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Contributed Paper

The Economic Incorporation of Brazilian Migrants in Comparative Perspective: A Preliminary Study of Brazilian Labour Market Outcome in Japan and the United States

Hirohisa Takenoshita*

Abstract

This study aims to make clear the differential labour market incorporation of Brazilian immigrants in two countries, Japan and the United States. Two countries differ in three dimensions: immigration policy, labour market structure and educational institutions. I highlight the manner in which immigrants' socioeconomic outcome depends on these institutional arrangements, by comparing the way in which human capital acquisitions affect earnings among Brazilian migrants in two countries. The findings of my research are twofold. First, differences in labour market segmentation led to cross-national variations in the effect of assimilation on socioeconomic outcome. It is highlighted that barrier to mobility from secondary to primary labour market sector is higher in Japan than in the US. Secondly, earnings return to education varies greatly between Japanese and US immigrants. Entry-level earnings and the way in which assimilation affect earnings significantly depends on educational attainment among Brazilian migrants in the US, whereas there is no significant effect of higher education on raising earnings among Brazilians in Japan. The current research demonstrates

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that Brazilian migrants in Japan face the more difficulties in raising earnings than their US counterparts, even though they have higher education, or they become assimilated into the host society.

Key words: Brazilian migrants, cross-national comparison, institutional arrangements, Japan

Many industrialised countries have experienced a massive influx of immigrants from other developing countries since the 1960s (Castles and Miller, 2003). Sociologists have been much concerned with economic positions of immigrants and their integration into the labour market. The theory of assimilation and human capital has been one of the most important theoretical frameworks in understanding the conditions for socioeconomic characters of immigrants in the host society. Nevertheless, some cross-national comparative studies also highlighted that the extent to which assimilation and human capital of immigrants could affect labour market outcome differs considerably from one country to another. It is due primarily to cross-national differences in institutional settings such as immigration policy and labour market structure (Reitz, 1998). Cross-national comparison of economic incorporation of immigrants has therefore received an increasing attention to immigration scholars (Kogan, 2003; Lewin-Epstein, et al., 2003; Model et al., 1999; Tubergen et al., 2004).

This research aims to compare the effect of human capital and assimilation on earnings between Brazilian migrants in Japan and those in the US. By comparing Brazilian immigrants cross-nationally, I would consider the manner in which the patterns of socioeconomic integration among immigrants depend on institutional settings in the receiving country. My primary concern here is to highlight the way in which Japanese institutional settings would affect the labour market incorporation of immigrants. I focus on Brazilian

immigrants in Japan, because they are supposed to be one of the largest immigrant groups in Japan. As argued below, some previous literatures suggest that the institutional arrangements of transnational migration system and the labour market structure have strongly affected the pattern of immigrants' integration into the host society, even though these hypotheses were not examined statistically. By observing Brazilian immigrants in Japan, we could argue the implications and consequences of institutional settings among immigrants in Japan. However, it remains unclear to what extent institutional settings in Japan differ from those in other countries, if we focus exclusively on Brazilian immigrants in Japan. We should observe the socioeconomic incorporation of immigrants embedded in other institutional settings in order to demonstrate the institutional characters surrounding immigrants in Japan.

In terms of labour market flexibility, Japan and the US differ considerably. Employment security for regular workers in Japan has been highly protected due to the practice of lifetime employment and legislation of labour. On this occasion, employers face the difficulty with adjusting the flow of labour, if all the workers in one organization are regular workers. They need to employ temporary workers whom employers can easily dismiss in response to the fluctuating demand for labour so that they could maintain the system of lifetime employment for regular workers. Unskilled migrant workers have been incorporated into the sector for temporary employment, due to the reflection in the institutional settings for secure employment for regular workers.

By contrast, the labour market has been highly flexible in the US and there has been less employment protection legislation compared to those in other countries (Diprete, 2006; Diprete et al., 1997). Workers in the US are highly exposed to the risk of dismissal in the labour market because of less legislative restriction on layoff. In addition, voluntary job mobility has frequently occurred in order to up-

grade earnings and socioeconomic status in the US (Park & Sandefur, 2003). It implies that the distinction between primary and secondary sector might not be so rigorous as the theory expects, even though labour market segmentation has existed in the US. What we might say according to the previous literature is that upward occupational mobility of immigrants takes place as they acquire work-related skills prevalent to the host society due to the highly flexible labour market in the US. In other words, the theory of assimilation would be more applicable to immigrants embedded within the highly flexible labour market. Comparing socioeconomic incorporation of immigrants between Japan and the US enables us to consider the relationship between labour market institutions and theory of assimilation.

Educational system is also important, because it conditions the manner in which educational attainment affects one's earnings in the labour market. In Japan, employment contract plays a critical role in earnings. In the US, education really matters more in making a difference in earnings. The way in which worker's education is evaluated in the firm's personnel strategy would shape the important mechanism by which immigrants are incorporated into the receiving society. Accordingly, I argue the cross-national differences in educational institutions between Japan and the US.

Immigration policy differs considerably between Japan and the US. As argued in the next section in detail, the way in which one is accepted in the host society depends significantly on the context of immigration. In this paper, I need to take into account the manner in which socioeconomic incorporation among immigrants depends on immigration policy, although I could not examine statistically this association.

This research focuses upon Brazilian migrants in Japan and the US, because the large number of Brazilians migrated into both countries since the late 1980s. Economic deterioration which hit Brazil

in 1980s led to a rapid increase of Brazilian emigrants who seek better employment opportunities elsewhere, while Brazil had built a tradition as a country of immigration (Beserra, 2003). The dramatic changes in economic conditions affected emigration in Brazil. During the period of economic crisis in 1980s and 1990s, the large number of these emigrants moved to the US and Japan (Tsuda, 2003). These migration patterns provide us with opportunities to compare systematically with regards to the impact of institutional settings on immigrants' socioeconomic attainment (Kogan, 2003; Lewin-Epstein et al., 2003).

This paper compares the economic incorporation of Brazilian immigrants in Japan and the United States. It assesses the impact of human capital acquisitions relevant to immigrants on a gap in socioeconomic outcomes between native-born populations and Brazilian migrants. The way in which individual attributes including gender, education, length of time in the host country and language fluency affect a gap in socioeconomic outcome would be compared between two countries.

