

Immigrant Integration and Place Attachment among Brazilian Immigrants in Japan

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Introduction

During the time of globalization, many countries have increasingly accepted a large number of immigrants from other countries, thereby generating a lot of tensions and conflicts across people in the receiving societies. We see the growth of anti-immigrant sentiment among native-born individuals in several countries where many immigrants are accepted (Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Hainmueller and Hiscox, 2010; Semyonov et al., 2006). In addition, in several countries, such as France, Germany, and Sweden, conservative political parties that strongly advocate the exclusion of immigrants attract large numbers of voters and win some seats in parliament (Finnsdottir, 2022; Jylha et al., 2022; Rustenbach, 2010). Meanwhile, the labor market in the receiving country tends to have a strong demand for immigrant workers, regardless of whether they are highly skilled or unskilled. It means that the demand for immigrants in the receiving societies is structurally embedded due to declining fertility rates and continued educational expansion experienced by these societies (Cornelius and Tsuda, 2004). Technological development in transportation and communication has also

contributed to the growth in the flow of people's movement from one country to another. People can move across national borders and keep ties with people who remain in their local communities through the Internet and SNS (social network services) (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Tsuda, 2003).

The recent situation of transnational migration has altered how people migrate and adapt to their country of destination. The assimilation and integration theories nowadays try to identify the divergences in assimilation and integration patterns and how they depend on the societal contexts of the sending and receiving countries (Alba and Nee, 2003; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes et al., 2005; Zhou, 1997). These theories also need to account for immigrants' transnational engagement through which they can maintain ties with people in their country of origin, although these immigrants are highly integrated into their country of destination (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Levitt, 2001; Vertovec, 2004). Thus, immigrants' transnational activities nowadays make the process of assimilation and integration more complex than in the past.

To capture the complex mechanisms by which immigrant assimilation and integration occur, we need to account for the multiple dimensions of assimilation. For instance, Milton Gordon, who elaborated on the conventional assimilation theory, distinguished assimilation into the seven subprocesses: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitudinal, behavioral, and civic assimilation (Gordon, 1964). Sociologists focused on socioeconomic assimilation or integration among immigrants, using objective measurements: education, occupation, and income (Waters and Jimenez, 2005). Meanwhile, psychologists paid more attention to the psychological dimensions of assimilation and integration (Berry, 2001). Given the current complex situations of immigrant integration, we need to shed light on how the structural dimension of integration is intertwined with its psychological dimensions and vice versa (Torunczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska, 2020). For instance, we suppose that individuals who are highly embedded in and constrained by social surroundings make a choice for their actions from several options, and the chosen action influences their trajectories of life courses (DiPrete and Eirich, 2006). From this perspective, we need to look carefully at how immigrants consider their own migration

experience and their intention for settlement or return in the future because their reflection shapes socioeconomic assimilation or integration of their own and their offspring.

Based on the issues discussed above, this study focuses on a sense of attachment to different places and groups (place attachment) because place attachment forms one of the crucial bases for immigrant identities (Ehrkamp, 2005). According to the previous literature on immigrant place attachment, some studies explore immigrants' emotional attachment to a place in their country of destination (Torunczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska, 2020). Nevertheless, theories of transnationalism claim that immigrants can maintain a dual frame of reference about their country of origin and country of destination (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Levitt, 2001). From this perspective, we should shed light on both attachments to these two places. In addition, immigrants may also feel more attached to ethnic communities than their origin or destination countries because ethnic communities may form distinctive places where immigrants are protected from competition with and discrimination by natives (Portes et al., 2005). It is thus important to elucidate and compare a sense of attachment to different places among immigrants.

This study aims to explore emotional attachment to different places or groups among immigrants in Japan and to identify how socioeconomic and social integrations are linked to place attachment. In this study, we can contribute to previous literature in two important ways. First, we focus on immigrants in Japan, a recent destination country. Several previous studies investigated this topic in European countries, which accept many immigrants from other countries (Ehrkamp, 2005; Glorius et al., 2020; Hellgren, 2019; Hernandez et al., 2007). Meanwhile, Japan is a relatively new immigrant destination. Igarashi (2021) exceptionally examined place attachment among immigrants in Japan; however, there remain few studies that explored immigrants' identities and attachment to different places using the quantitative data set in Japan. Japan is seen as one of the recent immigration countries that are highly reluctant to accept immigrants. However, the Japanese economy and society have a structural demand for immigrants to sustain and reproduce themselves (Tsuda and Cornelius, 2004). This situation makes Japanese

immigrants have distinctive characters in terms of their identities and place attachments.

