

ブラジルと日本間のトランスナショナル・マイグレーション 移動する子どもたちの教育への影響

Transnational Migration between Brazil and Japan Implication on Brazilian children's Education

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日本とブラジル間の国際移動は1908年に始まり、現在ではブラジルにて世界最大の日系人社会が築かれている。その一方で、1980年代からブラジルの経済危機から逃れるため、多くの日系人は人手不足で悩んでいた日本へ移動するようになった。当初は大人の移動が多かったが、現在では家族形態の移動が多く、日本で育った子どもが増加している。

現在(2012)、在日ブラジル国籍者は19万人であり、そのうち17%は15歳以下である。その多くは日本で初等教育を受けたか現在受けている現状であると言える。親の労働・生活の状況の不安定さにより、この子どもたちが抱える問題は、家庭内から始まり、教育現場である学校、そして地域社会にまでいたるのである。しかし、このような状況の中でも、日本で育ったブラジル人の子どもが徐々に日本の大学に進学し、日本人と同じ入学試験を受けて合格している事例が増加している。本稿では、在日ブラジル人の第二世代を対象に行った調査をもとに日本の大学に入学した彼・彼女らの現状を紹介する。

The migration between Japan and Brazil commenced in 1908 with the Japanese emigration from Japan to Brazil. In the mid-1980s, motivated by the Japanese labor shortage in the manufacturing sector and by the economic recession in Brazil, a reverse movement of Japanese-Brazilians to Japan began. This movement increased considerably after the reform of the Japanese Immigration Control Law in 1989, which became effective in June, 1990. This reform permitted Japanese descendants (Nikkeijin) up to the third generation to enter Japan and reside for an extended period with no limitations on their activities in the country, including working in unskilled jobs.

Currently (2012), the Brazilian population in Japan totals 190,581. Of that total 34,233 (17%) are under 15 years old. From these data, we can conclude that many of these children attend, or have attended, school in Japan.

The prospect for Japanese-Brazilian children in the future depends on where they settle. Lacking a higher education a large number of Brazilian children experience difficulties with stability and ascension in both Japanese and Brazilian societies. In this paper I will focus on cases of young Brazilians raised in Japan who were successful in obtaining a higher education in Japanese universities, although they are currently the minority.

Introduction

Brazil is historically known as a country of immigrants, receiving people from around the world, mostly from the second half of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. However, for the last 30 years, Brazil has faced the emigration movement. Among this movement, are a considerable number of Brazilians coming to Japan, to work, with the purpose of earning money in a short time and returning to Brazil.

This migration movement imposes several social and cultural problems on migrants in the receiving countries, such as languages and cultural differences. Later, when their stay is extended, they face the problems of their children's education.

Originally, the term diaspora was applied to Jews, Greeks and Armenians (Shuval, 2000), but today the connotation of this term encompasses several groups of people living away from their place of origin, e.g., political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities and overseas communities (Shuval, 2000, Safran, 1991).

The term diaspora, applied to international migration movement, emphasizes the connections to homeland and the desire to return, known as the "myth of return." In this sense, here I consider the Japanese community in Brazil to be part of the Japanese diaspora although its members lack any desire to return permanently to Japan.

In this article I'll describe the general Brazilian emigration movement, and then analyze the specific case of Brazilians in Japan, most of them Japanese descendants, with a focus on their social adaptation and the education of their children in Japan.

The Brazilian Emigration Movement

The economic recession in Brazil in the 80's and 90's (Januzzi, 2000) caused many Brazilians to leave Brazil for wealthier countries, primarily the United States, Japan, Italy and Germany (Sales, 1999).

Most of them intend to earn money abroad then improve their lives in Brazil, buying houses and goods, starting businesses, and so on (Martes, 2000/ Sales, 1999/ Ishikawa, 2000). Later, some of them have their

families join them abroad, bear children, and continue living there for many years. In the case of the United States and many European countries, their foreign-born children receive citizenship in those countries.

Most Brazilians abroad work in unskilled jobs, although in Brazil they worked as secretaries, bank clerks, etc. Most of them don't mind doing such jobs, because their incentive to work abroad is to earn money then return to Brazil. Thus, they believe that they will only work in the unskilled jobs for a short time. Unhappily, that isn't usually true.

There are cases of highly qualified Brazilians who go abroad seeking better working conditions and incomes, however those professionals are the minority among the Brazilian emigrants.

