexican immigrants (Gallimore et al., 1999; Reese, 2001), Central American immigrants (Suarez-Orozco, 1989) and immigrants in general (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003), all of them in the United States, refer to DFR as an important factor to explain why migrants can cope with unfavorable conditions in the host country,

where they are able to endure the difficulties of adjustment, leading them to improve their schooling attainments and performance at their work place. On the other hand, other scholars find that the lack of DFR among the second generation of immigrants (Perreira et al., 2010) can be directly associated with a negative impact on their adaptation process and school attainment in the U.S. Southeast. Migrants of second generation were not able to develop a DFR, as they have only lived in the host society, in which they can mainly perceive economic well-being.

As well as their parents, the second generation of Peruvian “returnees” have already spent their childhood or adolescence, or both developmental periods in Japan and Peru, which has allowed them to develop a DFR.

2. The results

The main results of the 2008-2009 survey are as follows. According to the information collected by the questionnaire, 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. They were also asked about their lives in Japan and Peru and whether they like it or not and the reasons behind their answers. 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 in Japan, and

the underlying reason is that approximately 30% of them have been a victim of some sort of bullying (*ijime*) when they were in Japan.

The answers given above indicate that Japan is associated with the civility of a first-world country that can offer cleanliness and safety, which in turn is associated with economic well-being. On the contrary, the lack of cleanliness and safety in Peru reinforces the image of backwardness as it is thought to be a characteristic of a third-world country, in which they feel deprived of their freedom, and all this can be associated with a decrease of their economic well-being. Pertaining to Japanese and Peruvian schools, “returnees” show preference for the latter, because at Japanese schools, almost one third of them have experienced bullying, which decreases moral well-being in Japan. However, Japanese schools were greatly appreciated for the vast extracurricular-activity portfolio they offer, even at Japanese public schools. Different kinds of sports and cultural and scientific activities are available, while in Peru, even private schools offer fewer choices, which comparatively is associated with economic well-being in Japan.

During the interviews, when they were asked if they miss Japan and specifically what do they miss, several subjects mentioned the technology that is almost everywhere in Japan, from the automated vending machines, the more sophisticated electric appliances, until the faster and more convenient transportation systems. Also, the interviewees reported that they missed shopping in Japan, particularly those lovely *anime* or *manga* figures, cute stuffed toys, and functional stationary. As for Peru, during the interviews, the respondents emphasized that Peruvians were caring and supportive, cooperative, friendly and spontaneous. All these adjectives the “returnees” used to qualify Peruvians, can be associated with moral well-being. Besides, they perceived a clear link between Peru and family. On the other hand, while in Japan, many interviewees responded that they missed their relatives who stayed in Peru, particularly, their grandparents, cousins, and uncles and aunties.

During the interviews, several subjects mentioned

the following phrase: “Japanese are cold, Peruvians are warm,” whose power of its simplicity is as overwhelming as the power of its meaning. As respondents were asked for further explanation, they use some adjectives to qualify Japanese and Peruvians, so I can have a better understanding of this simple phrase. “Japanese are distant, while Peruvians are friendly; Japanese are square (rigid) minded, and Peruvians are spontaneous.” Once more, there is a binary perspective regarding Japanese and Peruvians, and the qualifiers attach to them. In this context, the interaction with Japanese can be associated with a decrease of moral well-being, as Japanese behavior diverge from what the “returnees” cherish and expect from their peers, and the relationship with other Peruvians can be associated with an increase of moral well-being, as they share common values, qualities and attitudes.

Finally, it is important to mention that there were other two facts that had a direct impact on the “returnees” moral well-being in Japan and Peru. In Japan, the first-generation Peruvians or *dekasegi*, in order to reach their economic goals in the host country, both parents work overtime during the weekdays and sometimes even during the weekends, which reduces the time they spend with their families. These young respondents said that they were on their own most of the time or were taken care by other family members, such as elder siblings, grandparents, cousins or family friends, having a direct negative impact on their moral well-being while in Japan.