Second, we explore attachment to different places. Previous literature regarding place attachment focused solely on emotional attachment to immigrants' destination country (Glorius et al., 2020; Hernandez et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2010; Torunczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska, 2020). However, immigrants may feel attached to other places, such as their origin country or their ethnic community in their destination, as argued above (Ehrkamp, 2005). Furthermore, the place to which immigrants may feel attached differs in scale. It includes room, home, neighborhood, city, region, and state (Lewicka, 2010). Igarashi (2021) also examined attachment to the destination country and ethnic communities but did not investigate attachment to the country of origin. This study investigates what shapes attachment to the origin country, ethnic communities, and the destination country and how it differs across three types of place attachment.

In the next section, we review several theoretical arguments regarding assimilation, integration, and place attachments. Then, we discuss the contexts of reception for immigrants in Japan compared to other countries. Next, we describe the data set, variables, and methods employed in our analyses. We show the descriptive statistics and results estimated with the multivariate analyses. Finally, we conclude this article by discussing the findings and their implications.

Immigrant assimilation, integration, and place attachment

The conventional assimilation theory was initially established to explain patterns of adaptation among immigrants from Southern and Eastern European countries at the turn of the twentieth century. Despite many criticisms of this theory concerning a lack of assumption about variations in assimilation patterns across immigrant groups (Alba and Nee, 2003; Portes et al., 2005), the theoretical formulation elaborated by Milton Gordon (1964) still provides significant insights for explaining recent conditions of immigrants. He divided assimilation into seven subprocesses: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude, behavior, and civic. Cultural assimilation indicates the

shift of culture from country of origin to country of destination. Structural assimilation refers to large-scale entrance into primary group relationships with natives. Identificational assimilation mentions the development of a sense of identity as the majority in the host society (Gordon, 1964). This formula highlights the multiple dimensions of assimilation, and we need to consider how assimilation patterns differ by dimension and how one dimension of assimilation relates to another.

Recent immigration studies explore increasing divergences in assimilation patterns among several immigrant groups and how assimilation patterns and processes depend on resources held by and social circumstances surrounding immigrants (Alba and Nee, 2003; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Portes and Rumbaut (2006) provide a comprehensive monograph on immigrant assimilation and integration in the U.S. and describe different aspects of immigrant incorporation, such as spatial mobility since their migration to the U.S., occupational and economic advancement, identity and citizenship, mental health and psychological well-being, the role of religion for immigrant adaptation, acquisition of the host country language, and situations of the new second generation.

Issues of immigrants' identities have received remarkable attention among many researchers: anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists. Among several elements, place attachment is one of the critical components in constructing immigrants' identities because immigrants move beyond national borders and adapt to a new social environment. Psychologists define place attachment as the affective link that people establish with specific settings, where they remain and where they feel comfortable (Hernandez et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2010). In addition, we need to consider that the place where people feel attached differs in scale, as argued above. It includes room, home, neighborhood, district, city, region, and state (Lewicka, 2010). Moreover, immigrants may feel attached to their country of origin, but previous literature has emphasized the importance of immigrants' attachment to their destination country (Torunczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska, 2020). Du (2017) proposed the need to elucidate immigrants' attachment to their origin and destination countries because the attachment to their destination may depend on the one to their origin.

Torunczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska (2020) proposed to view place attachment as one of the critical domains in immigrant integration. They defined integration as the process of inclusion of immigrants in the institutions and relationships of the host society, and they proposed that integration can be applied to the psychological domain among immigrants (Torunczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska, 2020). They also stated that emotional attachment to the country of destination is a crucial component in integration in the psychological domain. Following their viewpoint, this study also treats place attachment as an indicator of psychological integration.

From this standpoint, psychological integration would presumably depend on integration in other domains. According to Van Tubergen (2006), integration can be distinguished into several types: economic, social, and cultural. Economic integration refers to achieving parity in socioeconomic status and financial resources between immigrants and natives. We can measure economic integration in terms of unemployment, occupational status, income, and wealth. Social integration refers to the extent to which immigrants interact socially with natives. Cultural integration indicates the degree to which cultural values and patterns are shared among immigrants and natives (Van Tubergen, 2006).

As the previous literature argued, psychological integration, measured by emotional attachment to immigrants' destination country, depends on whether and to what extent immigrants have a stable relationship with a place of residence. From this perspective, social integration, such as ties with natives, is critical in enhancing psychological integration (Lewicka, 2010; Torunczyk-Ruiz and Brunarska, 2020). Ties with people help immigrants perceive the long-lasting relations between themselves and specific places. In addition, homeownership, seen as an indicator of economic integration, is one of the critical predictors of psychological integration because homeownership allows immigrants to live a stable life for longer years in a specific place (Lewicka, 2010).