Economic Deterioration and Emigration from Brazil

Many thousands of Brazilians have left their country and migrated abroad, as economic conditions in Brazil have deteriorated since the 1980s. Economic deterioration in Brazil in 1980s is characterised as massive hyperinflation, which led to increasing unemployment and economic uncertainty. This is the primary structural factor that caused some Brazilians to migrate abroad (Tsuda, 2003). From 1940 to 1980, Brazil had experienced a steady economic growth. Under these favorable conditions, there had been fewer Brazilians who exited out of their own country to seek better employment opportunities elsewhere (Goza, 1994), whereas Brazil had built a tradition as a country which has accepted a massive flow of immigration (Beserra, 2005). In the mid-1980s, this migratory pattern, how-

ever, underwent several significant transformations due to the long-term deterioration of the Brazilian economy (Goza, 1994). During the period of economic crisis in 1980s and 1990s, there were almost one and half million Brazilian emigrants, including 600,000 in the United States and 200,000 in Japan, 40,000 in Italy, 36,000 in Germany and 32,000 in Portugal (Tsuda, 2003). Many Brazilian migrants thus chose the U.S. and Japan as the country of destination.

Some previous studies also demonstrated that many of these emigrants were in the middle class position in Brazil and well-educated. According to Margolis (1994), 46 percent of Brazilian migrants in New York have attained university. In contrast, in 1990 in Brazil, only 12 per cent of the population had gone on to higher education. This also holds true for Brazilian migrants in Japan. Most of Brazilian migrants in Japan are descendants of Japanese emigrants and their spouse and children, due to the Japanese immigration policy which prefers ethnic return migrants, as stated in detail below (Yamanaka, 2000). Many studies on socioeconomic status among Japanese Brazilians emphasised that they predominantly occupied middle class status in Brazil (Tsuda, 2003). It is reflected in the higher share of the tertiary educated among Brazilian migrants in Japan (Kajita et al., 2005).

The similarity of higher socioeconomic status in the country of origin between Brazilian migrants in Japan and the US seems to lead to convergence in the reason of migrating abroad. They migrated into other advanced countries, not because they are economically impoverished, but because they find themselves unable to keep their middle-class standard of living and wish to improve their deteriorating economic situation (Tsuda, 2003; Margolis, 1994).

The institutional feature of reception of immigrants in Japan and the United States

This research is concerned with how institutional differences

across countries affect labour market incorporation of immigrants residing in different receiving countries. In this section, we review the feature of institutional arrangements in Japan and the United States including immigration policy, labour market structure and educational institutions which we assume would substantially influence labour market outcome.

Immigration policy and the context of reception for Brazilian immigrants

The United States, according to Cornelius and Tsuda (2004), is classified as one of the classic countries of immigration which contain Canada and Australia as well. US government has continued to have difficulty with controlling immigration. There has been consistently a massive influx of unauthorised migrants into the US. More efforts of US government to reduce the influx of unauthorised migrants, such as measures to make border controls stricter, have not been effective on declining the number of illegal entry attempts (Martin, 2004; Cornelius & Tsuda, 2004).

Brazilian migrants residing in the US are mainly composed of undocumented migrants without any proper visas (Goza, 1994). In contrast to Mexican unauthorised migrants who attempt to cross the US-Mexican border, many Brazilian migrants flew to some cities in the US with tourist visas. Some of them overstayed there and work as unauthorised migrants. As the number of Brazilian visa overstayers increased, US immigration offices made it difficult for visa applicants to get a tourist visa. To get it, visa applicants have to demonstrate to the US consular personnel in Brazil that he or she has strong reasons to return to Brazil: close family ties, significant property or a good job. Young, single people with no job are the most suspect category of visa applicants (Margolis, 1994; 1998). Screening mechanism under which Brazilians who enter the US are selected might lead to a high proportion of Brazilian migrants in the US who were

in the middle class in Brazil as stated in the introduction.

In contrast to the US case, immigration has not been a fundamental part of a national identity nor their past nation-building process in Japan (Tsuda & Cornelius, 2004). However, due to the fact that Japanese economy faced the serious labour shortage in 1980s, some employers have begun to hire unauthorised migrant workers since then, despite the ban on importing any type of unskilled migrant workers (Kajita, 1994; Inagami et al., 1993).

Later, the revised Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act implemented in 1990 led to a rapid change in labour supply of immigrants. Although it has officially prohibited foreign unskilled workers to enter Japan, it admitted second and third generation Nikkeijin, descendants of Japanese emigrants, without any restrictions on activities in Japan (Yamanaka, 2000). Immigration policies in some countries tend to prefer the immigration of foreign workers who share ethnic origin. Japanese government could introduce a large amount of unskilled migrant workers which was demanded by Japanese economy without contradicting the fundamental principle of immigration policy (Kajita et al., 2005; Tsuda & Cornelius, 2004; Tsuda, 2003). In reality, soon after enforcing the revised law of immigration, the number of migrants with Japanese descent such as Brazilian and Peruvian increased dramatically (Miyajima, 1993).

Compared between two nations regarding how Brazilian migrants are accepted by each country, they greatly differ in the legal status: documented and undocumented migrants. This difference would possibly lead to two divergent implications in their integration into the host society. For one thing, the extent to which migration processes are regulated by immigration control policy depends considerably on two destination countries. For Japanese Brazilian migrants in Japan, there are almost no legal barriers to movement between Japan and Brazil if they identify themselves as the second or third generation of Nikkeijin migrants. For Brazilian unauthorised mi-

grants in the US, cross border movement between US and Brazil has been strictly regulated. According to some previous studies, an unregulated migration produces a less talented and less ambitious group of immigrants than does a regulated migration, because it would reduce the cost of movement and return (Borjas, 1999; Model et al., 1999). In the present study, it is assumed that Brazilian migrants in Japan would be less positively selected than Brazilian migrants in the US.

