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Table 1 Determinants of Coverage, Type of Insurance (if covered) and Reason for Non-Coverage (if not covered)

Significant Independent Variables	Q21: Coverage	Q21 (if covered): Insurance Type		
	Covered by Any Health Insurance	National Health Insurance	Employers' Insurance	Others
Positive Effects	Age: 25-29 Age: 45+ # of Kids: 2 First Arrival: 1991-92 Purpose of 1st Visit: Relatives Speak Japanese: Yes Wish to Study Japanese: Yes	Marital Status: Single First Arrival: 2003-04 Housing: Private Apt Housing: Public Japanese-Speaking Kid: Yes	Kid's Age: 0-2 Years in Iwata: 3 Type of Employment: Direct Community Assoc: Member Speak Japanese: Yes	Kid's Age: 15-17 Kid's Age: 18+ First Arrival: 1991-92 Daily Work Hours: 11+ Housing: Company Dorm/Apt
Negative Effects	Type of Employment: Indirect # of Job Change: 0 # of Job Change: 1 Housing: Company Contract Apt Plan for Japanese Nationality: Undecided	Type of Employment: Indirect	Marital Status: Single Contact with Japanese: Consulting	Living with: Kids

Significant Independent Variables	Q21 (if not covered) Reason for Non-Coverage (M.A.):			
	Refusal by Employer	Too High Cost	Difficulty to Understand Insurance System	Plan to Return Soon
Positive Effects	Type of Employment: Indirect Daily Work Hours: 9-10 Kid's Schooling: Brazilian C Care	First Arrival: 2001-02 First Arrival: 1995-96 Contact with Japanese: Consulting Contact with Japanese: None Info Source: Brazilian Paper Kid's Schooling: Brazilian Sch	Kid's Age: 15-17	Age: 40-44 Age at 1st Arrival: 15-19 Years in Iwata: 1 # of Job Change: 0 Info Source: Brazilian Paper Kid's Schooling: Brazilian Sch
Negative Effects	Marital Status: Single	Wish to Study Japanese: Yes	Housing: Public Speak Japanese: Yes Plan for Japanese Nationality: No	Living with: Kids

Table 2 **Determinants of Medical Care Behaviors**

Significant Independent Variables	Q22: Behavior in Case of Disease or Injury		
	Go to Doctor	Buy Medicine	Others
Positive Effects	<u>Age:</u> 45+ <u>Housing:</u> Public	<u>Years in Iwata:</u> 0 <u>Monthly Income:</u> <100k yen <u>Health Insurance:</u> None <u>Health Insurance:</u> Others	<u># of Kids:</u> 2 <u>First Arrival:</u> 1993-94 <u>First Arrival:</u> 2001-02 <u>First Arrival:</u> 2003-04 <u>Years in Iwata:</u> 0 <u>Purpose of 1st Visit:</u> Work <u>Housing:</u> Private Apt <u>Plan for Permanent Res:</u> Undecided
Negative Effects	<u>First Arrival:</u> 1993-94 <u>Age at 1st Arrival:</u> 40+ <u>Years in Iwata:</u> 0 <u>Health Insurance:</u> None	<u>Kid's Schooling:</u> Brazilian Sch	<u>Visa:</u> Long Term Res <u># of Job Change:</u> 2

Table 3 Determinants of Troubles at Medical Care Facilities				
Significant Independent Variables	Q23: Troubles at Medical C F		Diffic	
	Yes	High Fees		
Positive Effects	Q23 (if yes) Type of Troubles (M.A.)		Never Got Medical Care	
	Communication Problems	Communication Problems		
	<p>Living with: None</p> <p>Living with: Kids</p> <p># of Job Change: 6+</p> <p>Housing: Private Apt</p> <p>Health Insurance: Others</p> <p>Info Source: Brazilian Store</p> <p>Wish to Study Japanese: Yes</p>	<p>Generation: 3rd-4th</p> <p>Marital St: Married to Brazilian</p> <p>Living with: Kids</p> <p>Age at 1st Arrival: 20-24</p> <p>Age at 1st Arrival: 35-39</p> <p>Daily Work Hours: 7-8</p> <p># of Job Change: 6+</p> <p>Info Source: Friend/Relative</p>	<p>Age: 35-39</p> <p>Visa: Permanent Resident</p> <p>Type of Employment: Direct</p> <p># of Job Change: 0</p>	<p>Kid's First Age: Year # of Plan: Yes</p>
Negative Effects	<p>Age at 1st Arrival: 40+</p> <p>Purpose of 1st Visit: Relatives</p> <p>Health Insurance: Employer's</p> <p>Speak Japanese: Yes</p> <p>Kid's Schooling: Primary Sch</p> <p>Kid's Schooling: Brazilian Sch</p>	<p># of Job Change: 0</p> <p>Health Insurance: National</p> <p>Health Insurance: Employer's</p> <p>Kid's Schooling: Primary Sch</p>	<p>Daily Work Hours: 7-8</p> <p>Housing: Public</p> <p>Info Source: Brazil Magazine</p>	<p>Gene</p>

Appendix 1 Frequency Distribution of Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Categories	Freq., (%)	
Q21Health Insurance Coverage	Yes	28.3	
	No	71.7	
Q21National Health Insurance	Yes	11.6	
	Others	88.4	
Q21Employer's Insurance	Yes	9.6	
	Others	90.4	
Q21Other Type of Insurance	Yes	6.7	
	Others	93.4	
Q21Reasons for Non-Coverage	Employer's Refusal	16.7	
	Others	83.3	
	Too High Cost	31.6	
	Others	68.4	
	Difficulty to Understand	18.8	
	Others	81.2	
	Plan to Return Soon	8.5	
	Others	91.5	
	Q22 Medical Care Behaviors	Go to Doctor	77.7
		Others	22.3
Buy Medicine		12.9	
Others		87.1	
Other Response		9.4	
Q23 Troubles at Medical Care Facilities	Others	90.6	
	Yes	64.7	
Q23 Type of Troubles	No	35.3	
	High Fees	34.1	
	Others	65.9	
	Communication Problems	37.2	
	Others	62.8	
	Never Got Medical Care	9.2	
	Others	90.9	
	Difficulty to Know Where	4.8	
Others	95.2		