Meanwhile, the relationships between psychological integration and other social and economic integrations show inconsistent pictures. While a study reported that higher socioeconomic status led to higher place attachment, another study showed that the higher the socioeconomic status, the lower the place attachment (Lewicka, 2005; Lewicka, 2010). The different patterns were

identified due to other confounders. For instance, higher income allows people to own housing (positive relationship) and move their residence more frequently than poor people (negative relationship) (Lewicka, 2010). Empirical findings on the relationship between family and place attachment are also inconsistent. Brown et al. (2004) documented that married individuals were more likely to feel attached to home, but those with children were less likely to do so.

Based on the conventional assimilation theory, we assume that cultural assimilation or integration is strongly connected to psychological assimilation (Gordon, 1964). The more familiar people are with the norms and customs of the host society, the more attached people feel to the host society. Following previous literature, we also use the host country's language fluency and the length of years in the host society as indicators of cultural assimilation or integration (Chiswick, 1978; Waters and Jimenez, 2005).

In contrast, theories of transnationalism suggest different perspectives on immigrant assimilation and integration. Some immigrants can often return to their origin country if necessary (Tamaki, 2011), and they can maintain ties with their family and friends who live far from their residence through online electronic devices (Tsuda, 2003). Theories of transnationalism explore how immigrant transnational activities complicate their settlement processes and how people are attached to different places and spaces (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Levitt, 2001; Vertovec, 2004). From the transnationalism perspective, immigrant's assimilation or integration into the host society is not a one-way process, but it depends on the societal contexts of both the sending and receiving countries.

Following the transnationalism theories (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007), even if immigrants are deeply embedded or integrated into the destination country, they can maintain their attachment to the origin country. We assume that other types of assimilation and integration would not diminish immigrants' attachment to their origin country and that immigrants can keep both attachments to their origin and destination country through their transnational engagement, although they are fully integrated into the host society. Considering theories of assimilation and transnationalism, we need to shed light on both attachments to origin and destination.

Moreover, we should look specifically at the immigrant identifications with ethnic communities. The segmented assimilation theory demonstrates the importance of ethnic communities or solidarity in achieving economic integration in the destination country (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). This theory does not posit that ethnic communities or immigrant solidarity hinder immigrant integration into the host society. Instead, ethnic communities enable immigrants to achieve economic parity with natives or overcome discrimination or obstacles against immigrants in the destination country (Xie and Gough, 2011). We consider that this situation can apply to attachment to ethnic communities. Social ties with co-ethnic individuals or participation in co-ethnic institutions may increase immigrants' emotional attachment to ethnic communities or groups.

The Japanese context of immigration

Since the 1980s, Japan has accepted many immigrants from other countries due to demographic, economic, and social trends (Tsuda and Cornelius 2004). The strong demand for immigrant workers in Japan occurred due to declining fertility rates, which reduced the workforce's size, decreased population in rural areas supplying labor to urban regions, and educational expansion, which reduced the youth with lower education (Tsuda, 2006).

To cope with these challenges, the Japanese government revised the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990. Although the act officially prohibits foreign, unskilled workers from entering Japan, it admits second and third-generation *Nikkeijin* (i.e., descendants of Japanese emigrants). The immigration policies in some countries tend to prefer immigrants with the same ethnic origins. This policy change enabled the Japanese government to introduce many unskilled migrant workers without contradicting the fundamental principles of its immigration policy (Tsuda and Cornelius 2004). In addition, because of their shared ethnic ancestry, the Japanese government assumed that the *Nikkeijin* would be culturally similar to the Japanese and would quickly assimilate into Japanese society; however, in reality, most of the *Nikkeijin* migrants in Japan do not speak Japanese well and are culturally Latin

American in origin (Tsuda 2006). According to foreign registration statistics, only 14,000 Brazilians lived in Japan in 1989, but the population exceeded 100,000 by 1991 and 200,000 five years later. In 2007, the Brazilian population in Japan approached approximately 316,000 but declined rapidly, following the economic crisis, to 230,552 in 2009. We did not see any remarkable increase in the Brazilian population in Japan afterward, and it became 209,430 in 2022.

We should mention how Brazilian migrants have been employed in Japan to explain their incorporation into Japanese society. Many Brazilian migrant workers have been temporary workers dispatched to client firms by contract companies or labor dispatching agencies (Higuchi and Tanno, 2003). The Japanese labor market is highly distinguished between the standard and non-standard employment sectors. Unskilled migrant workers are likely to be incorporated into non-standard employment. Unskilled workers in non-standard employment engage in dead-end precarious jobs with lower pay. As native workers shun jobs in such a periphery employment sector, this labor market sector has a structural demand for migrant workers. Migrant workers are also willing to be temporary workers if they identify as temporary migrants rather than permanent settlers (Piore, 1979). As argued below, many Brazilian workers intended to return to their origin country rather than remain in Japan. The identification of Brazilian migrants with temporary workers thus enabled them to accept unstable employment contracts in Japan (Takenoshita, 2013).