Another consequence in cross-national variations in legal status is that not having any documents would simply prevent them from labour market participation and attaining higher socioeconomic status. In Japan, there is some evidence that earnings disparity existed between authorised Japanese Brazilian migrants and unauthorised migrants including Iranians, Pakistanis and other South-east Asians (Inagami et al., 1993). However, this might not hold true for the US case, because even undocumented migrants could easily get employment opportunities, due to fraudulent documents such as social security cards and green cards which have proliferated among unauthorised migrants in the US (Margolis, 1994, 1998).

Labour market structures and differential incorporation of Brazilian migrants

As Piore (1979) argues, labour market structures in the receiving country considerably influences how immigrants are incorporated into the receiving society. He noted that immigrants are incorporated into the secondary labour market sector which is characterised as more insecurity of employment and less opportunity for training and advancement, compared to the primary sector in which there is restriction to some extent on the layoff of any workers for economic reasons. However, we also need to take into account that the extent to which labour market sector is divided might possibly depend on

the country.

In a comparative perspective, insecurity of employment in the US is generally much higher than its counterpart of Europe such as France and Germany (Diprete, 2006; Diprete et al., 1997), partly because there is less restriction on layoffs in the United States. Some research shows that the United States and European countries significantly differ in the extent to which welfare government regulates the labour market. Labour market behaviour is therefore determined more in the US by individual characteristics such as education and work experience than it is in countries with highly regulated labour market (Diprete et al., 1997). It implies that the distinction between primary and secondary sector might not be so rigorous as the theory expects, even though labour market segmentation has existed in the US. For instance, one study highlights that immigrants do not appear to be stuck in low-end jobs and it suggests substantial immigrant upward mobility from lower to middle-range or higher range jobs, even after nativity and gender are taken into account (Bean et al., 2004). In fact, the theory of assimilation, one of the relevant competing theories of immigrant incorporation, offers optimistic pictures of the process (Waters & Jimenez, 2005).

On the other hand, some anthropological studies on Brazilian migrants in the US offered a different picture of the incorporation process (Margolis, 1994; 1997; Bessera, 2003). Margolis indicated that many Brazilian unauthorised migrants in New York are incorporated into the secondary sector. Most of them are actually involved in lowly paid menial jobs in the service sector. She emphasised more or less pessimistic views of the labour market incorporation among Brazilian migrants in the US, although she reported in her ethnographic work a few cases in which some Brazilian migrants have experienced upward occupational mobility from unskilled to skilled or from manual to nonmanual jobs (Margolis, 1994).

Let me turn to the relation between labour market segmentation

and immigrant incorporation in Japan. Many studies have referred to the Japanese labour market as strongly divided between primary and secondary sector. Organizational size and employment status have been very influential in determining one's labour market sector and have had a major impact on one's socioeconomic outcome (Koike, 1988; Genda, 2006). Those who are working for small-sized companies or who belong to nonstandard employment sector such as part-time and temporary work have been supposed to be in a marginalised position in the Japanese labour market. There have been some differentials in earnings, fringe benefit, training opportunity and employment stability between large-sized and small-sized firms or between standard and nonstandard employment. In addition, once they enter the secondary labour market sector in Japan, they would face the difficulty with going up or returning to the primary sector²⁾ (Genda, 2006; Kosugi, 2003; Hara & Seiyama, 2006). Labour market sector in one's first job therefore has had a major impact upon socioeconomic opportunities in one's entire career (Sakamoto, 1995).

How do these Japanese labour market characteristics affect socioeconomic outcomes among Brazilian migrants in Japan? In reality, Brazilian migrants have been incorporated into secondary sector in Japan. Many Brazilians are hired by subcontractors who, in turn, dispatched them to employers who needed temporary workers (Yamanaka, 2000). Labour brokerage agencies could serve to adjust the flow of temporary labour as employers needed. Japanese Brazilian migrants are required to absorb the risk of employment insecurity as a temporary worker (Higuchi & Tanno, 2003). In addition, employers paid less for welfare benefits and bonus for dispatched workers. A substantial rise of the number of dispatched workers enables employers to decrease the cost of labour, instead of hiring the large number of regular employees (Tanno, 2007). Unskilled jobs with fewer opportunities for training and promotion are

concentrated into the sector for nonstandard employment. Even if temporary workers attempt to move from the nonstandard to standard employment sector, they are less likely to do so because they tend to be lowly evaluated by employers (Takenoshita, 2006). Besides, since entry points into standard employment have been restricted upon those who completed fulltime education, most of Brazilians who had already finished education in Brazil appeared to have fewer chances to enter standard employment (Takenoshita, 2010).

According to these arguments, we can derive two hypotheses. For one thing, Brazilian migrants in Japan would have the greater difficulty with reducing earnings gap with the dominant group even if they assimilate into the host society, because labour market sectors are more highly divided in Japan than in the US. For another, there would be no cross-national difference in the rate of socioeconomic assimilation across two countries due to no cross-national difference in the labour market segmentation.

Educational institutions and opportunities for advancement among Brazilian migrants

According to Reitz, educational institutions have potential effects on immigrant status in two ways. First they determine the educational levels of native-born workers with whom immigrants must compete, and second, they determine access and opportunities for immigrants to upgrade their own educational levels (Reitz, 1998: 28).

Unsurprisingly, the US has undergone more educational expansion over time than Japan or elsewhere (Arum et al., 2007). According to Kikkawa (2004), the enrollment rate of tertiary education has consistently risen to almost 70 per cent in the US, whereas it remained less than 50 per cent in Japan. The greater educational expansion might make it more difficult for Brazilian migrants in the US to compete with native-born than Brazilians in Japan.

On the other hand, occupational or earnings return to education

might be also important in determining socioeconomic incorporation of immigrants in two countries. Ishida demonstrates that return to college education is considerably higher in the US than in Japan. This difference seems to lie in the relationship between educational institutions and labour market. In the US, workers could return to educational institutions in order to acquire more skills and knowledge, even if they began to work. Further, employers tend to highly evaluate job applicants who already had professional skills and knowledge acquired either in higher educational institutions or in other companies (Ishida, 1993). By contrast, if they entered the labour market in Japan after completing secondary education, they were less likely to return to higher education. Employers have usually provided employees with opportunities for acquiring firm-specific skills in the internal labour market (Rosenbaum & Kariya, 1989). Due to special emphases on accumulating firm-specific skills in the same company under the permanent employment, work experience and knowledge acquired either in another company or in educational institutions do not appear to be considered to be favourable characteristics for job applicants in Japan (Koike, 1988).