Appendix 2 Frequency Distribution of Independent Variables

Independent Var	Category	Freq. (%)	Independent Var	Category	Freq. (%)	
Q3 Age	< 25	19.6	Q12 Education	Br Primary Educ	28.2	
	25-29	21.4		Br Secondary Educ	50.8	
	30-34	17.0		Br Higher Educ	9.2	
	35-39	15.0		Japanese Educ	6.8	
	40-44	9.6		Q13 Employment Type	Directly Employed	6.4
	45+	10.8			Indirectly Employed	80.4
Q2 Generation	1st/2nd Generation	35.8	Q14 Daily Work Hours	Hm Maker (No Work	5.6	
	3rd/4th Generation	47.8		7-8 hours	35.8	
Q3 Sex	Female	47.6	Q15 Monthly Income	9-10 hours	24.2	
Q4 Visa Status	Permanent Resident	9.0		11+ hours	29.0	
	Spouse/Child of Jap	29.6		< ¥100,000	7.2	
Q5 Marital Status	Long Term Resid	47.8	¥100,000-199,999	38.6		
	Married to Brazilian	20.0	¥200,000-299,999	36.4		
	Married to Japanese	47.0	¥300,000+	7.0		
Q6 # of Children	Never-Married	30.0	Q16 # of Job Changes	None	23.4	
	No Child	32.2		Once	16.4	
	1 Child	34.0		Twice	11.0	
	2 Children	22.2		3 times	17.0	
Q6 Child's Age	3+ Children	11.6	Q19 Housing Type	4 times	9.6	
	0-2 years	9.0		5 times	6.6	
	3-5 years	16.2		6+ times	6.4	
	6-8 years	14.0		Private Apartment	6.0	
	9-11 years	10.6		Public Housing	39.2	
	12-14 years	4.0		Empl Contract Apt	47.4	
Q7 Living with	15-17 years	6.0	Q27 Contact with Japanese	Empl Dorm/Apt	5.4	
	18+ years	7.2		Employer's Housing	52.8	
	None	17.4		Greetings	26.4	
	Children	43.0		Chat	43.0	
	Parents	8.6		Consultation etc.	16.8	
Q8 Year of 1st Arrival	Siblings	9.2	Q30 Community Assoc	None	9.0	
	Others	40.2		Member	13.2	
	Q8+Q3 Age at 1st Arrival	In 2003-2004	15.6	Q34 Info Source	Br Newspaper	65.4
		15-19	21.6		Brazilian TV	64.0
		20-24	26.4		Br Magazine	38.2
		25-29	17.4		J Newspaper	8.6
		30-34	9.2		Japanese TV	22.0
		35-39	6.0		Friends/Relatives	37.6
40+		6.4	Brazilian Store		35.2	
0 year		27.8	Internet		44.2	
Q9 Years Living in Iwata	1 year	15.0	Paper "IWATA"	8.4		
	2 years	9.6	Yes	44.6		
	3 years	11.2	Yes	69.6		
	4 years	7.0	Q43 Fluency in Jap	Primary School	9.8	
	5 years	6.0		High School	2.6	
	6 years	4.6	Q44 Wish to Study Jap	Brazilian School	18.2	
	7+ years	17.0		Nursery/Kinder	7.6	
Q10 # of Visits to Japan	Once	37.0	Q45 Child's School	B. Childcare Ctr	9.8	
	Twice	38.0		Yes	17.4	
	3+ times	22.0	Q46 Kid's Fluency Jap	Yes	43.0	
Q11 Purpose of 1st Visit	Saving	70.4		Q51 Plan for Permanent Res	No	18.8
	Work	8.8	Own		12.2	
	Visit Relatives	10.4	Q52 Plan for Jap Nat	Don't Know	23.8	
Q21 Health Insurance	Q21 Health Insurance			Yes	6.6	
			No	52.4		
			Don't Know	36.0		
Q22 Insurance	Q22 Insurance		None	69.4		
			National Health Ins	11.2		
			Employer's Ins	9.2		
Q23 Insurance	Q23 Insurance		Other Insurance	6.4		

Demographic Profiles of Brazilians and Their Children in Japan

Yoshimi Chitose

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to grasp the demographic profiles of Brazilians in Japan, with a special focus on their children. Where possible, I compare Brazilians with other nationals (Korean, Chinese, Filipino, and Peruvian) to curve out their special features. My results indicate that the one of the most unique demographic features of Latin American *Nikkei* immigrants in Japan is their high share of children. In particular, while the share of children for other foreign nationals show a decreasing trend between 1984 and 2004, that for Brazilians and Peruvians shows an upward trend. My result also implies that in some areas of Japan, the settlement of Brazilians and Peruvians is slowly taking place. The data as well as research on these children's circumstances as they begin their journey in a new country is immediately needed, for they may become important members of Japanese society in the near future.

Key Words: *Nikkei* Brazilians, age distribution, sex ratio

Introduction

In recent years, there has been a marked increase in studies on international migration and immigrants in Japan. In particular, research targeted at Brazilians residing in Japan based on fieldwork and micro-level surveys burgeoned in the 1990s. The increase in scholarly attention to Brazilians is stimulated partly by the growing Brazilian population after the amendments to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in June 1990. With this reform, Brazilians of Japanese ancestry (*Nikkei*) are allowed to enter Japan and to work without restrictions on type of work, a privilege given exclusively to *Nikkei* immigrants.

Thanks to numerous studies based on

micro-level surveys and fieldwork in Brazilian communities formed in Japan (for example, see Ikegami 2001; Watanabe 1995a, 1995b; Roth 2002; Tsuda 2003), the social and economic circumstances of Brazilian residents have been quite well documented in the 1990s. We have come to know various aspects of Brazilians living in Japan including their working conditions (Roth 2002; Ninomiya 1994), the relationship between *Nikkei* Brazilians and local residents (Tsuzuki 2000), the response of local governments to the rapid increase in Brazilian residents (Ishikawa 1995; Komai 2004), and the schooling of their children (Onai 2003; Yuki 2003). In contrast, surprisingly little has been studied from

macro perspectives, such as their fundamental demographic characteristics at the national level.