After the “return” in Peru, only a 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 forth (23.2%) lived with relatives that could be grandparents, uncles or aunties. If they had some family members still living in Japan, nearly 60% had both parents living there, and 33.2% had 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 “every day 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. These statistics speak for themselves. Even in Peru, there are not few “returnees,” who do not live with their parents. Many of them live with just one of them, in most of the cases, with the mother, and there is still more than one fifth who live with a member of the extended family. This family fracture along with the lack of communication with the parent or parents who are still in Japan, is an additional source for a decrease of moral well-being in Peru.

The lack of quality time spent with both parents in Japan and the absence of the father or both parents in Peru, are intrinsic to economic migrant families, and become the main source for less moral well-being in both countries.

In this way, migrants contest the chimera of physical ubiquitousness by “being” in both, country of origin and country of destination, simultaneously. Both countries, become two geographical spaces, in which migrants are able to associate with mainly one type of well-being, either economic or moral well-being, as they perceived that they are able to mainly attain only one of them. However, these two spaces are not only divided but also connected by the development of a DFR, which allows migrants to place themselves in the society they are not physically, but in which they can project themselves and being the potential beneficiaries of the other type of well-being. Under the DFR mechanism, both economic well-being and moral well-being complement each other. Moral well-being gives migrants the strength for the strenuous tasks they have to perform in the host society in order to obtain economic well-being, which in turn, provides migrants with the possibility of improving not only their livelihood but also the living conditions of those who stayed put in the homeland.

IV. The testimony

The current paper will examine one specific case of a Peruvian “returnee,” who as well as many other *dekasegi*’s children was enrolled in a Nikkei school in the capital city, Lima. Before his arrival in Lima, Peru, Yoshio had spent all his life in Yamato city, Kanagawa prefecture, Japan. At the age of 18 when he was getting ready to study his last year at a Japanese evening high school, his father told him and his two little sisters that he and his mother, both of them Peruvians, had decided to go back to Peru for good. The reasons behind that decision were a mix of several factors, some economic and the other exogenous, the 2011 triple disaster in Japan.

Since 2011, for almost 7 years, I have been able to follow the milestones of his early career after his arrival in the homeland: adjustment process, going on to tertiary education right after high-school graduation, working experience as Japanese language teacher and as a translator and interpreter, Japanese language training, and finally getting a permanent job at a Japanese company in Lima, Peru. This paper deals with this single story because not only embodies the suffering most of the returnees go through, but also because Yoshio has built his young career making reasoned decisions, firstly, based on the abilities at his disposal, and secondly, by calibrating and acquiring new abilities, and aligning them, the former and the new, with his career goals. Aware of his own limitations, gradually he has taken new challenges and has raised the bar on himself. Yoshio’s story is a roadmap of career building, in which we can find evidence of the transition from a clear DFR perspective right after the “return” to a situation in which both, economic and moral well-being are perceived as attainable in the homeland.

Our first encounter was in September 2011, half a year after his return, the second time was after graduation when he was already a university student and he was teaching Japanese language at a Japanese language school. After that, we have met informally in several events organized by the main associations of the Nikkei community in Lima. In March 2015,

I conducted the first interview, and in September 2018, the second, both in Lima. Each one of the semi-structured interviews lasted approximately two hours, in which Yoshio made a personal recount in Japanese of his young life. They were face to face, and the interviewer asked questions verbally to the subject.

1. The “return”

As many other migrants, Yoshio’s parents set a saving goal when they moved to Japan, where they only thought of staying temporarily, until they were able to meet those goals. In the meantime, even if they had plans to come back to Peru, their children, Yoshio and his two younger sisters, were enrolled in Japanese schools and barely understood Spanish. They had a passive Spanish proficiency, in order to communicate with their parents, who mostly spoke to them in their mother tongue and the children addressed their parents in broken Spanish. Yoshio and his sisters did not attend either Peruvian school or Spanish language school, while in Japan.

In March of 2011, despite the commotion caused by the earthquake, tsunami and nuclear accident, Yoshio was getting ready for his last year before high-school graduation, when his parents told him and his two sisters that the family is ready to go back to Peru for good. Although the saving goals were only partially met, the 2011 triple disaster in Japan was an important factor for making this decision. Extended family, such as uncles, aunts and cousins, joined them, and return to Peru together.

