

JOINT CONFERENCE ON REMITTANCES

12-13 September 2005

ADB, Manila, Philippines

Presentation

REMITTANCES FROM JAPAN TO BRAZIL: TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS OF "DEKASSEGUI" MIGRANTS

ANGELO ISHI

Assistant Professor, Musashi University

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views and policies of the Asian Development Bank (ADB). ADB does not guarantee the accuracy of the data presented. The country(ies) referred to in this paper does not imply any views on ADB's part as to sovereignty or independent status or necessarily conform to ADB's terminology.

Paper presented at ADB-IDB-UNDP JOINT CONFERENCE ON REMITTANCES
Manila, 12-13 September 2005

Remittances from Japan to Brazil: transnational connections of "Dekassegui" migrants

Angelo Ishi (Musashi University)

E-mail: angelo@cc.musashi.ac.jp

1. "Discovering" migrants: the power of remittances

Today I will speak about one of the most representative group of migrants who make remittances from Japan to their home country: the Brazilians living in Japan. I have done a field research on the so-called Dekassegui migrants ⁽¹⁾ since 1990, focusing on social and cultural aspects. I also edited a Brazilian newspaper in Tokyo during 3 years. My primary interest is on issues that cannot be expressed only in terms of numbers: what is going on the hearts and minds of the migrants. Today I will try to relate some social, cultural as well as political factors to the "Remittances" issue.

I would like to start my presentation with an excerpt of a chapter that I have written for the book *Searching for Home Abroad - Japanese-Brazilians and Transnationalism* (Ishi 2003a), in which I quote a newspaper article:

"FH chega ao Japão para visita de três dias: Saga dos dekasseguis aproxima dois países", a 13 March 1996 article in *O Estado de S.Paulo* (one of Brazil's leading newspapers), provides an example of how the contributions of dekasseguis turned into an important issue for both the public and private sectors:

"Dekasseguis today guarantee the account balance of our country with their remittances of more than US\$ 2 billion. In Japan, they contribute an estimated \$ 250 million in taxes to the central, provincial, and local governments. And they spend at least \$ 350 million per year in international phone calls. Part of this money goes to the Brazilian Telephone Company. The average account balance of the more than 33,000 people in branches of the Banco do Brasil in Tokyo and Hamamatsu is \$ 25,000."

Rather than the numbers presented (which are, after all, controversial), I would like to call your attention for the grandiloquent tone of this article, which combined a couple of impressive numbers. The media has played a fundamental role in emphasizing the significance of the economic contribution of Brazilian migrants who work in Japan. And references to the "remittances" have been recurrent in most of reports, in Brazilian media as well as in the Brazilian migrants' media in Japan.

The report cited above was published in the moment of former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's visit to Japan, with the primary aim of intensifying the economic relationship between Japan and Brazil. That visit, however, had another significance, as Brazilian government had just launched its "Policy of Assistance for Citizens Living Abroad". Two announcements surprised the Brazilians living in Japan: the creation of a Consulate in Nagoya, capital of Aichi Prefecture, the region with the biggest Brazilian population

in Japan; and the creation of the so-called *Conselhos de Cidadãos* (Citizens' Council) in Tokyo and Nagoya Consulates. Leaders of Brazilian community were invited as members of these Councils, which aimed at gathering suggestions from migrants to be reflected on government's assistance policy. This was an unprecedented shift in the government's positioning towards Brazilian emigrants, and there is no doubt that "remittances" were one of the powerful arguments for boosting these moves.⁽²⁾

These moves have had a double effect: on the macro level, they have given visibility to these migrants and catalyzed the attention of both public authorities and private sectors. On the micro level, they have helped migrants to recovering the self-esteem they lost when they decided to face a low-prestige blue-collar work in Japan in order to improve (or just maintain) their life standard back in Brazil. Or, as many informants confessed to me, "to prevent a decline in social status".

2. *Dekasseguis*: Who are those migrants

Differing from Brazilian migrants in other countries, in Japan the majority of migrants are of Japanese descent. This is due to the Japanese government's migration policy, which used to close the doors for foreign laborers, but opened his doors only for the people of Japanese descent with the reform on the Immigration Law in 1990. A crucial point is that most of Brazilians in Japan are living and working with a legal status.