My aim in this paper is to grasp the demographic profiles of Brazilians in Japan, with a special focus on their children. Where possible, I compare Brazilians with other nationals to curve out their special features. Hirano, Castles and Brownlee (2000) argue that the key question concerning immigration in Japan today is whether or not settlements of foreign nationals, especially those called "new comers," are actually taking place. Although the answer to this question is still ambiguous and it may be too early to answer, the demographic profiles of the foreign nationals in Japan at the macro-level, such as age distribution and sex ratios may provide us with some important implications for their lengths of residence in Japan. In particular, the population of children and their demographic characteristics may be valuable indicators to judge whether the settlement of foreign nationals will take place. This is because when a family includes children, the chances of the family returning to their home country appear to become slim (Castles and Miller 2003). More importantly, these children may become a part of the Japanese population as well as labor force in the near future. Thus, it is quite important to focus our attention on children of foreign nationals assuming that they may grow up to work, marry, and live in Japan.

It is well known that the age profiles of

migrants show certain regularities (Castro and Rogers 1983). For example, past research on age composition of migrants shows that migration propensities are high among small children who tend to move with their parents. Migration increases sharply, reaching another peak around ages 20-22, after which it declines steadily until possibly interrupted by a retirement peak at the older ages. With respect to international migration, age profiles of immigrants vary considerably depending on the immigration policies of both receiving and sending countries, as well as by the length of residence in receiving countries (U.S. Census Bureau 2001). Empirically, it is well known that the age profiles of immigrants converge to that of the native population as the length of residence in the receiving country increases (U.S. Census Bureau 2001). It is expected that the age profiles of foreign nationals in Japan are relatively young, except for Korean and Chinese, since their entry into Japan in large numbers is quite a recent phenomenon.

It is also empirically well known that sex ratios of migrants are heavily weighted toward one sex at the outset of migration, usually higher numbers of males over females. As the length of stay in the receiving country increases, sex ratios of migrants tend to equalize as migrants bring their family members from their home countries or form their own families in the host countries. International migration begins among those with selective

demographic and socioeconomic features, but as risks and costs of migration decrease with accumulated experience and expanded networks, the characteristics of migrants become more inclusive (Massey et al. 1994).

Using national data from the Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan issued by the Ministry of Justice, I seek to grasp the demographic characteristics of Brazilians and their children in Japan and their changes over time. For a comparison, I chose four nationalities to flesh out the characteristics of Brazilians in Japan. These are Korean, Chinese, Filipino, and Peruvian. These four foreign nationalities are the largest in terms of size in Japan today. First, I explain the sources of data on the foreign population in Japan. Then I discuss the 1990 reform of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, since this law has significantly stimulated the immigration of so-called “new comers” including *Nikkei* Brazilians. Third, I explore the changes in the foreign population in Japan from 1984 to 2004, and then I analyze their age distribution patterns. Fifth, I look at the age distribution of foreign nationals at the prefecture level, with a special focus on children. In the last section, I examine the sex ratios of foreign nationals. Finally, I summarize the findings concerning demographic profiles of Brazilians and their children in Japan today.

1. Statistics on Foreign Population in Japan

Statistics on the foreign population in Japan are available from five sources (Hayase 2000). These are: (1) the Annual Report on Statistics on Legal Migrants, (2) the Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan, (3) the Census, (4) vital statistics, and (5) the Report on the Employment Conditions of Foreigners. In this paper, I use Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan issued by the Ministry of Justice for the following reasons. First, the statistics list the number of foreign nationals who are registered. According to the Immigration Law, foreign nationals who intend to stay for more than 90 days in Japan are obliged to register their status at the municipal office. When the registration is complete, foreign nationals are authorized to stay and work in Japan. As such, figures from the Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan are considered as stocks of immigrants rather than flows. This means that the data provides us with an overall picture of the foreign residents who intend to stay for relatively long-term in Japan. In other words, the pictures that emerge from this study are those of would-be residents as well as established residents in Japan, rather than tourists or short-term visitors.

Other than the Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan, there is no source that lists demographic information on foreign-born children in Japan. Data from the Annual Report on Statistics on Legal Migrants also issued by the Ministry of Justice focuses on the number of entries and

departures which are more likely to be tourists and short-term visitors, rather than residents. The Census data issued by the Statistics Bureau is another valuable source of information about the foreign population in Japan. The Census reports show some interesting tabulations with respect to the foreign population, such as family type, work status, and migration. However, published Census information on children of foreign nationals is rather limited. It is possible to make original tabulations of foreign-born residents living in Japan, but in order to get the individual level data, it takes tremendous paperwork and time. The Report on the Employment Conditions of Foreigners issued by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare indicates the employment situation of foreigners by work place. Although the statistics provide important information on the working conditions of foreign nationals in Japan, needless to say, the information on foreign children is quite limited in these statistics.

Since I focus on demographic profiles of children of foreign residents as well, I choose the Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan for this analysis. However, the Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan is not without flaws. It is often pointed out that those registered at the municipal office do not actually establish residence at the registered address, since immigrants are highly mobile, and they do not re-register at the new municipal office. Consequently, both administrators and

scholars are realizing the need to grasp internal as well as international movements of immigrants (Toyota Declaration 2004). Thus, if registered immigrants are already back in their home countries, the use of the statistics may overestimate my results.