Being raised in Japan, for Yoshio, the homeland was as foreign as for a Japanese youngster. The so-called “return” has not really been a coming back to the homeland, as a little more than the half of our sample was not born in Peru, and even many Peruvian-born “returnees” left Peru at very early age.

2. Setting footing in Peru

Right after their “return,” Yoshio’s parents faced the challenge of starting a new life in the homeland, from which they had been far away for almost two decades, and whose daily practices they were not

familiar with anymore. First, as many other returnee families, they resorted to the center of the Nikkei community, the Japanese-Peruvian Association (*Asociación Peruano Japonesa*), in the hope of collecting useful information for their reinsertion into the Nikkei community, job market and educational system.

Considering the “returnees’” lack of Spanish language proficiency, Nikkei schools were thought as the best choice by the parents, in spite of the fact that Nikkei schools’ education is neither bilingual nor their students study more hours of Japanese language than English language. As the school year in Peru starts in March, Yoshio’s enrollment was delayed for less than a month in a Nikkei school of Lima city. He was placed in the last year before graduation from secondary education. It was difficult for him to make new friends at this Nikkei school. During the breaks between classes, he used to hang out with other 4 “returnees,” who were in lower grades. Outside school, he got the support of his 20-year-old cousin, whose family had return from Japan along with Yoshio’s family.

The Nikkei school Yoshio was enrolled in had a special program, designed for the “returnees” from Japan, through which they were removed from the classroom and joined other “returnees,” even from different grades, to study school mandatory subjects with Japanese language support, until they could join regular classes, which were given entirely in Spanish. However, for Yoshio, who had to catch up with the rest of his graduating grade in less than a year, this challenge appeared to be just overwhelming. Coping with the lack of language proficiency that allowed him to conduct a proper learning process was a daily matter, that drained all his energy.

As last-year student, Yoshio had to think about his post-graduation plans, but his daily battle against language barriers, studying in a language he was not proficient, and his nostalgia for Japan and for everything he suddenly had to leave behind did not leave any room for making plans for building his career after graduation. Besides, after the “return” he had not been able to find meaning to his existence in

Peru. In September, 2011 he said: “I don’t know what I am doing here (Peru).” The only thing he thought about was coming back to Japan. To find a reason for his staying in Peru was the most important challenge, because the sense of purpose is directly connected to a specific goal, so he could feel driven and stayed motivated.

When Yoshio’s parents decided to come back to Peru, they did it for good. His uncle’s family did it as well. However, by the end of the year of their return, his uncle made the decision to go back to Japan with his family. Yoshio said that they were not able to get inserted into the job market, particularly his 20-year-old cousin, who was very close to him. In spite of his uncle’s family went back to Japan, Yoshio’s parents remained in Peru, which provided the family not only with stability for making short and mid-term plans, but also with a home life whose members were mutually supportive enough to face the adverse situation that entails any adjustment process.

Right after his arrival in the homeland, in Yoshio’s mindset prevailed a very clear DFR perspective, in which Japan was the place that offered economic well-being as neither his parents nor himself could immediately find jobs in Peru, and on the contrary, in Peru he could enjoy moral well-being provided through the support he received from his “returnee” cousin and schoolmates, and from the Nikkei school teachers and other classmates.

As for most of the “returnees,” Yoshio’s “return” has also been bumpy and has lacked of preparedness. Parents have lost contact with the way things are done in the homeland, and children have not even been able to speak conversational Spanish. The Nikkei community has served as a transitional step before the “returnees” could adjust to Peruvian society. Despite there has been a Nikkei community, particularly Nikkei schools, that understand the circumstances surrounding the “returnees” and that have been ready to support them, the outcome has relied upon the “returnee’s” family support, economic and moral, and the “returnee’s” motivation for getting inserted or reinserted into the home society.