Although the first Japanese-Brazilians have gone to Japan in the mid-1980s, the so-called *Dekassegui* boom occurred on the early 90s. Since then, the number of Brazilians suffered a minor reduction only once, and has increased year by year, as shown on Table 1:

Table 1: Number of foreign nationals in Japan

Nationality	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Korea*	666,376	657,159	645,373	638,838	636,548	635,269	632,405	625,422	613,791
China	222,921	234,264	262,164	272,230	294,201	335,575	381,225	424,282	462,396
Brazil	176,440	201,795	233,254	222,217	224,299	254,394	265,902	268,332	274,700
Philippines	74,297	84,509	93,265	105,308	115,685	144,871	156,667	169,359	185,237
Peru	36,269	37,099	40,394	41,317	42,773	46,171	50,052	51,772	53,649
U.S.A.	43,198	44,168	43,090	42,774	42,802	44,856	46,244	47,970	47,836
Others	142,800	156,142	174,567	189,442	199,805	225,308	245,907	264,621	277,421
Total	1,362,371	1,415,136	1,482,707	1,512,116	1,556,113	1,686,444	1,778,462	1,851,758	1,915,030

Source: *Japanese Ministry of Justice, Dec. 2003* (*Includes North and South Koreans)

According to the latest data from the Japanese Ministry of Justice, in December 2004 there were 286,577 Brazilians nationals with Alien Registration in Japan, which means 4,3% more than the past year. Brazilians are the third-largest foreign community in Japan after Koreans and Chinese. Since most of Koreans and Chinese are the so-called "old timers" (who came to Japan before the World Wars), Brazilians constitute the

main "newcomer" ethnic minority in Japan.

However, the number of Brazilians in Japan may be larger than statistics show, since first-generation Japanese-Brazilians who have not renounced Japanese nationality do not need visas to enter and work in Japan and therefore are not counted.

It is important to emphasize that the majority of these Brazilians are economically active, as they 20 to 39 years old.

Initially, the majority of migrants were single male. Recently, the gender balance has been more equilibrated: on late 2003, there were 151.136 men against 123.564 women.

Although Brazilians are present in all 47 Japanese prefectures, they are concentrated on the industrialized prefectures such as Aichi and Shizuoka, where they work as non-skilled, manual laborers. A recent trend is that many Brazilians launched businesses for compatriots (the so-called "ethnic businesses"), and many migrants have moved from the factories to white-collar jobs within the ethnic market, even knowing that this would mean a decrease in their salary.

As it can be seen on Table 2, the number of Brazilians with Permanent Visa has increased dramatically from 1999 to 2003. This number does not mean necessarily that Brazilians intend to stay "forever" in Japan. They may be recurring to this for pragmatic motivations, as they want to be freed from the inconvenience of renewing the visa on a 3 years basis.

Table 2 - Number of Permanent Visa (Eijusha) issued for residents of Brazilian nationality

1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
4,592	9,062	20,227	31,203	41,771

Source: Ministry of Justice of Japan

Some of the opinion leaders of Brazilian community in Japan are beginning to claim that the term "Dekassegui", which has a temporary connotation, should be replaced by "Immigrant". And a Brazilian volunteer group in Japan launched the "Immigrant Memorial" project. For the first time, a Brazilian association used the term "immigrant" to define their situation in Japan.

Although the foreign citizens represent only 2% of the total Japanese population, some of the Japanese municipalities have a significant presence of foreigners – especially Brazilians. One of them, Hamamatsu (Shizuoka Prefecture), now leads a network called Gaikokujin Shuju Toshi Kaigui (Committee for Localities with a Concentrated Foreigner Population), aimed at sharing information on common problems related to foreign citizens. Table 3 shows the massive presence of Brazilians in each municipality.