2. The 1990 Reform of Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act

Brazilians are one of the largest groups among the new immigrants in Japan. The population of Brazilians has increased dramatically around the time of the amendments to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990. The basic stance of the Japanese government toward immigration is to allow only those with certain skills to enter and work in Japan for a limited amount of time. In other words, the Japanese government does not allow unskilled foreign nationals to enter and work in Japan. Officially the Japanese government also does not allow foreigners to enter the country under a permanent immigrant status. All foreigners intending to work in Japan have to obtain a visa that specifies the employment activities that he/she is going to perform. During the latter half of the 1980s, Japan experienced a severe labor shortage, particularly in unskilled labor in the manufacturing sector. Past Japanese immigrants (first generation Japanese) to Brazil have started to respond to the labor shortage by returning to Japan to seek income earning opportunities, pushed by extreme inflation in Brazil during this same period

(Higuchi 2005). They have no difficulties entering Japan since they are first generation Japanese, and naturally, their nationality is Japanese. However, the number of past Japanese immigrants was not large enough to fulfill the demand. Soon the second generation, or children of the past Japanese immigrants to Brazil followed in the footsteps of their parents. Since Japanese descendents or the second generation Japanese immigrants to Brazil did not have Japanese nationality, they generally entered Japan with tourist visas, switching to work visas after their tourist visas expired (Ninomiya 1994). Consequently, many were forced to become unauthorized migrants when they forgot to switch their visas.

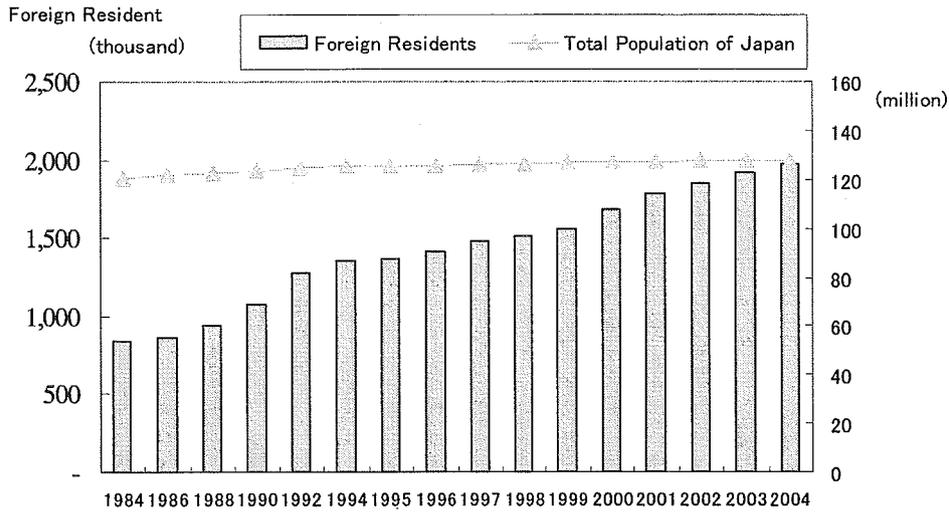
In 1990, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was amended to allow those with Japanese ancestry (*Nikkei*) to enter Japan without restrictions on their employment activities. This included descendents of Japanese nationals as well as spouses and children of Japanese nationals. With this reform, *Nikkei* Brazilians have come to enjoy a special status among foreign nationals in Japan which permits them to engage in any kind of work as authorized immigrants.

3. Population of Foreign Nationals in Japan: 1984-2004

As of the end of year 2004, there were about 1.97 million foreign nationals in Japan, accounting for 1.55 % of the total population in Japan (Ministry of Justice 2005). While the rate of increase in total population in Japan is negligible, that of foreign nationals is significant. As shown in Graph 1, the population of foreign nationals in 2004 is 2.3 times greater than the 1984 population.

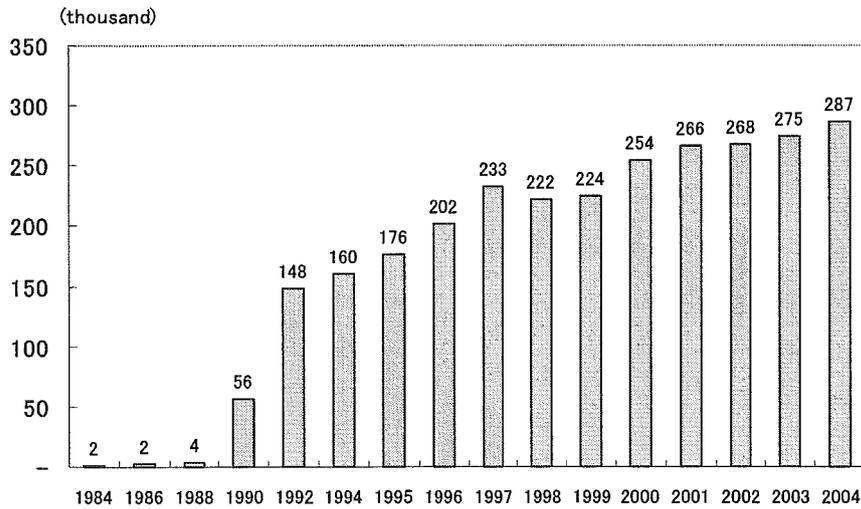
There were 286,557 Brazilian nationals in Japan as of the end of year 2004, accounting for about 14.5 % of foreign residents. Today, the population of Brazilians is the third largest among foreign nationals following Koreans and Chinese. As shown in Graph 2, the number of Brazilian nationals started to increase in the latter half of the 1980s and skyrocketed between 1990 and 1992. During this time, the rate of increase of Brazilians surpasses that of foreign nationals as a whole. The population of Brazilian nationals in 2004 is 1.8 times greater than the 1994 population, and 147 times greater than the 1984 population. For the first time since 1984, the number of Brazilian residents decreased by 4.7 % between 1997 and 1998. After 1998, the number of Brazilian residents has been increasing but the rate of increase has become slower relative to past years, as well as relative to that of foreign nationals as a whole.