3. After high-school graduation

Right before Yoshio's graduation from secondary education, his 20-year-old cousin who came back to Peru with, and who shared his nostalgia for the country they were raised, went back to Japan along with all his family members. Likewise, the other 4 "returnee" students he used to hang out with during breaks between classes, have lunch and go back home with, also returned to Japan or moved to another school. For the first time, after his arrival, Yoshio felt lonely and terribly sad as if he was left on his own, despite his nuclear family was still with him in Peru. Those friends who had similar experience and who were his valid interlocutors during breaks between classes and after classes, all of them were gone. Nobody else to talk about his longing for Japan or complaining about Peru. These cathartic gatherings were gone, and for the first time he was able to think for himself about himself. Being with similar-background "returnees" such as his cousin and schoolmates allowed him to release all negative feelings toward his new life in Peru, where so far he was not able to find any meaning for his studies and daily life. By sharing his former experience and current suffering with other "returnees," he experienced catharsis that helped him go through each day, leading him and his friends to engage in codependent and enabling behavior: they release their feelings, they feel good, so they do it again, over and over, and there is no chance or there is no need to move on.

When Yoshio was left by himself, he could reflect on what he had done so far and what he could do from there on: "After I came back, I haven't made any effort," "not even once," "neither during secondary education," "I haven't even worked (part-time)," "all I've been doing was whining and causing trouble for my parents, particularly my mother," "so far, I've just had fun." He realized that his hitherto efforts were meager, and that instead of just whining and lamenting, he should have engaged in more constructive action. Yoshio widened his social circle by attending "returnee" meetings, and in one of them

called *shaberankai* that was hosted by the Japanese-Peruvian Association, he met other young "returnees." In particular, he met one who was also interviewed in the 2008-2009 survey, and who suggested him to join the Japanese language school at the same Nikkei association as part-time teacher.

Besides, Yoshio had plans for going on to tertiary education. When his parents decided to come back to Peru, they told him he could continue tertiary education in Peru, where they had envisioned a career for him in the areas of tourism or translation and interpretation. His parents wanted for him to make full use of his language abilities. When we met in September 2011, he asked me about institutes of higher education that offer those fields of studies, in which he showed no interest at all, but he had no other alternative field of studies that he may be interested in. He complained about his parents' insistence on his continuing tertiary education without their real support. His parents were ready to support him economically, but due to their lack of knowledge and information, they were not able to help him either with the procedures for the admission process or with choosing a field of studies.

After evaluating his own school records, his performance in each compulsory subject during his only school year in Peru, and before that in Japan, and his low level of Spanish language proficiency, he decided that computing engineering could be a good field of studies to start building a professional career. By the end of the year of his arrival in Peru, in 2011, he graduated from secondary education and was successfully admitted to San Ignacio de Loyola University, a private institution of higher education in Lima, where he started his studies of computing engineering.

Most Peruvian parents when they are back to the homeland, consider that Japanese language proficiency can be an asset for their children's career, and for that reason, Japanese language has to be preserved and improved. Thus, Nikkei schools and Japanese language schools are very popular among "returnees." Moreover, many Peruvian parents place Japanese

language at the center of their children's career. That is to say, they expect their children to choose areas of studies such as translation and interpretation, Japanese language education and tourism management, and disregard the genuine interest their children may have in other fields of studies, and denied them with the possibility of finding their true vocation.

At this stage, Yoshio's economic well-being increased in Peru as he started teaching Japanese language in Lima. In spite of the fact that it was an hourly-paid part-time job, it was also the first time he earned money in Peru by using his Japanese language skills. Regarding moral well-being, all those who were part of his inner circle left and came back to Japan, but their leaving also opened a window of opportunity for him to change his attitude and to widen his network. The result was also an increase in moral well-being, as he realized his past behavior was not precisely positive for himself and his family.

The "returnees'" interaction with their peers, particularly with others who have the same background, is an important aspect that helps during the transition or adjustment period. However, as well as in Yoshio's case, the inner circle he created with his friends right after his "return" was not very positive, either for Yoshio, or for his friends. It was important to share common feelings that were connected to everything they had to leave behind in Japan, and to the uncomfortable void they felt in Peru. Catharsis is needed as it allows to vent their problems and concerns with each other, but it could end up in a dysfunctional behavior that enables them to go on without tackling the very center or the origin of the problem.