Table 3 - Cities with a significant presence of foreigners (mainly Brazilians)

Municipality	Population	Number of Foreigners *	Percentage Of foreigners	Number Of Brazilians	Nationality 1 st	Nationality 2 nd .	Nationality 3 rd .
Ota (Gunma)	150,948	7,516	5.0	3,504	Brazil	Philippines	Peru
Oizumi (Gunma)	42,573	6,217	14.6	4,686	Brazil	Peru	Philippines
Toyohashi (Aichi)	372,986	14,908	4.0	9,400	Brazil	Korea	Philippines
Toyota (Aichi)	344,549	11,162	3.2	5,396	Brazil	Korea	China
Yokkaichi (Mie)	296,651	7,182	2.4	2,785	Brazil	Korea	China
Suzuka (Mie)	194,176	6,969	3.6	3,715	Brazil	Peru	Korea
Ogaki (Gifu)	154,048	5,441	3.5	3,793	Brazil	China	Korea
Kani (Gifu)	96,203	4,042	4.2	2,939	Brazil	Philippines	Korea
Minokamo (Gifu)	50,820	3,475	6.8	2,407	Brazil	Philippines	China
Iida (Nagano)	109,434	2,902	2.7	1,650	Brazil	China	Philippines
Iwata (Shizuoka)	90,128	4,112	4.6	2,556	Brazil	China	Philippines
Kosai (Shizuoka)	44,601	2,528	5.7	1,745	Brazil	Peru	Indonesia
Hamamatsu (Shizuoka)	596,988	21,068	3.5	11,716	Brazil	Philippines	Peru

Source: *Gaikokujin Shuju Toshikaigui*

3. Japan-Brazil route: how the money is sent

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has commissioned a comprehensive survey about the "savings" and "remittances" behavior of Latin American migrants in Japan. The survey was conveyed to Bendixen Associates and its results were presented on several conferences. I will cite some data presented by Sergio Bendixen on April 6, 2005, entitled "Remittances From Japan to Latin America - Study of Latin American immigrants living and working in Japan" (Bendixen 2005), in the context of the Annual Meeting Of the Board of Governors (on this presentation I will name it as "IDB Survey"). Rather than reproduce it, I found more productive to complement it with other information. I also want to stress that my analysis about Brazilians can not be easily generalized to other Latin American migrants in Japan, as each country and populations have their peculiarities.

The Portuguese language media (newspapers, magazines, TV channels, FM radios and web sites) succeeded in getting good circulation all over Japan. This media environment enables migrants to have fast and reliable information, including how and where to make remittances.

As Ninomiya (2005) notes, "the statements and reports presented at seminars and debates do not necessarily coincide with official data" and the explanation for this is that "a proportion of remittances are made through informal means, and thus, escape from governmental controls such as those of the Central Bank of Brazil".

These informal means include mailing cash in letters (a common practice at the early 1990s) and people who bring the money with them in the form of cash. During my recent field research in Brazil, I

interviewed a woman who used to make monthly remittances of ¥ 50 thousand (around 500 dollars) to her mother living in São Paulo, but traveled with 5 thousand dollars in cash fit in "many parts of the body" for the initial expenses when decided to return to Brazil. "Of course my savings were far more than that, so I remitted a bigger amount through the bank", she added.

Despite these informal transfers, one may affirm that, compared to other remittance markets, the Japan-Brazil route is a role model as the majority of the remittances are made through official channels, within the formal financial system. This was made possible because both senders and receivers of these money transfers are well served by banks in Brazil and Japan.

According to IDB Survey, 80% of the respondents make use of Banco do Brasil, while 13% use "some other bank". With branches in all the cities with high concentration of Brazilians (Ota, Hamamatsu and Nagoya), Banco do Brasil has launched branches even in small cities such as Ueda, in Nagano Prefecture, a mountain region where an increasing number of Brazilians have moved to. Ten years ago, even the most prominent economist would have been able to predict that a Brazilian bank would appear in such region.

This virtual monopoly of a single bank, however, may come to an end in the next future. Recently, two of the biggest private banks in Brazil – Bradesco and Itaú – have made an intensive campaign on Brazilian media in Japan. While Itaú has a partnership with the Japanese Post Offices, Bradesco has a partnership with big Japanese banks such as Daito and UFJ. Both have made an aggressive marketing campaign through the Brazilian TV channel and Portuguese language newspapers in Japan regarding their Remittance service. Bradesco has broadcast a CM on the Brazilian channel in Japan (IPC TV), starring the Brazilian football idol Zico, stressing how "easy" is the use of the ATM of UFJ for making remittances to Brazil. The campaign of Itaú on newspapers both in Japan and Brazil is also meaningful for detecting what are the needs of Brazilians in Japan: ("Seguro para quem envia, fácil par quem recebe" ("Secure for who sends, easy for who receives"), and "A maneira mais simples e rápida de enviar segurança" ("The most simple and fast way of sending security"). It may be important to say that these advertisements have targeted not only the senders of remittances in Japan, but also the potential receivers of those remittances in Brazil, with advertisements published in the main newspapers of Japanese immigrants in São Paulo.