Graph 1 : Total Population and Foreign Resident Population in Japan 1984-2004



Source: *Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan*

Graph 2 : Trends of Brazilian Residents in Japan 1984-2004

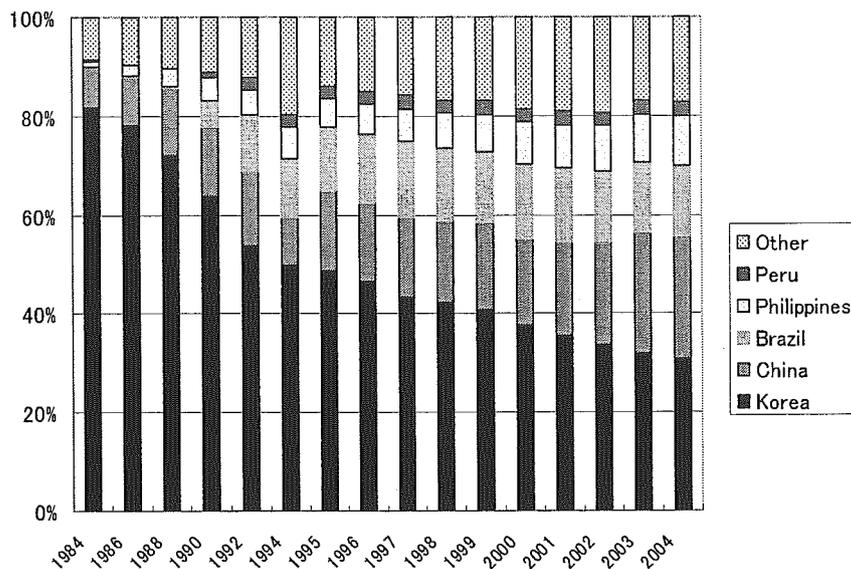


Source: *Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan*

Graph 3 shows the composition of foreign residents by nationality. The graph indicates that as of the end of 2004, nearly 31 % of residents were Korean and 25 % were Chinese nationals. Together, they consist little more than half of the foreign nationals in Japan. Apart from the

geographical closeness of these countries to Japan, there is a historical reason behind their numerical supremacy. Although Korea and China currently account for more than half of the foreign nationals in Japan, only two decades ago, the majority of foreign nationals consisted of Koreans.

Graph 3 : Composition of Foreign Residents by Nationality:1984-2004



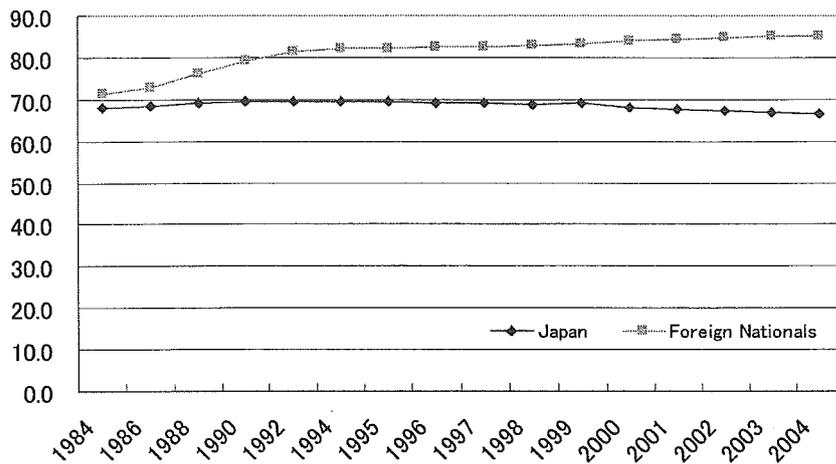
Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan

However, with the increase in the number of so-called “new comers” entering Japan, the share of Koreans is decreasing rapidly in recent years. On the other hand, the percentage of Chinese is increasing particularly after 2000. The share of Brazilians out of the total foreign residents peaked at 15.7 % in 1997. Thereafter, their share remains relatively stable at the 14 % level. The share of Filipinos is gradually increasing from 2 % in 1984 to 6 % in 1996, and finally to 10 % in 2004. Peruvians were virtually non-existent in the mid-1980s. Their population dramatically increased between 1988 and 1990 by 11.9 times. Their population kept on rising boosted by the 1990 reform of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. The majority of Peruvians registered are *Nikkei* Peruvians.

4. Age Distribution of Foreign Residents

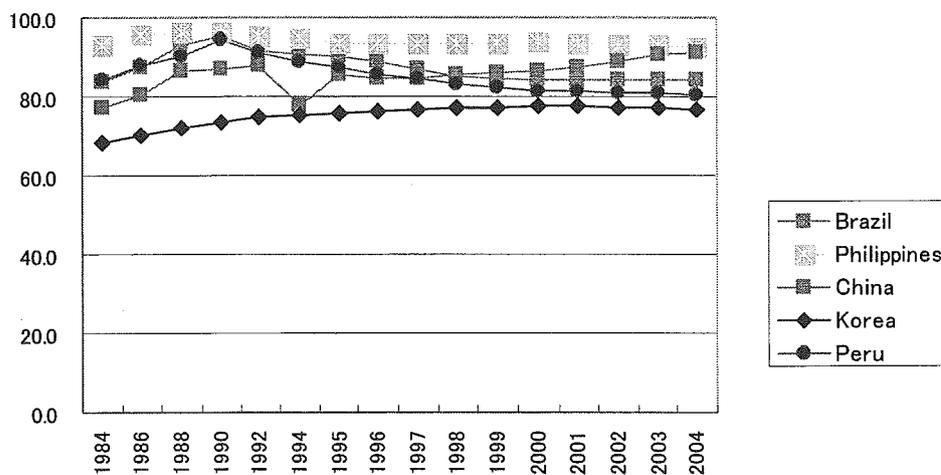
There are important differences in the age distribution of foreign nationals and the total population of Japan. For convenience, I name the age group 0-14 as “children”, the age group 15-64 as “working age”, and the age group 65 and over as “the elderly”. In general, a large share of foreign nationals is in the working age, irrespective of the country of origin. This is understandable given Japan’s immigration policy that emphasizes labor migration. As Graph 4-1 clearly shows, the difference between the share of working age population for foreign residents and that of Japanese is widening in recent years. For example, the proportion of foreign residents in working age was 85.2 % compared to 66.5 % for the total Japanese population in 2004.