The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' estimate of Brazilians living abroad is: 1,300,000 in the USA, 200,000 in Paraguay, 230,000 in Japan, and 900,000 in Europe (MRE, 2011). It's difficult to know the exact population abroad because many are living in those countries without the proper documents, or they have dual citizenships, such as Brazilian and Italian, or Brazilian and German, so they can live in those countries as citizens, not as foreigners. This situation allows those people to work and live with no restrictions for any type of employment.

Most Brazilians who go to the United States, use tourist visas to enter the country. After their visas expire, they continue living and working illegally. They work mostly in unskilled jobs; waiting tables, washing dishes, construction, etc. In the case of women, a very common job is to be a housemaid. Normally they use personal networks. They have friends or relatives living in the United States, so they find their jobs through personal contacts (introductions). In cities like Boston, where the Brazilian population is quite large, the Christian churches are another place where they can get information about jobs and about daily life (Martes, 2000).

In the case of Brazilian emigration to European countries, the main characteristic is the dual citizenship that Brazilians possess, so they can easily enter countries like Germany and Italy and have no legal restrictions for living and working. Of course, even if they have citizenship in those countries, it doesn't mean that they speak the languages fluently, or that they are familiar with those countries' cultures and customs, however it provides them with the legal right to remain in those countries. Germany and Italy give citizenship to children of the citizens of those countries, even if they are born abroad. Thus, many descendants of Germans and Italians are able to receive the citizenship even though they have never been in those countries.

However while it is possible to acquire dual

citizenship by law, the process for Brazilians to obtain the citizenship of their European ancestors is very difficult, especially obtaining the documents to prove their relationship with them (Ishikawa, 2003b).

Another advantage of obtaining the citizenship of a European country is that citizens are allowed to move freely within the European community, and to get jobs without restrictions.

The geographical location of Paraguay facilitates the movement of Brazilians to Paraguay. They can also cross the border on foot (Almanaque Abril, 2000). The Brazilians who emigrate to Paraguay are mostly from the rural areas of Brazil, and many of them have little or no education in Brazil (Palau, 2001). On the other hand, the Brazilians who go to the United States, Europe and Japan are mostly from the urban areas, and their level of education is quite high (high school level or above).

One of the reasons that Brazilians leave for Paraguay is that the price of land is on the order of 8 times lower than in Brazil. Many small field owners buy land in Paraguay and move there, and millions of Brazilians who have no land, no education and no jobs in Brazil go to Paraguay looking for jobs in those fields (Palau, 2001).

There is also no legal qualification to live and work in Paraguay. In many cases those emigrants lack a Brazilian birth certificate and thus a Brazilian passport (Almanaque Abril, 2000).

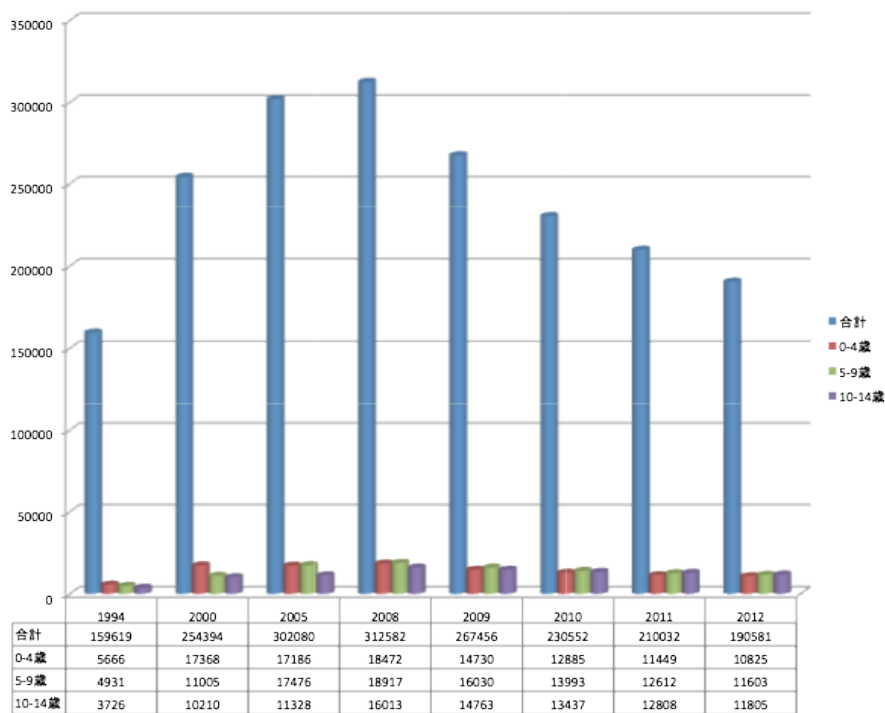
Brazilians Coming to Japan

Who are the Brazilians in Japan? When and why they did they come to Japan?