We also should not ignore that many migrants invest their savings (in dollars or yens) in Japanese banks or in the branches of Brazilian banks in Japan.

According to Sakoda (2005), general manager of Tokyo branch of Santander Banespa Bank, the services available to Brazilians in Japan areas follows: 24-hour/8 days telephone remittance service; fax remittance; Internet banking remittance; Remittance from the Japanese Postal Offices' ATM; Remittance from Japanese banks' ATM; Remittance from convenience stores' ATM. All those services are provided with low fees which vary from USD 9 to USD 19. Many banks serving Brazilians have developed banking products especially to meet the needs of Brazilian workers in Japan, and provide special services such as forms and assistance in Portuguese, as well as longer working hours for telephone assistance to accommodate the free time

of Brazilians.

Also according to Sakoda, around 50% of remittances are made in amounts of up to USD 500, and the average per remitter is of 6.57 remittances per year (this average may be higher, according to other surveys). Meanwhile, a survey made by IDB with the recipients of remittances in Brazil has found that the amount of the remittances is considerably higher than what is remitted from other regions. While only 13% of the Brazilians in USA and Europe sent amounts from US\$ 501 to 1000, 28% of Brazilians in Japan remitted the same amount. And while only 2% of the remittances from USA and Europe surpassed US\$ 1000, among Brazilians in Japan this number jumped to 19% (Bendixen 2004).

Despite the relatively high level of education of Dekassegui migrants, one should say that their "financial literacy" in Japan is not so high, partly due to their low Japanese language proficiency. They are, however, very sensitive to the floatation of the exchange rates. Many of them check the Dollar-Yen-Real rates on a daily basis through various media. For instance, in 1999, when the dollar reached the rate of almost 2 reals (the initial rate after the economic reform called Plano Real was of 1 dollar = 1 real), Brazilians in Japan run to the banks for making remittances to Brazil. And one Japanese-Brazilian enterprise, Hokushin Shohin, released a video entitled "Quando comprar o dólar?" ("When to buy dollars?")

Although many academic works have been published on the "Dekassegui" issue, there have been virtually no studies focused on "remittances" of Dekassegui migrants. One of the few surveys that included questions related to remittances found that some migrants are reducing remittances in behalf of savings (see Table 4):

Table 4 - Correlation between "Savings in Japan" and "Remittances to Brazil"

Respondents (% of total)

I made a shift from Remittances to Savings	390 (26.5%)
From a certain moment, I reduced the remittances	299 (20.3%)
I always remit a certain amount to Brazil	239 (16.2%)
I have made almost no savings, and no remittances as well	220 (14.9%)
I always have made savings	186 (12.6%)
From a certain moment, my savings have decreased	90 (6.1%)
I made a shift from Savings to Remittances	46 (3.1%)
My savings and remittances have both decreased	3 (0.2%)

Source: Hitotsubashi Daigaku Shakaigakubu (1999: p.75)

The same study detected that, along with "recession" (which is an external factor, out of the migrant's control), some changes on migrants' strategies have affected their remittances and savings (See Table 5):

Table 5 - Reasons for changes in the Remittances or Savings during the period of stay in Japan

My incomes have decreased due to the recession	150 (38.8%)
My expenditures have increased	74 (19.1%)

Other reasons	69 (17.8%)
I have brought my wife and children to Japan	48 (12.4%)
I have bought something in Japan	17 (4.4%)

Source: *Hitotsubashi Daigaku Shakaigakubu* (1999: p.69)

Although this study is prior to 2000, more recent reports confirm that many migrants are, in fact, "expending more" and "bringing wife and children to Japan". Some of them are even buying a house in Japan. People who bought only the essential for "surviving" now buy more goods for their comfort. Children that used to study in public schools are now enrolled in Brazilian private schools all over Japan, meaning an additional expenditure for their parents.