Graph 4-1: Share of Working Age (15-64) 1984-2004



Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan

Graph 4-2: Share of Working Age (15-64) by Nationality 1984-2004



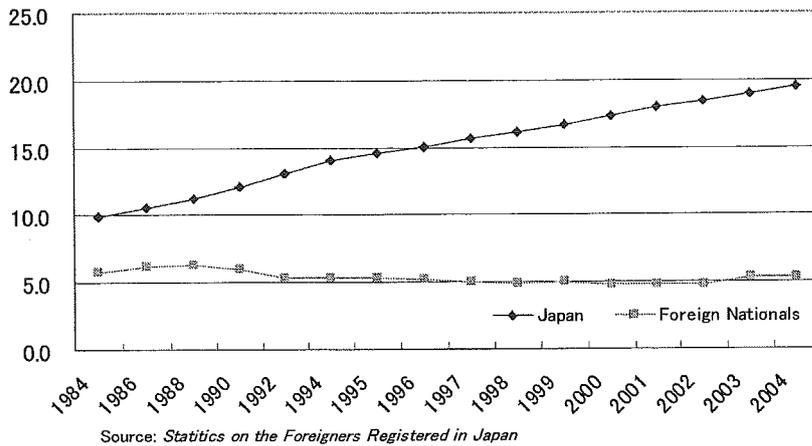
Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan

A closer look at the age distribution of foreign nationals reveals that more than half of them consist of those in their 20s and 30s (the data not shown here).

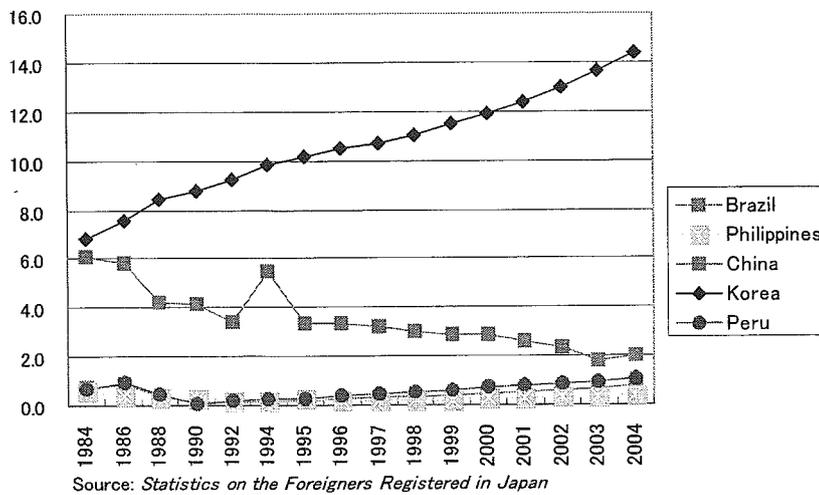
The percentage of working age population is particularly high for Filipinos, who account for more than 90 % throughout the observation period (Graph 4-2). Their

extremely high percentage of working age group reflects the fact that the majority of immigrants from the Philippines are young women entering Japan to work in the entertainment industry. The share of working age group among Chinese is increasing in recent years, while that of Brazilians and Peruvians is decreasing.

Graph 5-1: Share of the Elderly (Age 65+) 1984-2004



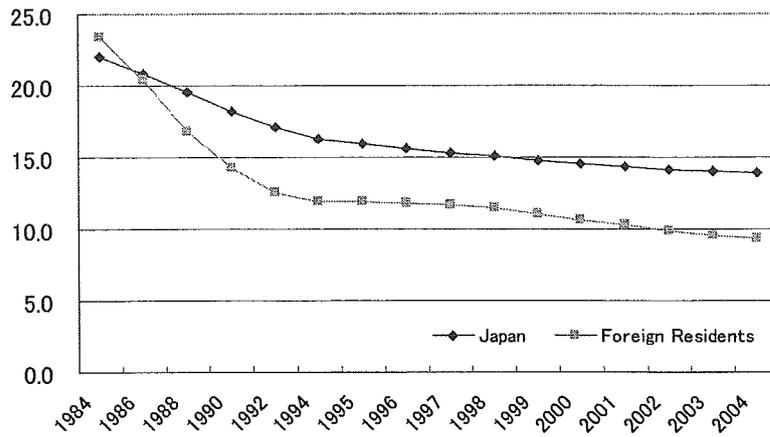
Graph 5-2: Share of the Elderly (Age 65+) by Nationality 1984-2004



In 2003 and 2004, the percentage of working age population of Chinese finally exceeded the 90 % level. In contrast, the share of working age population of Brazilians and Peruvians decreased, reaching the 80 % level after the latter half of the 1990s. The share is lowest for Koreans, which reflects their longer duration of residence in Japan. Because of the high concentration of foreign residents in the working age, the share of the

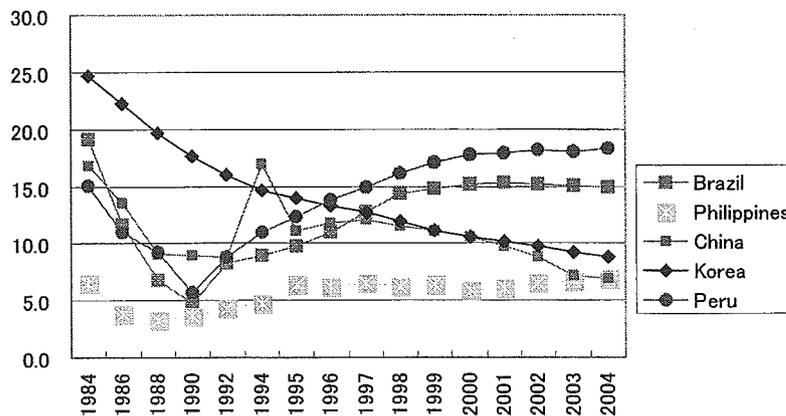
elderly is much lower for foreign nationals than that of the Japanese population. Merely 5.4 % of foreign nationals are age 65 or over, while the corresponding figure for the total Japanese population exceeds 19 % (Graph 5-1). Because of the low fertility and aging population in Japanese society, the difference between the share of the elderly among foreign nationals and that among Japanese is rapidly widening.