4. His main asset: Japanese language

Right after graduation, while Yoshio studied computing engineering at San Ignacio de Loyola, he studied and participated in a language training course at the Japanese-Peruvian Association that granted him a certificate as Japanese language instructor. Besides his university studies, his post-graduation life was centered on the use of his Japanese language ability. He worked as part-time Japanese language teacher

at the Japanese-Peruvian Association that issued his training course certificate in Japanese language education, helped in the organization of different gatherings for "returnees," such as *donguri club* and *shaberankai*, that were also held at the same Nikkei association. In the same place, he was part of the staff of the section in charge of Japanese culture diffusion. He helped in the organization of events that followed the Japanese calendar and promoted Japanese language in Lima and the rest of the country. Also, he worked as a translator and interpreter in a travel agency, where he gave support to Japanese tourists in Peru.

As he diligently worked as Japanese teacher and actively participated in several events hosted at the Japanese-Peruvian Association, he was able to meet other "returnees" and also other Peruvians or Japanese, who were engaged in activities that required Japanese language skills. Gradually, his network based on Japanese-language was widening and strengthening. Japanese language became not only the main link with his peers, but also his source of income. During his first year as university student, I met him and with a wide smile, he said: "If you know (understand) this country (Peru), you realize that it is a good country." He could not hide his satisfaction and pride in what he was able to reach so far. Several months later, he also said: "I never thought that with my Japanese language skills I could earn money." Learning how to survive the homeland, knowing its own ways of doing things, and making a living on his own were his main achievements, which Yoshio laid the first foundations for his career on. Once he can count on a solid base, he could move on to the next step.

Making a living from his language skills, definitively increased his economic well-being, and through the interaction with other "returnees," who also engaged in similar activities has provided him with more moral well-being. Enjoying both, economic and moral well-being in Peru has totally been a complete new experience for Yoshio.

As well as Yoshio, other "returnees" have followed a similar path. While going on to tertiary education, they have also engaged in Japanese language

education at Nikkei schools or language schools, and as volunteers in cultural activities that celebrate the most important events of the Japanese calendar. Both, teaching Japanese and participating in cultural activities, have helped them keep their ties with Japan and start new ones with other “returnees,” who are valid interlocutors not only for their longing for Japan, but also for planning and enjoying his future and current life in Peru.

5. Building new skills

When he was a third-grade university student in 2014, he was given the opportunity to work as interpreter for the members of a sewerage project implemented by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), that required him at full-time basis. For that reason, Yoshio took a leave of absence from his university. One of his friends who also engaged in translation and interpretation from Japanese to Spanish and vice-versa offered him this job. The pay he received was unexpectedly high. “The hourly payment for translation and interpretation was high, I was thrilled, and it made me think that my salary ceiling was still higher. I understood the importance of money, because it is connected directly to your value or good performance: the higher the salary, the more valuable you are. Earning money was good, but it was much better to know that my work was appreciated, that my performance was highly evaluated,” he excitedly reported on his economic achievement.

Accepting this new line of work that also involved Japanese language skills, required previous preparation pertaining to specialized jargon. That was his first contact with technical knowledge, whose vocabulary in both, Spanish and Japanese, he had to be ready to use.

Over the years, Yoshio has been able to increase his economic well-being while in Peru, but this achievement has been accompanied by an increase of moral well-being, as he has created a solid network of friends and acquaintances, who he shared many commonalities with, being one of them their interest in Japanese language. The only negative aspect during

this period has been dropping out of university. He thought it was going to be in the meantime he worked for the sewerage project, but after further evaluation he decided to continue working in similar projects as translator and interpreter, and in Japanese language schools as instructor. Yoshio said that he was interested in computing engineering but rather than studying that field, he was more interested in learning more from his interaction with the Japanese members of Japanese agencies and organizations, and of course from his job in Japanese language education.

Yoshio’s early career path differs from most of the other interviewees, as the latter did not have the chance to experience repeatedly trial and error right after secondary school graduation. Many “returnees” teach Japanese language, as part-time instructors, while they attend an institute of higher education. Besides that, there is no room for them to engage in other pecuniary activities. Yoshio’s experience in diverse activities has helped him understand his priorities, in a way he could align these priorities with his goals, which could be reset at any time, as he built new abilities or undertook new challenges.