Two opposite discourses are circulating among Brazilians in Japan. One is that migrants should take advantage of the goods and services that only may be accessed in the "First World" country. In 2005, it was launched the *Jornal do Carro* (*Car Journal*), targeting Brazilians who want to invest their money in powering their cars.

On the other hand, there are strong voices alerting that Brazilians should save more than spend. For instance, the "Guia do Milionário" (Guide of the Millionaire), a local program aired on Brazilian TV channel in Japan, not only provides information on how to save money, but has presenters who insist that "Don't forget we are here (in Japan) to save money!".

4. The destiny of the money - dilemmas and challenges

When asked about "How is the remittance used?" by the IDB Survey, 46% of Brazilians answered "Daily expenditures", which is less than the 54% who answered "Investments". These findings are consistent with the general view that a significant number of Brazilians of Japanese descent do not depend on remittances for surviving.

According to the last census (conducted by the Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros in 1988), there were 1,280,000 Japanese immigrants and Brazilians of Japanese descent, mostly of "urban middle class" background. 90% of Japanese-Brazilians lived in urban areas, with only 23 percent of them earning less than five minimum-salaries a month.

Another survey, commissioned by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA 1992), found that more than 40 percent of Brazilians living in Japan had graduated from universities and that most held white-collar jobs just prior to leaving for Japan.

At least on the "remittances" issue, one could not talk about Japanese-Brazilians as a whole, due to the regional disparities in Brazil. In early 90's, I took part of a research group who got distinct answers for the

same question in two well-known Japanese-Brazilian communities, as shown on Table 6. On a wealthy locality near São Paulo City, none of the inhabitants depended on remittances, while in another city in the less wealthy region of Brazil, half of the respondents depended on remittances. Social and economic conditions of the homeland (not only on the national level, but also on the local level) have resulted in clearly different behaviors.

Table 6 - Do Families left in Brazil rely on remittances of migrants?

	Tomé-Açu (Pará State, North of Brazil)	Cocuera (Mogi das Cruzes, near São Paulo City)
Incomes of the family left in Brazil:		
Doesn't depend on remittances	46.2%	100.0%
Remittances + Incomes in Brazil	39.3%	—
Depends entirely on remittances	10.7%	—
No Answer	3.6%	—
Receiving remittances from Japan?		
Yes	67.9%	33.3%
No	28.6%	66.7%
No Answer	3.5%	—

Source: Watanabe (1995: 567)

We should not, however, overestimate this regional disparity, as the absolute majority of Japanese-Brazilians live in São Paulo and Paraná States – two of the wealthiest regions in the country. And regardless of some differences in their backgrounds, the typical goals of Dekassegui migrants, as found in several surveys, are invariably the same: buying a house or apartment, a new car, and starting and/or owning a business. It seems that, after two decades of Dekassegui movement, many of them have succeeded in buying their cars and houses – even provoking a rise on the land prices in small cities like Maringá, in Paraná state. That is why there is a consensus that the challenge, now, would be help them reach the other dream: to own a business.

My perception is that remittances sent from Japan to Brazil are helping recipients to get some typical middle-class wishes (electronic goods, travels, and leisure), and not necessarily to pay for the very basic expenses of the daily life (such as foods and clothes). A more detailed insight on how the remittances are being used by recipients in Brazil would be welcome.

Entrepreneurship - how to read the numbers

During the field research I made in Brazil right before coming to this conference, I could note that the issue of how to make good use the money earned in Japan is a very hot issue both in Japan and Brazil. Although the issue of "remittances" and the issue of "channel migrant capital into productive investment" are somewhat distinct, one can discuss them concomitantly, as the actors involved in the process are often the same ones. Migrants who decide to return to Brazil and transfer their savings are, at the same time, senders and receivers of

a single big remittance.

Among the many interesting data collected by IDB Survey, one deserves special attention: "Do you have any plans to start your own business in the future?". Although 40% of the respondents answered "Yes, in your home country", the other answers are a fertile material for discussion, especially if one compares these data with a survey conducted by the Tokyo branch of Banco do Brasil in 1994 among their clients. I was a member of the so-called "Realize o seu sonho" (Your dream come true) project research group. We sent a questionnaire by mail to 10,000 clients and obtained a feedback from 3,293 of them.