Graph 6-1: Share of Children (0-14) 1984-2004



Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan

Graph 6-2: Share of Children (Age 0-14) by Nationality 1984-2004



Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan

The only exception among foreign nationals is Koreans, who tend to be relatively old. The age profile of Koreans may be explained by their much longer duration of residence in Japan than other “new comers.” Compared to other foreign nationals, demographic profiles of Koreans are much closer to those of Japanese. The Chinese population was getting younger during the period of 1984 to 2004. Although Chinese are also traditional immigrants in Japan, unlike Koreans, the

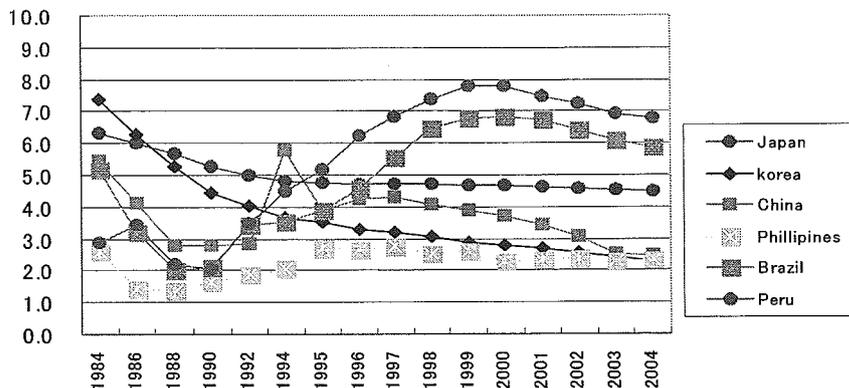
Chinese population continuously accepts “new comers” and this rejuvenation is reflected in the graph. For the Philippines, the share of the elderly is extremely low, accounting for less than 1 % throughout the two decades.

The share of children is only 9.4 % among foreign residents compared to 13.9 % among the total population in Japan as of the end of 2004 (Graph 6-1). The share of children is decreasing for both Japanese and

foreign residents. However, Graph 6-2 reveals the diverse patterns of change in the proportion of children across nationalities.

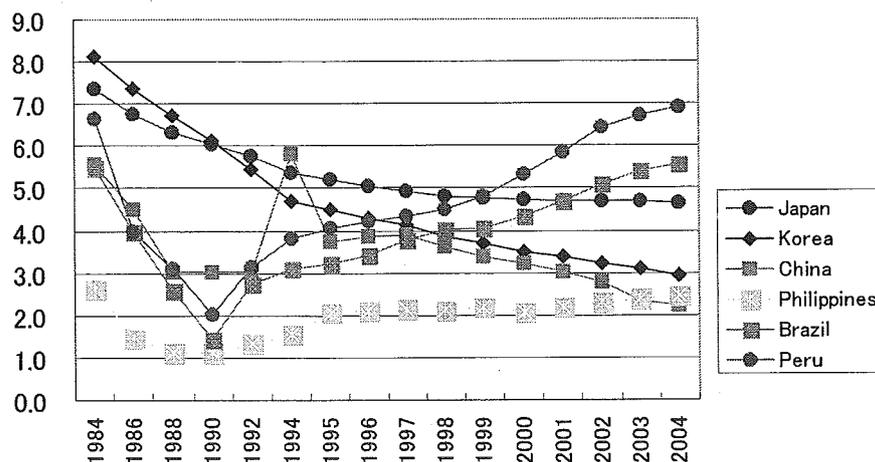
For example, the share of children among Koreans is consistently decreasing, like the pattern of the Japanese population.

Graph 7-1: Share of 0-4 Years Old by Nationality 1984-2004



Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan 2004

Graph 7-2: Share of 5-9 Years Old by Nationality 1984-2004



Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan 2004

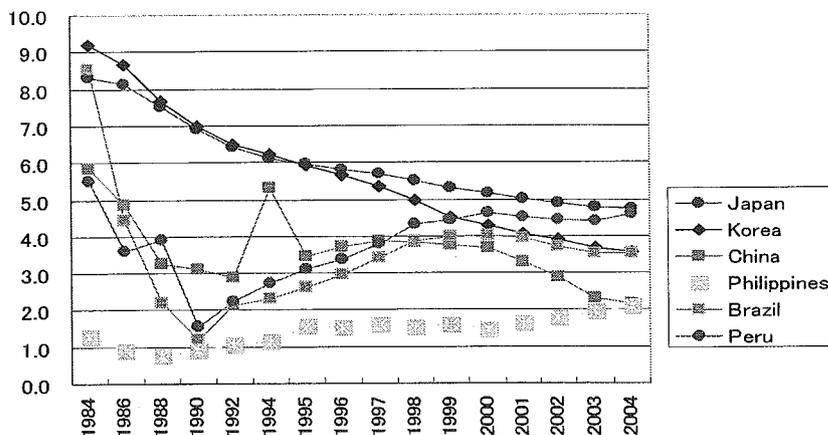
That of Chinese shows some ups and downs during the middle of the 1990s but the recent trend is in the decreasing direction. An increase in the population of working age has squeezed the proportion of Chinese children. In contrast, the changes in

percentages of children for Brazil and Peru show a very unique pattern. The share of their children has been increasing from 1992. The share of the child population among Brazilians dropped significantly from 20 % in 1984 to 5 % at the lowest in 1990. Then

it climbed up again to 15 % in 1999, remaining relatively stable thereafter. The pattern is quite similar for Peruvians. The

share of the child population among Peruvians was 15 % in 1984 but dropped to 5.6 % in 1990.

Graph 7-3: Share of 10-14 Year Old by Nationality 1984-2004



Source: *Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan 2004*

The proportion started to increase again from 1994, reaching 18 % in 2003. The drop in the share of Brazilian children from 1984 to 1990 may be related to the rapid increase of working age adults during the same period. This period corresponds to what Watanabe (1995c) refers to as the “First Period” and what Higuchi (2005) calls “the Phase Three” for Brazilians to enter Japan. During this period, the Japanese economy grew vigorously and many working age Brazilians started to enter Japan seeking better economic opportunities. During the same period, Brazil was suffering from severe inflation that exceeded 100 %. Many Brazilians entered Japan in this period and worked as unauthorized migrants. After the amendments to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990, Brazilians were allowed to enter and work legally. The

share of children increased and stabilized in 1998, probably because Brazilians started to bring family members or to form their own families in Japan, helped partly by their stable resident status in Japan.