These variations in the relationship between education and labour market would reflect differences in opportunities for immigrants to attain educational qualification in the country of destination. If Brazilians migrate to the US, there seems to be some possibilities that they re-entered tertiary educational institutions in the US, because higher educational qualification is highly evaluated in the US labour market regardless of whether they are native-born or foreign-born (Zeng & Xie, 2004). On the other hand, Brazilian migrants in Japan are assumed to have less incentive to invest in education in Japan, partly because return to education in Japan is relatively lower in a comparative perspective. In addition, the institutional mechanism of transition from school to work in Japan would prevent Brazilian migrants who have already ended education in Brazil

from participating in standard employment sector. That is because, among job candidates without any previous work experience in the standard employment sector, the entrance into fulltime employment is to a considerable degree restricted to young job applicants before graduating from high schools or colleges (Rosenbaum & Kariya, 1989). When this institutional mechanism is taken into account, it is assumed that Brazilians in Japan would continue to be in a disadvantaged position in the labour market, even though they have higher educational degree.

Data and Measurement

In order to compare between Japan and the US, data come from several sources of census and survey. Data for the United States is obtained from 2000 US PUMS (5 percent Public Use Microdata Sample)¹. On the other hand, we employ Japanese data which consists of three different sources of survey: Survey for Brazilian migrants in Shizuoka Prefecture², 2005 Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) survey³, and Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS), 2000–2003⁴. Since one survey for Brazilians is restricted to those who reside in one region, where they are considerably concentrated, native-born Japanese samples should also be limited to those who live in the same region⁵. Thus, Japanese samples, which consists of combination of three sources of survey, are not nationally representative, so the US data are also confined to those who live in the place in which Brazilian migrants are concentrated. That is, native-born non-Hispanic white and Brazilian migrants living in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York are extracted from 5 percent PUMS. This extraction is based on the anthropological investigation into Brazilian migrants in the US which reported that they have migrated mainly into the East Coast (Margolis, 1994; 1998)⁶.

Note that Japanese dataset is obtained from a combination of three different sources of data, resulting in different probabilities of

being chosen for samples from populations. While there are a larger number of Brazilian samples than Japanese samples in the combined dataset, there are roughly two per cent of Brazilian populations to total populations in Shizuoka Prefecture. Therefore, the combined dataset is weighted according to the share of Brazilian to Japanese populations⁷. The present analysis focuses on 20–64-year-old Brazilian immigrants living in Japan and the US as well as native-born Japanese and non-Hispanic White in the same age range.

We use the following measures when the impact of human capital acquisitions on earnings is estimated. Logged annual earnings are employed as a dependent variable⁸. Japanese local currency is converted into US dollar to mitigate the cross-national difference in how earnings are measured. One dummy variable of Brazilian immigrants is used for comparing earnings gap between Brazilian immigrants and mainstream population. Educational attainment consists of three categories: Compulsory education or less, secondary and tertiary education. Age and age squared are used in order to examine how labour market experience affects earnings. Occupational status is dichotomised between manual and nonmanual occupations. Years since migration and language fluency is measured for confirming the impact of assimilation into the host society on labour market outcome.

Descriptive statistics of immigrant characters in two societies

Before comparing the determinants of labour market outcome among Brazilian migrants across two countries, we take a look at cross-national variations in detailed characteristics of Brazilian migrants. By observing the similarity and difference of individual attributes among those who share the same country of origin but live in the different countries of destination, we could identify cross-national variations in the extent to which immigrants are selected. In addition, we compare immigrants' individual attributes with main-

stream majority population in two countries. Differences in individual characteristics between these two groups are very useful information for considering the way in which they upgrade their socioeconomic status.

Table 1 shows individual attributes among Brazilian migrants in Japan and the United States, compared with native-born mainstream population. As for the average age, Brazilian migrants in Japan is roughly 5 years older than those in the US. However, both of them are 5 to 6 years younger than native-born majority. With regard to educational attainment among Brazilian migrants, the proportion of the tertiary educated is approximately ten per cent higher in the US than in Japan. It represents that Brazilian immigrants in the US are more positively selected. It seems to be due to the differences in the selection process across two societies, as argued in the previous section. Given the fact that unregulated migration process would reduce the cost of movement and return, Japanese immigration policy might encourage Brazilian migrants with less ability and skills to go beyond national borders. Differences in educational attainment across two groups are thus consistent with the argument of migration process of regulation. On the other hand, when compared with mainstream majority population in two countries, the proportion of tertiary educated is significantly lower among Brazilian migrants in both countries. Despite more positive selection of Brazilians in the US, more educational expansion in the US resulted in the greater gap of educational attainment between immigrants and majority population as is also consistent with the argument in the previous section.

Occupational composition also differs between two countries. Among Brazilian migrants in two countries, the proportion of professionals and managers is much lower in Japan than in the US. There are only two per cent of professionals and managers in Japan while the US shows sixteen per cent. In addition, the fact that Brazilian mi-

Table 1. Socio-demographic and Economic Characteristics of Brazilian immigrants and native-born populations, aged 20–64, Japan and the United States

	Japan		U.S.	
	Japanese	Brazilians	Native-born White	Brazilians
Mean age	45.59 (11.26)	39.79** (10.75)	40.94 (11.35)	34.56** (9.10)
Percent self-employed	17.22	1.89**	10.16	18.40**
Percent women	45.66	41.21**	48.04	45.19**
Education (percent): Compulsory or less	18.77	43.43**	6.01	28.43**
Secondary	53.73	44.70	48.21	49.16
Tertiary	27.51	11.87	45.78	22.41
Occupation (percent): Professional and Managers	14.03	2.30**	41.25	16.95**
Clerical	19.64	1.22	18.48	7.56
Sales and Service	18.62	3.38	20.45	45.10
Manual and Agricultural	47.70	93.11	19.81	30.39
Mean years Since migration	—	9.62 (5.42)	—	7.17 (5.21)
Japanese/English fluency	—	—	—	—
Does not speak Japanese/English	—	5.31	—	7.61
Yes, but not well	—	19.56	—	25.79
Yes, but neither good nor bad [‡]	—	41.19	—	—
Yes, speaks well	—	27.72	—	30.57
Yes, speaks very well	—	6.22	—	30.62
Yes, speaks only English [‡]	—	—	—	5.42
Mean annual earnings				
Male	50,560 (24,347)	33,787** (8,131)	55,631 (63,143)	32,572** (42,135)
Female	19,307 (17,540)	20,575 (7,076)	31,592 (34,497)	20,895** (24,107)
N	392	792	600,066	2,195

** $p < .01$

Note: What these figures mean depends on the type of variables included in this table. We show the distribution of categorical variables and mean and standard deviation of continuous ones. The figures in parentheses indicate standard deviation of continuous variables.