6. Coming back to his “roots”

In 2017, after 6 years from his arrival in the homeland, Yoshio went back to Japan and stayed there from January to March. He participated in a Japanese language training program sponsored by the Japan Foundation. Coming back to Japan also meant a reunion with those who shared his longing for Japan and his complaints about Peru right after the “return.” He also met his neighbors who still lived in Ichō Danchi, an apartment complex in Yokohama city, Kanagawa prefecture. Specially, he was very pleased he could meet his Laotian friend, who as well as Yoshio was raised in the same apartment complex, characterized by a large number of foreign dwellers and its sporadic incidents of violence. Yoshio said that both, his Laotian friend and himself tried to keep a low profile while living there, where they actively avoided any attention from other youngsters, so they could not get involved in criminal acts. His friend from

Laos does not live there anymore. However, there were others who had never moved. “Icho looked the same, the people looked the same, as if nothing had changed.”

Yoshio reported that those schoolmates who were part of his inner circle during secondary education and who went back to Japan in 2011, including his cousin, all of them work in Japanese factories, as their own parents did. Reflexively, he said: “If I had stayed or had gone back to Japan in 2011, I would have been working in a Japanese factory too.” By the tone of his voice, I understood that working in Japan as blue-collar worker was far from what he perceived as an ideal job.

This three-month training program, besides providing him with the opportunity to improve his teaching skills and knowledge, and to interact with other Japanese language teachers from other countries, it gave him the chance to reencounter the people who once was part of his past in Japan, past that he was longing for. It was an occasion to make a comparison between his former life in Japan and his current live in Peru, his achievements and future possibilities.

It is not uncommon for “returnees” to go back to Japan, because many of them still have their fathers or even both parents working in Japan, or there are also relatives who stayed there. As they are proficient in Japanese language to certain extent, “returnees” come back to Japan through different scholarships given by Japanese prefectures or Japanese central government.

7. A new challenge

After his three-month Japanese language training course Yoshio was back to Peru and back to his jobs as Japanese language teacher, supporting staff at a travel agency, and translator and interpreter for a new health care project of the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO). He was back to his previous job routine, and everything had a common thread: Japanese language. “Am I not able to do something else? So far all my jobs solely involved Japanese language, am I a human resource with only that ability? Besides, Japanese language, I don't have other skills? What about

some expertise or area of expertise? Do the Japanese companies operating in Peru consider me a valuable human resource?”

During the year-end celebrations of 2017, thanks to his previous jobs, Yoshio was invited to go to the Peruvian-Japanese Chamber of Commerce, where he had the chance to introduced himself to high and mid-level executive officers of several Japanese companies operating in Peru. With the clear purpose of widening his network, Yoshio handed out his business card while he partook in this festive environment and heard the different companies’ operations and their diverse sections’ job contents. He became interested and a new motivation invaded him: he was ready to take a new challenge, this time he was hoping to find a job that not necessarily required Japanese language abilities. “We will never know if we are up to the challenge, until we do it.” And he decided to directly ask those executives for a job. In February of 2018, the President of the Peruvian-Japanese Chamber of Commerce introduced Yoshio to high executives of Honda in Peru. He was hired as full-time employee with the only condition that he should hold a university degree in the near future. By taking up this new job, he has set another foundation for his future career, in which money is important, but not as important as job stability that allow him to plan a path for his future career. Now his job in the general affairs section, consists mainly in coordinating for the personnel stationed in Peru. The company has plans to change him to sales in the future, which is aligned with his personal goals. In the meantime, he is getting ready to take up this new challenge. The stability of this job has also brought more stability and comfort for his family. They have moved to a new house, whose rent is paid by Yoshio. Also, he is economically supporting his sister to finish her studies. It is important to mention that he continues teaching Japanese language and supports the Nikkei community during Japanese celebrations and Japanese language promotion.

This has been an important milestone in his career. First of all, he never thought of working for a Japanese company as white-collar worker. He said that he never

dared to apply for a position in a Japanese company in Peru, because he was sure he was going to be rejected, due to his lack of expertise. However, even if he did not have the expertise, Honda executives hired him, because they saw his true potential as human resource.

At this stage, economic well-being and moral well-being at individual and household level are going in the same positive direction. Yoshio has set another foundation for his career, one that brings economic satisfaction, but and most importantly, moral satisfaction. Getting this job has been very rewarding as he wanted to test his “value” as human resource, particularly his “value” for a Japanese company. It has also provided him with the gratifying feeling for supporting his family.