On that survey, there was the following question: "Which project would you like to make real or is making real?" For 34.86% of the respondents, the top priority was "launch a business in Brazil", while only 2.01% intended to "launch a business in Japan". The recent survey conducted by IDB found that 14% of the respondents plan to start their own business in Japan. This is a significant change. Thus, the assistance for the potential entrepreneurs in Brazil should be complemented by some kind of assistance for migrants who intend to launch a business in Japan. Kotaro Tsuji, a Brazilian who owns a consultant firm in Japan, perceived this need and wrote a book entitled "Como abrir seu negócio no Japão" ("How to launch your business in Japan").

On IDB survey, 1% of respondents expressed their desire to launch a business "in some other country". Although some people may find this number insignificant, it deserves attention. I know at least one case of a Brazilian family who made savings in Japan and invested their money in a small hotel in a resort in Bali (Indonesia). If one considers that many Brazilians in Japan have traveled to Asian countries during their stay in Japan, it is not strange if some of them become interested in owning a business in a third country, outside the Japan-Brazil route.

The 24% of respondents who answered "No" to the question about "starting a business" may include two different groups: on one hand, people who are conformed with the perspective of a longer stay in Japan as employees, and on the other hand, those who want to restart their lives in Brazil as employees, avoiding the risk of putting their money in some business. A volunteer group in São Paulo called Grupo Nikkei has created the "Tadaima Project", aimed at supporting Brazilians who returned from Japan and are unemployed. The ABD (Brazilian Association of Dekasseguis) in Curitiba (Paraná state) has also helped returnees in a similar way. However, a more systematic support for people who do NOT want to be entrepreneurs is also an urgent need. Reemployment programs with a specific advice for returnees from abroad may be as effective as the entrepreneurial programs.

Far more complex is to analyze what is hidden in the hearts and minds of the 21% of the respondents who "don't know/No answer" whether they will open a business. This group may include people who are undecided about when and how return to Brazil. Some of them may want to launch a business, but may be fearing the possibility of "losing everything" (losing all their savings in the case of failure of an enterprise), as many of the respondents of the Banco do Brasil survey in 1994 emphasized. Another common fear of the potential entrepreneurs is related to the "economic instability of Brazil". Even with the relative success

in controlling the inflation, Brazilian government's economic plans have not gained enough confidence among migrants. Another dilemma for many migrants is that they want to maintain the same level of income they earned in Japanese yen upon their return to Brazil. Due to the gap in the cost of life, it is almost impossible to find a job or a business that provides the same profit or salary earned in Japan.

One question that could be made in a more straight way is "Why do you want to own a business?" Many people may say that want to own a business not because they are plenty of entrepreneurial spirit or they really believe in their skills, but simply because they cannot accept a low salary as employees in Brazil.

Finally, some of the more versatile migrants may want to own a business in both countries. In my case study of an enterprise that constructed a transnational network between Japan and Brazil, I found that some migrants had the desire of becoming "transnational entrepreneurs" with a "two countries, double address" life style – preferably traveling in First or Business Class. Presumably, only a few migrants had their dreams coming true. One of the few examples of success story is that of a video rental owner in Oizumi who opened a similar store in his city of origin in São Paulo State using the money earned in Japan as his capital.⁽⁹⁾

Final remarks

Once the potential of migrants' monetary power was discovered, efforts aimed at attracting this money have started both in Japan and Brazil. Headed by a travel agency well known in Japan as well as in Brazil, the Instituto Nikkei de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão (IBJ), with its headquarters at the heart of Liberdade (the Oriental District in São Paulo) is trying to create a network of mayors in the cities with a high presence of Japanese-Brazilians all over Brazil, in order to attract the returnees from Japan to each city.

On the opposite direction, the "Expo Business" in Nagoya (Aichi), which serves as a show window for Brazilian enterprises in Japan, has functioned as an incentive for people who own a business in Japan. One of the highlights of the Expo is the talk show made by some famous "motivational consultant" and/or "business consultant". In the 2004 edition, the guest speaker was Roberto Shinyashiki, author of several best-sellers. His two talk shows attracted an audience of around one thousand.