[‡]: Measures of language fluency differ to some degree between U.S. census and Japanese survey for Brazilians. There is a choice that they speak Japanese, but neither good nor bad in Japanese survey, whereas there is not in the U.S. census. In contrast, the U.S. census provides respondents with a option that they speak only English.

grants in Japan concentrated on manufacturing industry reflects the extremely high share of manual workers among Brazilian migrants in Japan. The share of service workers is much higher in the US than in Japan. While these results are almost identical to the argument about cross-national differences in local labour market between Brazilian migrants in two countries, we could not anticipate variations in the share of professional and managers according to these arguments. The extremely low share of professionals and managers among Brazilians in Japan might lead to the more difficulties of raising their socioeconomic status in Japan during their work career.

Average years since migration among Brazilian migrants in Japan is approximately two years longer than its counterpart of Brazilian immigrants in the US. However, this result might originate from the fact that the US census was implemented seven years earlier than the survey for Brazilian migrants in Shizuoka. We should be cautious to consider the result of language fluency because the US and Japan differ regarding the choices in the question of language fluency. Given the variations in the options, there however appears to be difference in the result of language fluency. The rate of those who speak the official language in the host society very well is higher in the US than in Japan. This result means the higher level of linguistic assimilation which took place in the US. There seems to be some factors which would be linked to the higher level of cultural assimilation: the highly ranked status of English in the world, more positive selection among Brazilian migrants in the US.

Finally, note the mean and standard deviation of annual earnings. Regardless of the destination countries, Brazilian immigrants earn significantly less wage than majority population, even though there is an exception that earnings among Japanese female is almost the same level as Brazilian female in Japan. This is mainly because many married Japanese female workers engage in part-time employ-

ment. In a comparative perspective, there is a larger gap of earnings and fringe benefit between standard and nonstandard employment in Japan than in other advanced countries. The fact that married Japanese women are incorporated into the secondary labour market sector might lead to no significant difference of average earnings between Japanese and Brazilian women.

Standard deviations of earnings also differ between Japan and the US. In general, earnings' standard deviation is lower in Japan than in the US, regardless of whether they are immigrants or native-born majority population. However, when we focus on earnings among Brazilians in two countries, its standard deviation is extremely lower in Japan than in the US, while average level of earnings is very similar across two societies. The basic statistics of earnings in two countries suggest that Brazilians in Japan might be more likely to face the difficulties of upgrading their earnings than those in the US.

Multivariate analyses of earnings in two countries

In this section, we examine the gaps of logged annual earnings between Brazilian migrants and majority population in each country, by using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression method. We combined samples of native-born majority population and Brazilian immigrants into one integrated dataset in each country, while the combined dataset in Japan is weighted according to the ratio of Brazilian population to total population in Shizuoka prefecture. The models are estimated separately for men and women. While Model 1 does not take into account other demographic characteristics at all, Model 2 and 3 control the effect of educational achievement, age and occupational position. The interaction term of education and ethnicity is added to Model 4, so that we could ensure whether the effect of education on logged earnings differ between Brazilian migrants and majority population.

Table 2. Effects (Unstandardized Coefficients and Robust Standard Errors) of Migrant Status on logged annual earnings among Male Workers

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Constant	10.714** (0.040)	10.493** (0.002)	8.038** (0.393)	5.870** (0.023)	8.229** (0.404)	5.848** (0.023)	8.226** (0.405)	5.846** (0.023)
Brazilians	-0.318** (0.041)	-0.494** (0.027)	-0.211** (0.042)	-0.151** (0.026)	-0.163** (0.045)	-0.123** (0.026)	-0.091 (0.076)	-0.030 (0.047)
Education (reference: Compulsory or less) Secondary			0.227** (0.087)	0.332** (0.069)	0.151+ (0.091)	0.290** (0.007)	0.154 (0.094)	0.292** (0.007)
Tertiary			0.380** (0.098)	0.828** (0.007)	0.239* (0.100)	0.691** (0.007)	0.244* (0.103)	0.693** (0.007)
Age			0.108** (0.021)	0.189** (0.001)	0.099** (0.021)	0.189** (0.001)	0.099** (0.021)	0.189** (0.001)
Age squared			-0.111** (0.025)	-0.202** (0.001)	-0.100** (0.026)	-0.203** (0.001)	-0.100** (0.026)	-0.203** (0.001)
Nonmanual work					0.294** (0.075)	0.228** (0.004)	0.293** (0.075)	0.228** (0.004)
Brazilians* Education Secondary							-0.084 (0.099)	-0.088 (0.058)
Tertiary							-0.267** (0.110)	-0.261** (0.084)
N	661	312,245	661	312,245	661	312,245	661	312,245
R2	0.0065	0.001	0.223	0.234	0.274	0.244	0.274	0.244
F-value	59.64**	342.02**	28.91**	16,376.30**	36.80**	14,722.62**	28.89**	11,046.83**

+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 3. Effects (Unstandardized Coefficients and Robust Standard Errors) of Migrant Status on logged annual earnings among Female Workers