V. Final remarks

The main objective of this paper has been tracing the most important milestones of one subject’s career, and analyzing the factors behind his decision making, so we could draw conclusions on second-generation Peruvian “returnees” in the homeland. His adjustment process, going on to tertiary education right after high-school graduation, working experience as Japanese language teacher and as a translator and interpreter, Japanese language training, and finally getting a permanent job at a Japanese company in Lima, Peru have been the most important steps in his nascent career, which Yoshio has built by making reasoned decisions, firstly, based on the abilities at his disposal, and secondly, by calibrating and acquiring new abilities, and aligning them, the former and the new abilities, with his career goals. Aware of his own limitations, gradually he has taken new challenges and has raised the bar on himself. Yoshio’s story is a roadmap of career building, in which we can find evidence of the transition from a clear DFR perspective right after the “return” to a situation in which both, economic and moral well-being are perceived as attainable in the homeland.

Acknowledgment

My deepest gratitude goes to Yoshio for sharing

his invaluable transnational experience in Japan and Peru, which his early career has been based on. Your testimony has been crucial for us to better understand the circumstances surrounding the second-generation “returnees” from Japan in Peru.

References

- Althaus, Anne (2016) “The false dichotomy between ‘economic migrants’ and refugees,” International Organization for Migration, the UN Migration Agency. Retrieved on October, 17, 2018 from <https://weblog.iom.int/false-dichotomy-between-economic-migrants-and-refugees>
- Gallimore, R. and L. J. Reese (1999) “Mexican immigrants in urban California: Forging adaptations from familiar and new cultural resources,” Foblets M. C. and C. L. Pang (eds.) *Culture, Ethnicity and Immigration*, ACCO: Leuven, Belgium, 245-263.
- Perreira, Krista M., Andrew Fuligni and Stephanie Potochnick (2010) “Fitting In: The Roles of Social Acceptance and Discrimination in Shaping the Academic Motivations of Latino Youth in the U.S. Southeast,” *Journal of Social Issues*, Volume 66, Issue 1, 131–153.
- Reese, Leslie (2001) “Morality and Identity in Mexican Immigrants Parents’ Visions of the Future,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 455-472.
- Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M. (1989) *Central American Refugees and U.S. High Schools*, a psychosocial study of motivation and achievement, Stanford University Press.
- Sueyoshi, Ana and Laura Yagui (2011) “Grado de Adaptación/Inadaptación de los Niños Peruanos luego de su Retorno de Japón – Los retos de un nuevo ambiente educativo y de un hogar fracturado entre dos países,” *The Journal of the Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University*, Vol. 31, 99-116.
- Sueyoshi, Ana (2011) “*Nikkei* Peruvian Children between Peru and Japan: Developing a Dual Frame of Reference,” *The International Journal of*

Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, Vol. 5, Number 12, 2011, 45-59.

Sueyoshi, Ana (2015) “Perū to nihon wo ikikisuru kodomotachi-nikkeijinn jidōseito no niyūjyunkyawaku no kōchiku wo shiya ni irete,” Matsuo Tamaki and Ana Sueyoshi (eds.) *Eikkyō suru perūjin-gaikokujin rōdōsha, nihon de seichōshita wakamono, “kikoku”shita kodomotachi-*, Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University, Vol.5, Shimotsuke shimbun.

Waldinger, Roger and Michael I. Lichter (2003) *How the Other Half Works, immigration and the social organization of labor*, University of California Press.

母国における物質的な幸福と道徳的な幸福の間 トレードオフ神話を破る二世ペルー人

スエヨシ・アナ

概要

本研究の目的は、一人の対象者のストーリーに基づき、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。帰国後のペルー日系社会の適応、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、日本語能力を利用できる仕事、日本語教育の研修で再来日、最後に正規雇用に至るまでのキャリア形成に影響があった要素について検討した。

他の帰国者と同様に帰国後、新しい環境に自分の限界を確認しながら、適応し、経験がないことを挑戦にとっても至要たる観点であると結果につく。

（2018 年 11 月 1 日受理）