Their history commenced in 1908 with the Japanese emigration from Japan to Brazil. Except during World War II this emigration continued until the beginning of the 1970s.

On the other hand, the Brazilian movement from Brazil to Japan started in the mid-1980s, and increased considerably after the reform of the Japanese Immigration Control Law in 1989, which became effective in June, 1990. This reform permitted Japanese descendants (Nikkeijin) up to the third generation to enter Japan and reside for an extended period. The second-generation Nikkeijin were granted the "Spouse or Child of Japanese National" visa and the third generation, or people married to a descendant of Japanese, received a "Long Term Resident" visa. Neither limited their activities in the country, including working in unskilled jobs. That means, they aren't considered foreign laborers by Japanese Immigration Control, rather as travelers who came to Japan to visit their relatives. In truth, most of them come to Japan with the specific purpose of working.

Brazilian population in Japan (1994-2012)



Source: Japan Immigration Association (1995-2013)

Japanese law doesn't permit foreigners who lack special skills (professors, foreign language instructors, religious affiliations, business people, researchers, entertainers, etc.) to work in Japan. Note however, that the special permission for Japanese descendants to enter and work in Japan is a way to limit entrance into the Japanese labor market of a great number of foreigners without professional skills. Considering the number of Japanese immigrants and their descendants living abroad, it's possible to estimate the number who would come to Japan. Another factor that encouraged the acceptance of the Japanese descendants in Japan is that even though they are foreigners, they have the physical appearance of the Japanese, which would reduce their rejection by the Japanese people.

Throughout the 100 years of migration between these two countries, this movement has promoted economic, political and social interactions, leading the migrants to settle in each country and develop their communities. The Japanese community in Brazil, considered the largest outside Japan, is estimated at 1.5 million and can be considered to be part of the Japanese diaspora around the world. In Brazil, the Japanese community maintains strong connections with the Japanese culture, yet most of the youths neither speak the Japanese language nor have they been to Japan. In Brazil many Japanese associations, such as music, art, sport, dance and Japanese

language schools, have developed with the aim of keeping and passing on to younger generations the "Japanese culture" – a culture created and idealized in Brazil.

In 2008, the 312,000 Brazilians in Japan were the third largest foreign population in Japan, behind the Chinese (655,000) and Koreans (590,000). However, today (2012) as a consequence of the world economic crisis, when many lost their jobs and more than 100,000 returned to Brazil, they are now fourth, behind the Filipinos (200,000).

Currently (2012), the Brazilian population in Japan totals 190,581. Of that total 34,233 (17%) are under 15 years old, and 23,408 (12%) are children between 5 and 14 years old. From these data, we can conclude that many of these children attend, or have attended, school in Japan.

Brazilian Life in Japan

The Brazilian descendants of Japanese aren't considered to be Japanese in Japan, they are considered to be foreigners by law and also by Japanese society, because of the differences in citizenship, language, customs, culture, and ways of thinking. The only similarities are physical appearances and the fact that they have Japanese blood. Unfortunately, that isn't enough for the Brazilian people to be accepted by Japanese society.

Most Japanese-Brazilians living in Japan don't maintain contact with their distant Japanese relatives. In many cases the relatives in Japan don't want their friends to know that they have relatives who emigrated to Brazil, and who must now return to Japan for economic reasons to work in unskilled jobs. Most work in factories as manufacturing laborers in temporary contract work, which doesn't provide them the security of job, social and health insurance. They were welcomed by the Japanese government to supply the labor shortage in the types of jobs, known as 3D (dirty, dangerous and difficult), which are rejected by the young Japanese generation.

These immigrants live in areas with a high concentration of manufacturing industries, e.g., car parts factories, air-conditioners, and computers. The places with high concentrations of such industries include Aichi prefecture, with over 50,529 Brazilians, followed by Shizuoka prefecture with 29,668 (Japan Immigration Association, 2013). As a result, they tend to live among other Brazilians, in cities with several Brazilian restaurants, Brazilian shops, and also Brazilian schools, providing them a Brazilian environment inside Japan, where they can live speaking only Portuguese.