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Constant	9.559** (0.063)	9.924** (0.002)	9.714** (0.878)	6.779** (0.025)	10.035** (0.814)	6.795** (0.025)	10.034** (0.817)	6.792** (0.025)
Brazilians	0.318** (0.065)	-0.380** (0.031)	0.351** (0.093)	-0.099** (0.032)	0.519** (0.094)	0.025 (0.031)	0.459** (0.163)	0.185** (0.061)
Education (reference: Compulsory or less) Secondary			0.052 (0.162)	0.368** (0.010)	-0.011 (0.161)	0.230** (0.010)	-0.014 (0.167)	0.232** (0.010)
Tertiary			0.380 (0.098)	0.901** (0.010)	-0.139 (0.257)	0.658** (0.010)	-0.142 (0.263)	0.661** (0.010)
Age			0.108 (0.021)	0.116** (0.001)	-0.033 (0.039)	0.111** (0.001)	-0.033 (0.039)	0.111** (0.001)
Age squared			-0.111 (0.025)	-0.123** (0.001)	0.038 (0.044)	-0.118** (0.001)	0.038 (0.045)	-0.118** (0.001)
Nonmanual work					0.637** (0.166)	0.434** (0.005)	0.637** (0.167)	0.433** (0.005)
Brazilians* Education							0.102 (0.174)	-0.090 (0.073)
Secondary							0.112 (0.258)	-0.437** (0.088)
Tertiary								
N	502	288,419	500	288,419	500	288,419	500	288,419
R2	0.0022	0.0004	0.017	0.131	0.125	0.161	0.125	0.161
F-value	23.59**	146.85**	6.17**	8,029.48**	9.52**	8,491.04**	7.78**	6,371.25**

+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 2 presents the coefficients estimated under these models for men. In Model 1, there exist significant differences of earnings between these two groups in both countries, although we did not control other demographic characters. There seems to be a larger gap between majority population and Brazilian migrants in the US than in Japan. Controlling for educational attainment and age, there remains significant difference of earnings between them, even though the level of earnings gap becomes smaller. Even if the occupational status is added to the model, significant difference in earnings could be observed in both countries. It is also noted that Japan and the US greatly differ in the extent to which education affects earnings. In Model 3, earnings among tertiary educated is almost 1.7 times higher than its counterpart of compulsory educated in the US while it is only 1.2 times higher in Japan after controlling for occupational status. It is also consistent with the argument in the previous section. In Model 4, we could commonly find out lower earnings return to education among Brazilian migrants than majority population across country. However, the total effect of tertiary education among Brazilian migrants in the US is much greater than its counterpart of Brazilians in Japan due to the difference in the additive effect of tertiary educational credential between two societies. When native-born Japanese and non-Hispanic white are excluded out of the dataset, there is no significant impact of having tertiary education on earnings in Japan at all while earnings among tertiary educated is significantly higher than that among compulsory educated in the US.

Table 3 presents the result of OLS regression for women. Surprisingly, Brazilian women earn higher earnings than Japanese women before and even after controlling for other demographic factors, while the result of earnings gap between Brazilian and native-born white women in the US is almost similar to those for men in two societies. As stated in the previous section, it is attributable to

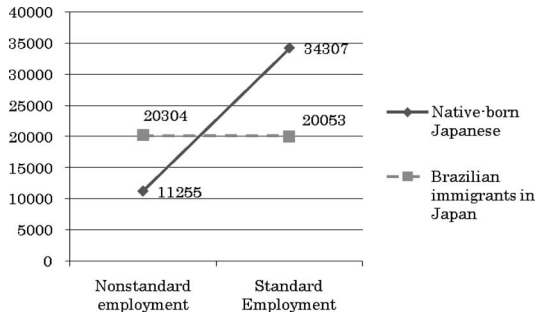


Figure 1. Mean earnings by employment status and ethnicity

the fact that married Japanese women are incorporated into nonstandard employment sector. When earnings among women in Japan is compared by employment status and ethnicity as seen in Figure 1, earnings among Japanese women in standard employment sector is much higher than Brazilian women in both employment sector. In contrast to the result for women in Japan, earnings among Brazilian women in the US are significantly lower than that among native-born non-Hispanic white. After education, age and occupational position are controlled, earnings gap between two groups disappeared. It implies that lower earnings among Brazilian women in the US are attributable to lower level of educational achievement and occupational positions. In Model 4, there is a significant variation in the effect of education on logged earnings which depends on ethnicity. It seems that earnings return to higher education is lower among Brazilian women than among Brazilian men in the US.

Turn to the impact of assimilation on earnings among Brazilian migrants in two countries. In order to examine whether assimilation could upgrade earnings among immigrants, years since migration and language fluency is added to the models. Table 4 shows the coefficients of OLS regression for both men and women in Japan and the US. Note the impact of years since migration on logged earnings.

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Table 4. Unstandardized Coefficients and Robust Standard Errors of the Individual Characteristics on Logged Earnings

	Men		Women	
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Constant	10.487** (0.079)	9.897** (0.007)	9.377** (0.132)	9.165** (0.010)
Brazilians	-0.335** (0.093)	-0.417** (0.100)	0.385** (0.147)	0.009 (0.110)
Education (reference: compulsory or less) Secondary	0.128 (0.101)	0.286** (0.007)	-0.043 (0.155)	0.213** (0.010)
Tertiary	0.238* (0.109)	0.760** (0.008)	-0.161 (0.246)	0.653** (0.010)
Nonmanual work	0.342** (0.082)	0.251** (0.004)	0.623** (0.167)	0.485** (0.005)
Brazilians* Education Secondary	-0.035 (0.103)	-0.168** (0.055)	0.144 (0.160)	-0.168* (0.076)
Tertiary	-0.179 (0.112)	-0.288** (0.081)	0.108 (0.241)	-0.531** (0.097)
Brazilians* YSM	0.003 (0.003)	0.032** (0.005)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.021** (0.007)
Brazilians* language fluency reference: Does not speak Japanese/English Yes, but not speak well	0.132* (0.053)	0.039 (0.100)	0.112+ (0.065)	-0.087 (0.121)
Yes, but neither good nor bad	0.153** (0.050)	—	0.136+ (0.069)	—
Yes, speaks well	0.230** (0.054)	0.096 (0.101)	0.118 (0.074)	-0.009 (0.124)
Yes, speaks very well	0.118+ (0.070)	0.112 (0.107)	-0.104 (0.137)	0.140 (0.132)
Yes, speaks only English	—	0.117 (0.141)	—	0.169 (0.181)
N	631	312,245	476	288,419
R2	0.148	0.113	0.122	0.117
F-value	16.65**	3,681.90**	6.250**	3,304.03