A closer look at the more detailed age breakdown of children reveals that the share of children 0-4 years old and that of 5-9 years old for Peruvian and Brazilian residents is not only higher than those of other foreign nationals, but even surpasses that of the Japanese population (see Graphs 7-1, 7-2).

The share of 0-4 year olds for Brazilian residents peaked at 6.8 % in 1999 to 2000, and slightly decreased thereafter. By 2004, the share of 0-4 year old children stood at 5.9 %, while that of the Japanese population was 4.5 %. The share of 0-4 year olds is even higher for Peruvians. The peak for Peruvians was reached between 1999 and

2000 with a share of 7.8 %. By 2004, the share dropped slightly to 6.9 %. With respect to 5-9 year olds, the proportion is also on the rise for Brazilians, Peruvians and Filipinos. The percentage of 5-9 year old Brazilian children has been gradually increasing from 1992, reaching 5.6 % in 2004. The share of 5-9 year olds has also been rising for Peruvians, reaching 6.9 % in 2004. Among Filipinos, the share is 2.5 %. The increase in 5-9 year olds among Brazilians and Peruvians contrasts sharply with the

decreasing trend of this age group among the total Japanese population, as well as other foreign nationals.

Relative to the younger age groups, the changes in the proportion of 10-14 year olds show an increasing trend again for both Brazilians and Peruvians, but the share itself is lower than that of the Japanese population. The share of this age group is also rising for the Filipinos, but so far, the rate of increase is quite small.

Table 1: Share of Brazilian Residents by Age Group in Selected Prefectures: 2004

	Age Group (%)			
	0-4	5-9	10-14	0-14
Total	0.29	0.27	0.17	0.24
Gunma	1.26	1.13	0.86	1.09
Saitama	0.20	0.19	0.13	0.17
Kanagawa	0.18	0.17	0.10	0.15
Nagano	1.13	0.83	0.48	0.81
Gifu	1.06	1.00	0.64	0.90
Shizuoka	1.72	1.56	1.03	1.44
Aichi	1.14	1.09	0.68	0.97
Mie	1.33	1.13	0.73	1.06
Shiga	1.08	0.91	0.54	0.84

* Source: *Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan 2004*
Current Population Estimates as of Oct.1, 2004

Age Distribution of Brazilian Children by Prefecture

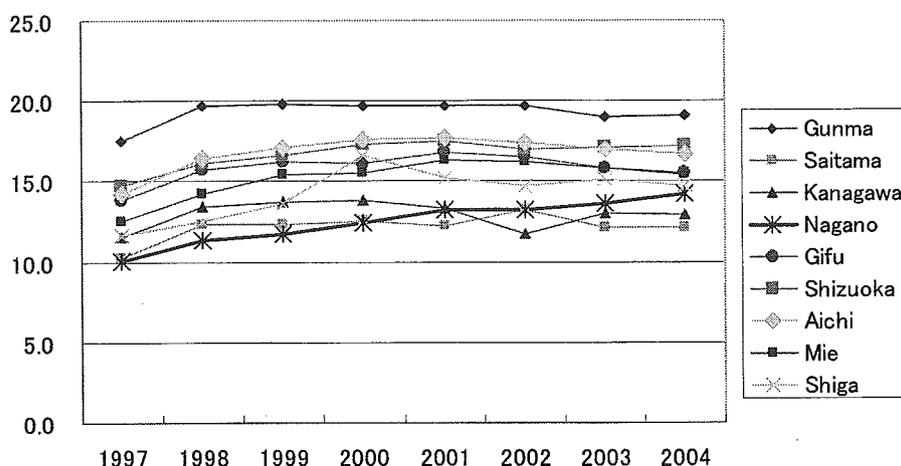
It is well known in migration literature that immigrants tend to concentrate in specific regions. This is also the case in Japan. Brazilian nationals formed large communities in Shizuoka, Aichi and Gunma prefectures where factories of large manufacturing companies are located (Shiho 2005). Table 1 demonstrates the share of Brazilians by age group in nine prefectures

where large Brazilian communities exist. The figures indicate the share of each age group out of the corresponding age group population in the prefecture. Generally, the share of Brazilians in the nine prefectures listed in Table 1 is much higher than 0.22 %, the share of Brazilian nationals out of the total Japanese population in 2004. In particular, the share of 0-14 year old Brazilians exceeds 1 % in Shizuoka, Mie, and Saitama prefectures. When the share of

Brazilian population is divided into age groups of children, it is evident that the proportion is relatively high among the younger age groups and low among the older children. For example, there are 7 prefectures (Gunma (1.26%), Nagano (1.13%), Gifu (1.06%), Shizuoka (1.72%), Aichi (1.14%), Mie (1.33%) and Shiga(1.08%)) where the percentage of 0-4

year olds exceeds 1 %. The number of prefectures with the share of Brazilians exceeding 1 % decreases to five (Gunma(1.13%), Gifu (1.00%), Shizuoka(1.45%), Aichi(1.09%), Mie(1.13%)) for 5-9 year olds. With respect to the share of 10-14 year old Brazilians, only Shizuoka prefecture exceeds 1 %.

Graph 8-1: Share of 0-14 Year Old Brazilian Children by Prefecture



Source: Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan

The share of Brazilian children out of the Brazilian population in selected prefectures discloses the diversities in child population. Graph 8-1 indicates the share of 0-14 year old Brazilian children from 1997 to 2004 for the selected nine prefectures where population of Brazilians is high. It is evident from this graph that the share of children is highest in Gunma prefecture, reaching nearly 20 %. Oizumi-cho and Ohta-city, where large Brazilian communities exist are located in Gunma prefecture, and this may have an effect in raising the share of children in

Gunma prefecture. Aichi and Shizuoka prefectures follow Gunma with children accounting for nearly 17 % of the Brazilian population. In contrast, the child population is quite low in Saitama and Kanagawa prefectures with the level of 12-13 %. These figures imply that family formation is taking place among Brazilian residents in areas like Oizumi-cho, Gunma. On the other hand, these figures imply that single men and women dominate in larger urban areas such as Saitama and Kanagawa. Traditional “dekasegi” type immigrants