The greatest cultural problem that Brazilians face in Japan is the language. Most don't speak Japanese fluently, even though they have lived in Japan for several years; and among the people who do speak, very few can read or write. The problems caused by customs differences between the Brazilian and Japanese cultures also are frequent. The Japanese-Brazilians are culturally Brazilian and they aren't familiar with the customs and ways of thinking of Japanese people. Compared to the Brazilians who aren't of Japanese descent, the Japanese-Brazilians retain some "Japanese" traditions in their customs in Brazil, but it doesn't mean that their customs are the same as those in Japan's current culture.

Brazilian Children's Education in Japan

Brazilian children came to Japan with their parents, most of whom are employed as temporary foreign laborers. Their jobs and housing conditions are not stable. The parents are unskilled laborers, and their stated main purpose is to return to Brazil after earning a sufficient sum of money. This factor negatively influences the children's education, since they neither receive enough education in Brazil nor in Japan.

Compared to the Japanese-Brazilian adults living in Japan, the children learn the Japanese language much more easily and quickly. Many of these children go to public kindergartens, where they have their first contact with other Japanese children, and then most of them continue studying in Japanese schools.

Even if these children speak the Japanese language, most of them have problems following the regular disciplines. The main reason is that they lack the background the other Japanese children have, and also because at home their parents can't help with their studies. The first reason is because many of the parents can't speak Japanese, and most can't read or write Japanese. The second reason is that because the parents are in Japan for the purpose of earning money and returning to Brazil as soon as possible, they don't expect to live in Japan for the long term. To accomplish this both parents in most families work all day (there are cases in which they work at night too). This results in parents spending very little time following up on their children's studies at home.

Another problem to be emphasized is that many of these children lose the incentive to attend school, and in several cases these children just stop studying. This kind of problem is closely correlated to their age when they arrive in Japan (or if they were born in Japan). From the research I've done with Brazilian families in Japan for the last 20 years, the lower their age when they come to Japan, the smaller the problem. When the children come to Japan at a junior high school age, the adaptations to Japanese schools, language and curricula are much more difficult. When the children come to Japan at the age at which they can begin elementary school or younger, their social and cultural adaptation occurs much more smoothly. However, it is important to consider the fact that when the migration of young people occurs at an age at which their mother language is already established, in many cases it is advantageous to the acquisition of the second language (Miyajima 2006, Ota 2002). In my previous research I also found several cases in which young Brazilians came to Japan around 12 to 15 years old, learned the Japanese language, then were successful enough to enter Japanese universities (Ishikawa, 2013).

According to Ogbu, immigrant children encounter several obstacles in the education system in the host country due to the cultural disadvantages they have, and their family culture is responsible for the children's performance at school, in many cases in negative ways (Ogbu, 1974). He also mentions the differences that "Voluntary minority" and "Involuntary minority" have on children's performance in schools. The examples presented by Ogbu for "Voluntary minority" are Chinese, Korean and free African immigrants, who migrate to the United States in order to have a better life than they had in their mother countries. For that purpose, they believe that education is the path to acquire economic and social success, so they

don't hesitate to encourage their children to study hard. On the other hand, the "Involuntary minority" are represented by African and Mexican Americans, who have little interest in education since their living environment in the United States is normally in low socio-economic areas. Even if they acquire a higher education, it does not mean they have access to better jobs and a higher income (Ogbu and Simons 1998). In addition, Ogbu argues that the school's lack the expectation of positive performance of these children, so those children also loose their interest in studying hard for their future. He does note that the school system is not solely responsible for these children's poor scholastic performance considering the cases of Chinese, Filipino, Japanese and other immigrant children who attended the same school systems but had much higher educational success.

So, what is the scholastic performance of Japanese Brazilian children in Japan? Most Brazilians migrated to Japan of their own free will to work for economic purposes. From this we can consider Brazilians to be a "Voluntary minority" group in Japan. However, the performance of many Brazilian children is reminiscent of the characteristics of "Involuntary minority" children in the United States. Why does this happen? Is it the lack of interest of parents in their children's education, or it is the result of the lack of expectation by the school system in Japan? Both factors may influence children's performance at schools, but in fact many Brazilians parents are very concerned about achieving higher education, even if they aren't fluent in Japanese (Ishikawa, 2007). Another issue to consider is discrimination against foreigners in Japan, where in many instances the immigrant children are bullied at schools, and consequently lose interest in attending school.