+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Among male workers, there is no significant effect of YSM on earnings in Japan whereas we could find a significant positive association between YSM and earnings in the United States. The longer they reside in the United States, the higher their earnings when it

comes to Brazilian migrants in the US. In contrast, language fluency significantly affects earnings among Brazilian men in Japan while it does not influence earnings among Brazilian male workers in the US. Earnings among Brazilian men who speak Japanese regardless of the level of language fluency are significantly greater than earnings among those who do not speak Japanese at all. Labour market outcome is improved by language fluency in Japan while the length of time in the host society is more important for socioeconomic achievement than language fluency itself in the United States. The same finding also seems to be true for Brazilian female workers, even though the impact of assimilation on earnings is substantially weaker among women in both countries than among men. It is however unclear about to what extent these sorts of assimilation contribute to the substantial decrease in earnings gap between Brazilian migrants and native-born majority population. Could Brazilian migrants catch up socioeconomically with native-born majority through assimilation in Japan and the United States?

Table 5 presents earnings of Brazilian migrants in Japan relative to native-born Japanese men by Japanese fluency, educational credential, and gender. As for male workers, earnings among Brazilian men tend to rise as they improve their Japanese fluency. Although the impact of language fluency on earnings appears to be greater among tertiary educated than among compulsory and secondary educated, it is not statistically dependent on education¹²). While Brazilian men who could not speak Japanese at all earn 57 per cent of earnings of Japanese men, the figure for those who could speak Japanese well/very well is 70 per cent. They could not catch up with the dominant group in the Japanese labour market through improving Japanese fluency. As for female workers, earnings among Brazilian women remain constant around 40 per cent of Japanese men regardless of their Japanese fluency and educational level. Brazilian women in Japan appear to be more disadvantaged than Brazilian

Table 5. Earnings of Brazilian migrants in Japan relative to native-born Japanese men by Japanese fluency, educational credential, and gender

		Men			Women		
		All	Compulsory and secondary educated	Tertiary educated	All	Compulsory and secondary educated	Tertiary educated
Brazilian	Not at all	0.57	0.58	0.55	0.39	0.39	
	Not well	0.64	0.64	0.65	0.40	0.40	0.44
	Neither good nor bad	0.66	0.65	0.70	0.41	0.41	0.38
	Well and very well	0.70	0.69	0.76	0.41	0.41	0.42
Japanese	Mean Earnings	50,560	47,030	59,451	19,547	17,520	24,677

Note: The figures for Brazilian migrants are earnings relative to native-born Japanese men.

men¹³).

Table 6 and 7 show earnings of Brazilian migrants in the US and Japan relative to native-born majority male workers by educational attainment and gender, respectively. Earnings upon arrival greatly differ between tertiary educated and compulsory or secondary educated men in the United States. Focusing on Brazilian migrants who reside in the US for less than 2 years, compulsory or secondary educated earn only 34 per cent of earnings of native-born White, whereas the figure for tertiary educated is 103 per cent. On the other hand, entry-level earnings of Brazilian men in Japan are approximately 60 per cent of earnings of native-born Japanese men, even though they do not depend on educational attainment.

The extent to which earnings rise as Brazilian immigrants stay in the host society longer also depends on country. In the US, earnings for Brazilian men with primary or secondary education who live there for more than 15 years are only 61 per cent of earnings of

Table 6. Earnings of Brazilian migrants in the U.S. relative to native-born non-Hispanic White men by YSM, educational credential, and gender

		Men			Women		
		All	Compulsory and secondary educated	Tertiary educated	All	Compulsory and secondary educated	Tertiary educated
Brazilian	0-2	0.47	0.34	1.03	0.27	0.23	0.40
	3-5	0.56	0.47	0.98	0.36	0.33	0.47
	6-9	0.58	0.48	0.96	0.42	0.36	0.58
	10-14	0.65	0.55	1.11	0.42	0.37	0.54
	15-	0.75	0.61	1.20	0.51	0.36	0.91
White	Mean Earnings	55,631	38,524	77,525	31,592	22,762	41,213

Note: The figures for Brazilian migrants are earnings relative to native-born non-Hispanic White men.

Table 7. Earnings of Brazilian migrants in Japan relative to native-born Japanese men by YSM, educational credential, and gender

		Men			Women		
		All	Compulsory and secondary educated	Tertiary educated	All	Compulsory and secondary educated	Tertiary educated
Brazilian	0-2	0.63	0.63	0.59	0.41	0.41	0.40
	3-5	0.65	0.64	0.68	0.40	0.40	0.40
	6-9	0.68	0.67	0.75	0.41	0.41	0.43
	10-14	0.67	0.66	0.71	0.42	0.42	0.49
	15-	0.69	0.68	0.78	0.39	0.39	0.36
Japanese	Mean Earnings	50,560	47,030	59,451	19,547	30,408	11,255

Note: The figures for Brazilian migrants are earnings relative to native-born Japanese men.

native-born white. It seems to be associated with extremely lower entry-level earnings for Brazilian migrants with lower educational background in the US. Compared with native-born White with the same educational credential, it rises to 88 per cent. Highly educated Brazilian men who live there for more than 15 years earn 119 per cent of earnings of native-born White, but, the figure declines into 86 per cent when the educational background among the dominant group is taken into account. This tendency is attributable to the greater additive effect of educational attainment rather than the effect of interactive term of education and YSM.

On the other hand, when it comes to Brazilian men who live in Japan for more than 15 years, earnings of the compulsory or secondary educated are 68 per cent of earnings of native-born Japanese men whereas the figure for tertiary educated is 78 per cent. If educational background among Japanese men is taken into account, the figure for Brazilian men with lower education is 73 per cent; for Brazilian men with higher education, 66 per cent. Please note however that both years since migration and educational attainment has no significant impact on earnings if the target of analysis is limited to Brazilian men in Japan.