The 2005 edition of this Expo had an even more distinguished guest: Brazilian President Lula, who came to Japan in an official visit and included in his tight agenda one entire day of meetings with Brazilian migrants. More than the promises made by the President, the thousands of people who gathered at Fukiage Hall in Nagoya were enchanted by the fact that the President himself was there.

The new project of "Dekassegui Empreendedor" (Dekassegui Entrepreneur) launched by IDB through its MIF (Multilateral Investment Fund), to be implemented by SEBRAE (Brazilian Service to Support Small and Medium-Size Companies) and the above-cited ABD, which has been widely covered by the media in Japan and Brazil, has the same psychological effect: migrants are feeling recognized and supported by the

public authorities. This sense of "being supported" may be as decisive as the concrete financial and informational support for those who want to invest their money in the home country. A proverb appreciated by Brazilian migrants is "We have to dance to the music". So it is our mission to help them find the best tone.

Endnotes

(1) Brazilians use the term *dekassegui* to define both a social phenomenon and the people involved in it. In Japan, this term was used for people who left their homeland to work temporarily in another place. It has been recently incorporated into the major Brazilian dictionary *Dicionário Houaiss* as *decasségui*. I use the spelling "dekassegui" because it has been adopted by the ethnic media and by migrants themselves. I give priority to *dekassegui* rather than *migrant* because the majority of my informants resist seeing themselves as migrants or immigrants, regardless of the length of their stay in Japan.

(2) Mori(2002) and Ninomiya (2005) are among the few authors who have addressed the "remittances" issue in a specific way. Both authors emphasize that remittances from Japan to Brazil help to compensate for the deficit in the balance of payments between the two countries.

(3) In Ishi 2003b, I analyze in detail the transnational strategies of Japanese-Brazilian migrants, including entrepreneurs.

References:

Bendixen, Sergio. (2004). *Estudo sobre os Destinatarios de Remessas no Brasil*. Presentation made on May 31, 2004, during the Seminar "Remittances as a Development Tool in Brazil", Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

—. (2005) *Remittances From Japan to Latin America - Study of Latin American immigrants living and working in Japan*. Presentation made on April 6, 2005, during the Seminar "Migration and Remittances in the Context of Globalization", in the context of the Annual Meeting Of the Board of Governors, Okinawa, Japan.

Hitotsubashi Daigaku Shakaigakubu. (1999). *Transnational na Kankyooka de no Aratana Ijuu Process -- Dekasegi 10-nen wo eta Nikkeijin no Shakaigakuteki Chosa Hokokusho*. Tokyo: Hitotsubashi Daigaku Shakaigakubu.

Ishi, Angelo. (2003a). Searching for Home, Wealth, Pride and "Class": Japanese-Brazilians in the "Land of Yen". In Lesser, Jeffrey (ed.), *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese-Brazilians and Transnationalism*. 75-102. Duke: Duke University Press.

—. (2003b) Transnational strategies by Japanese-Brazilian migrants in the age of IT. In Goodman, R., Peach, C. , et al. (eds.), *Global Japan – The Experience of Japan's new immigrant and overseas communities*. 209-221. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Mori, Edson. (2002) The Japanese-Brazilian Dekasegi Phenomenon. In Hirabayashi et al (ed.), *New Worlds, New Lives* . 237-248. Stanford University Press.

Ninomiya, Masato. (2005) Remittances of Brazilian workers in Japan. *University of Tokyo Journal of Law and Politics Vol 2 Spring 2005*. 103-110.

Sakoda, Tutomu. *The case of Japan and Brazil - Economic and Financial aspects*. Presentation made on April 6, 2005, during the Seminar "Migration and Remittances in the Context of Globalization", in the context of the Annual Meeting Of the Board of Governors, Okinawa, Japan.

Seu Sonho & Sua Empresa. Leaflet issued by Banco do Brasil and distributed among its clients in Japan. 1994.

Watanabe, Masako, ed. (1995). *Kyodo Kenkyu Dekassegui Nikkei Burajirujin – Ronbun Hen*. Akashi Shoten: Tokyo.