There are a few cases in which the Japanese-Brazilian children continue their studies in Japanese universities, however the majority don't even go to high school. After they finish junior high school, many of them choose to work in factories, like their parents, to save money and invest in some business in Brazil.

For these children it's very difficult to obtain white-collar jobs in Japan because most of them, although they have attended Japanese schools, possess a poor Japanese language ability (writing and reading). Other options for the Brazilian children's education in Japan are the Brazilian schools. Considering the large differences between the Brazilian and Japanese cultures and languages, and thinking about the children's return to Brazil, many families opt for sending their children to these schools.

According to the Brazilian Ministry of Education, there are no official Brazilian schools abroad. However, in 2000 the Brazilian government announced

an exception for the case of Brazilian schools in Japan, since they follow some criteria stipulated by the Government. These schools are private schools. Some operate as a branch school with the matrix in Brazil, and others are schools started in Japan. Today, there are several Brazilian schools recognized by the Brazilian Government in Japan and located in cities with large concentrations of Brazilians. It's known that there are nearly 50 Brazilian schools in Japan, including Kindergarten, Portuguese language schools for Brazilian children and small private schools, which aren't officially recognized by the Brazilian Government.

Some of the problems with these Brazilian schools are: a) limited location, so many children cannot access the schools. b) These schools are expensive, especially for the Japanese-Brazilian parents who work as foreign laborers in Japan. The cost is approximately U\$400 per month per child. (The Japanese public schools are free of charge. There are some fees, such as for lunch, but it's less than U\$200 per year). The average monthly income of Brazilians in Japan is nearly U\$2000 for men, and U\$1300 for women (data from the interviews). c) There are many students who enter and leave school during the academic year. This is because if the parents lose their job, they have to take the children out of school.

The perspective for the future of Japanese-Brazilian children depends on where they live. In the case in which they remain in Japan, as I mentioned above, most of those who attended Japanese schools would work as unskilled laborers in manufacturing industries (automobile, foods, construction, etc.) since, for the white-collar jobs, there is an excess of Japanese workers, and the need for foreign workers is in blue-collar jobs. Concerning children who attended Brazilian schools in Japan, some of them also are working as unskilled laborers in manufacturing industries. In this case, they are in the same situation as their parents, that is, with an insufficient Japanese language ability.

If these children return to Brazil, they will have few specific skills or an insufficient Portuguese language ability with which to face the Brazilian labor market. Their chances of getting a good job with a high income are very low.

In Maria's case, currently 23 years old, she came to Japan when she was 12, after completing the 6th grade in Brazil. In Japan, she entered the first year of junior high school, which corresponds to the 7th grade in Brazil. She studied until the end of the 2nd year, but because her father changed his job, the family had to move to a new city and Maria quit studying. Today, she speaks both Japanese and Portuguese fluently. However, she has difficulty reading and writing both

languages. Maria is married, has a daughter, and lives in Japan. Her husband, a Brazilian, works in a factory.

Another case is João, who came to Japan when he was 8 years old and finished junior high school. Today, 22 years old and back in Brazil, he speaks both languages, but like Maria, has difficulties reading and writing both. João is single, works in an office, and his salary is 1.5 times the salary of an average, unskilled worker. (The average salary of an unskilled worker is considered to be very low in Brazil.)

Young Japanese-Brazilians in Japanese Universities

Most Japanese-Brazilians do not return to Brazil at the time that they predict, and among children who attend Japanese schools, it is a rare few who continue their education in Japan beyond junior high school. The majority enter the Japanese labor market as unskilled workers, like their parents. The main reason for this is that despite having graduated from a Japanese junior high school and being able to speak Japanese fluently, very few possess an adequately high level in reading and writing the language. In Japan, there is no repetition of elementary and junior high school grades, consequently, many Brazilian children, some of whom, in extreme cases, cannot even read or write the Japanese language, receive junior high school diplomas.

Despite the many difficulties and challenges faced by immigrant children in Japan, today (2014) the number of young Japanese-Brazilians who have advanced to Japanese universities has increased slightly, and here I will present some cases from my past few years of interviews.

Paula was born in Japan, and today, at 21 years of age, in her third year in a university. She attended only Japanese schools since the age of three, and in high school she was enrolled in the English Department. During high school, she studied for 1 year in a high school in the United States. Back in Japan, she was accepted in an International Department in a university in Japan, where all the disciplines are taught in English. Now Paula says she feels more comfortable with English, but at home she uses mainly Portuguese with her parents, and with friends mainly Japanese, and only at the university among her classmates does she use English.