Let me move to the result of female workers in the US. Unsurprisingly, native-born White women earn 57 per cent of earnings of native-born White men. Entry-level earnings of Brazilian women are further lower than native-born White men. It is only 27 per cent of earnings of the dominant group. The figure for compulsory educated is 23 per cent, even for tertiary educated, 39 per cent. Focusing on those who live there for more than 15 years, the figure rises up to 91 per cent when it comes to tertiary educated, whereas those with primary or secondary education earn only 36 per cent of earnings of the dominant group. When OLS regression is applied to Brazilian women in the US, it also ensures that the effect of YSM on logged earnings significantly depends on educational attainment.

On the other hand, Japanese women earn 38 per cent of earnings of Japanese men. It is much lower than the earnings of native-born White women. Entry-level earnings of Brazilian women are almost identical to earnings of Japanese women. In addition, earnings of Brazilian women in Japan remain almost unchanged even if they stay in Japan longer, regardless of different educational background.

In sum, it is revealed that entry-level earnings of Brazilian men and women are much lower in the US than its counterpart of Japan, except for Brazilian men in the US with tertiary education. Both Brazilian men and women in the US with lower education had difficulty with raising earnings even if they assimilate into the host society. On the other hand, although entry-level earnings of Brazilian migrants in Japan are relatively higher, their earnings have remained unchanged even if they assimilate into the host society.

Conclusion

In the current study, differences in institutional features of reception of immigrants in Japan and the US have been discussed. I discussed possible two hypotheses about the labour market segmentation on earnings in two societies. For one thing, labour market sectors are more highly distinguished in Japan than in the US, so it is anticipated that Brazilian migrants in the US is more likely to overcome the socioeconomic difficulties as they assimilate into the host society. For another, there is no difference between two countries in the labour market segmentation. In this case, cross-national similarities in the rate of socioeconomic assimilation could be expected across two countries. In fact, the first hypothesis roughly holds true for Brazilian migrants in Japan and the US. Brazilian men and women greatly differ across country of destination in the rates of socioeconomic assimilation. Neither is there any significant effect of years since migration on earnings among Brazilian migrants in Japan, nor improvement of Japanese fluency did result in

the substantial decline in the earnings gap between Brazilian and Japanese workers. On a contrary, earnings among Brazilian migrants in the US are prone to rise as they assimilate into the host society, although, in many cases, there remains the modest earnings inequality between Brazilians and majority population in the US.

Cross-national comparison of labour market incorporation between Japan and the US ensured that institutional features of labour market segmentation greatly matters in affecting the immigrants' incorporation into labour market. Although some studies emphasise the importance of labour market segmentation for immigrants' socioeconomic position in the US, there is also some evidence that immigrants can to a certain extent overcome inferior socioeconomic position as they assimilate into American society (Bean et al., 2004). In a comparative perspective, Brazilian migrants in Japan are more likely to be stuck in low-end jobs than those in the US.

Institutional features of labour market segmentation in Japan matter more when we consider earnings difference between Brazilian and Japanese women. It is highlighted that Brazilian women consistently earn more than average Japanese women, due to the fact that many Japanese women have been incorporated into the secondary sector. Even now, there still remains M-shaped pattern in the female labour force participation rates by age in Japan. Once they have been out of labour force in order to raise their children for several years, they would face the difficulty with returning to standard employment sector. These labour market conditions for women in Japan seem to result in no significant earnings differential between Brazilian and Japanese women.

We also made two hypotheses regarding the effect of educational institutions on labour market outcomes in two countries. Firstly, the greater educational expansion in the US would make it more difficult for Brazilian migrants there to compete with the dominant

group in the labour market. Secondly, lower level of return to education which is rooted in the institutional mechanism of transition from school to work and employment practice in Japan would lead to the greater difficulty Brazilian migrants in Japan have with overcoming earnings gap with the dominant group. In fact, the second one is verified according to empirical findings. Educational attainment matters more for Brazilians in the US. It is highlighted that entry-level earnings of Brazilian men in the US greatly depends on educational attainment while the effect of the length of time in the US on earnings of Brazilian women depends significantly on educational attainment. By contrast, when it comes to Brazilian migrants in Japan, neither is there any significant difference in the entry-level of earnings across different educational background, nor does the effect of assimilation on earnings depend on education. Compared with Brazilian migrants in the US, we could demonstrate that institutional arrangements of education combined with the labour market segmentation actually give rise to the greater difficulty of overcoming the earnings inequality with the dominant group among Brazilian migrants in Japan. The present study has thus emphasised, through empiric analyses conducted above, that institutional features of immigration policy, labour market structure and educational institutions appear to differentiate the labour market incorporation of immigrants into the host society between Japan and the United States.

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Notes

- ¹ We obtained data of US census for 2000 from Minnesota Population Center in University of Minnesota, by using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (Steven et al., 2008).
- ² I am grateful to Shizuoka Prefectural government for being allowed to use the data from the survey for Brazilian migrants in Shizuoka Prefecture.
- ³ I am also grateful to 2005 SSM research committee for being allowed to use the SSM dataset.
- ⁴ The Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) are designed and carried out at the Institute of Regional Studies at Osaka University of Commerce in collaboration with the Institute of Social Science at the University of Tokyo. The project is financially assisted by Gakujutsu Frontier Grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology for 1999–2003 academic years, and the datasets are compiled and distributed by SSJ Data Archive, Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan, Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo. I acknowledge them for being allowed to use these datasets.
- ⁵ If we use either 2005 SSM survey or JGSS, there are not enough samples of native-born Japanese when those living in Shizuoka prefecture were extracted. Therefore, two different sources of data are combined to get a comparable number of native Japanese samples.
- ⁶ A large number of Brazilian migrants also live in California and Florida except for New York and Massachusetts according to the census. However, one pointed to the fact that there are some differences in occupational status and their social background in Brazil between East and West coast (Bessera, 2003). It might result from the fact that immigrants' economic incorporation would depend considerably on local labour market (Sassen, 1995). Therefore, this research is limited to four states in the East Coast in the U.S.
- ⁷ One might question the plausibility of combining the different sources of

dataset with different survey time points. However, there are many similarities between SSM and JGSS in terms of the sampling procedure and how to measure the demographic variables.

⁸ The year of the survey we use in this paper ranges from 2000 to 2007. Earnings are therefore adjusted by using consumer price index, in which earnings in 2005 are set to 1.

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