Carla was born in Brazil and moved to Japan with her family when she was 3 years old. She attended Japanese schools until the age of 10, when she returned to Brazil. After 3 years in Brazil, she returned with her family to Japan. This time she attended a Brazilian school, since her parents had a clear intent of returning to Brazil within 2 years. However, her parents' plans changed, forcing her to change to a Japanese

school for the third year of junior high school. Carla says she had many difficulties at the school, especially with the language, despite having attended Japanese school until age 10. Today at 20 years of age, she is in her third year at university in Japan. After entering the university she studied for half a year at a university in England, where she improved her English ability. At home, Carla speaks only Portuguese.

Elza was born in Japan, and attended only Japanese schools. Today, 20 years old, she is in her second year at a university in Japan. At home Elza speaks Portuguese with her parents, but Japanese with her 19 years old sister, who was also born in Japan. Elza, without ever visiting an English speaking country, and having studied English only at school in Japan, demonstrates a very high English ability (TOEIC 850). Her dream is to work as flight attendant on International flights, using her language abilities, which are Portuguese, Japanese and English.

Mauro came to Japan when he was 9 years old, and since then attended Japanese schools. Today he is 26 years old, and a graduate of a Japanese university. He works in a Japanese company, in the same conditions as a Japanese national, even with his Brazilian nationality. Mauro, used to speak mainly in Japanese with his parents, so in his Portuguese proficiency was lower than the cases mentioned above, but because his parents continue speaking in Portuguese with each other at home, he comprehends the language quite well.

Antonio, Roberta and Ana came to Japan at 10 and 14 years old, when they began learning the Japanese language. Today Antonio works in a public office in Y prefecture, he attended a Brazilian school in Japan, and advanced to a university as a foreign student, different from the other cases that entered the universities through the same entrance examination system as regular Japanese students. During his time in the university, he spent 1 year studying English in Hawaii. Antonio speaks mainly Portuguese at home, but now he feels more comfortable with the Japanese language, the same language he uses at work.

Roberta was in the third grade in Brazil when she came to Japan. She attended Japanese schools, and is now in her third year in a university. At the beginning she studied in a separate class for foreign students during the regular hours of school. She says that in six months she learned how to speak the Japanese language, and in one year to read and write most of the *Kanji* (Chinese characters) necessary to keep up in regular classes. She also put a lot of effort into English classes.

Ana, who came to Japan when she was 14 years old, began her studies in Japan in the third grade

of a junior high school, and proceeded on to high school. Ana says that when she was in high school and decided to apply at a university, many teachers tried to dissuade her, saying that her Japanese knowledge was insufficient for acceptance by a university. But Ana, with perseverance and hard work, was accepted by a university in Tokyo, much to the surprise of the teachers at the high school she attended.

One point to emphasize is that besides the challenges faced in Japanese schools, all the young Brazilians interviewed showed a high level of English; higher than the average of Japanese students at the universities in Japan. Among them, only Elza and Roberta have studied English exclusively in Japanese schools, and Ana after graduating from a university in Japan, advanced to a Masters program in Canada.

Mauro is an example of a second-generation immigrant who is more fluent in the language of the host society, and is not strongly connected to his family background.

Julia was born in Japan, naturalized Japanese, and in a certain way denies all of her connections to Brazil. She has never been to Brazil and speaks only Japanese, even at home. Julia is an example of second-generation immigrant who is completely immersed in the host society and for some reason hides her background as an immigrant in Japan. I predict that in the near future cases such as Julia's will increase, in the same way that many second-generation immigrants in the United States speak only English (Pyong, 2001).

The common characteristics among these teenagers are that they received support and encouragement from their parents, both financially and emotionally, to continue their studies.

Conclusion

Currently, the biggest problem of Brazilians in Japan is related to the education and future of the children who either immigrated when they were small or were born here. There exists a strict hierarchical division of social classes based upon educational attainment and professional standing, and at present, Japanese-Brazilians are categorized as one of the lowest in Japan.

These cases of young Brazilians attending Japanese Universities are still exceptions among young Japanese-Brazilians in Japan. Most are barely able to complete junior high school, much less advance to high school. It is expected that in the future the number of young Japanese-Brazilians with bachelor's degrees will increase and, consequently, bring better opportunities for work and life. Such improvements in

opportunities versus those of their parents are likely to become more commonplace among second-generation immigrants, despite their current low-class status.

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