American immigration studies demonstrate the importance of ethnic communities in helping immigrants gain social support and resources from other co-ethnic individuals or groups, thereby making upward mobility in the host society (Portes and Bach, 1985). Meanwhile, this is not necessarily the case with immigrant groups in different countries. In Japan, there exist ethnic communities where many co-ethnic immigrants reside. However, fewer migrant workers engage in self-employment or small businesses (Kataoka, 2015). Its crucial reason is that migrant workers are strongly channeled into jobs in non-standard employment (Takenoshita, 2013). Migrants need more resources and motivation to start their small businesses than they do to find jobs in the non-standard employment sector. A lack of economic resources would presumably hinder ethnic communities from working to provide support and resources to

other co-ethnic individuals.

Finally, we need to account for the role of transnationalism in shaping the incorporation of Brazilian immigrants in Japan. Recent technological developments in transportation and communication enable Brazilian migrants to maintain their ties or attachment to people in their country of origin. The ethnic return migration policy in Japan also gives preferential treatment to descendants of Japanese emigrants up to the third generation. As the *Nikkeijin* migrants in Japan have stable residence status, they can move back and forth between Brazil and Japan more easily than other migrant groups. The transnational engagement of Brazilian migrants in Japan helps to maintain their ties with families or friends in their sending communities. Meanwhile, the frequent transnational movement between Brazil and Japan produced difficult conditions for their integration into Japanese society. Takenoshita offered empirical evidence showing that back-and-forth movement between Brazil and Japan had negative consequences for adult immigrants' upward mobility and their offspring's educational attainment (Takenoshita, 2010; Takenoshita et al., 2014).

In addition, Tsuda (1999) reported that the transnational engagement of Brazilian immigrants helped maintain their intention to return to their origin country. Tsuda and Takenoshita also argued that transnationalism among Brazilian migrants in Japan may block their integration into the destination because they are reluctant to invest in not only developing their skills in the labor market but also the educational attainment of their offspring due to their intention to return to Brazil in the future (Takenoshita et al., 2014; Tsuda, 1999).

Let us summarize the arguments on how Brazilian migrants have been received in Japan over several decades. The Japanese government and firms have viewed these migrants as temporary workers who would finally return to their origin country. This stance also influences how they perceive and interpret their migration experience and choice of future action. According to the 2007 survey targeting Brazilian migrants in Shizuoka prefecture, 63 percent of Brazilian migrants intended to return to their origin country in the future. Meanwhile, only 19 percent of them intended to settle down in Japan. This situation would probably shape their emotional attachment to their origin and destination

countries. In other words, Brazilian migrants would keep attached more strongly to Brazil than to Japan, even if they lived in Japan for many years. The Japanese context of reception for migrant workers is characterized as a lack of efforts to integrate immigrants into the host society. Therefore, we assume that there might be weak or no associations between assimilation or integration into Japanese society and emotional attachment to Japan.

Analytical strategies

In this study, we investigate how economic, social, and cultural assimilations or integrations shape emotional attachment to the origin country, the destination country, and ethnic communities. In this section, we propose several hypotheses based on our discussions on immigrant assimilation and integration theories and the Japanese immigration contexts. First, we suggest the hypotheses based on straight-line assimilation theory. This hypothesis assumes that assimilation would encourage immigrants to shift their identity from their country of origin to their country of destination. In addition, the straight-line assimilation theory assumes that assimilation would weaken immigrants' identification with their ethnic community. We hypothesize the association between assimilation or integration and emotional attachment to the three societies as follows:

Hypothesis 1a: The more greatly Brazilian migrants are integrated, the less likely they are to feel attached to the origin country.

Hypothesis 1b: The more greatly Brazilian migrants are integrated, the more likely they are to feel attached to the destination country.

Hypothesis 1c: The more greatly Brazilian migrants are integrated, the less likely they are to feel attached to the ethnic community.

Second, we propose several possible hypotheses based on the segmented assimilation theory. Segmented assimilation theory argues that there are different patterns of assimilation or adaptation into the host society (Portes et

al., 2005). It discusses that the divergent pathways of assimilation depend on resources held by and societal circumstances surrounding immigrants. This theory highlights the critical role of ethnic communities in improving immigrants' socioeconomic resources. Based on this argument, ties with co-ethnic individuals and participation in activities of co-ethnic groups or organizations encourage immigrants to strengthen a sense of emotional attachment to other co-ethnic individuals. Immigrant entrepreneurs also depend on an ethnic community when they hire other co-ethnic immigrants and trade their products to other co-ethnic customers. We assume that immigrant entrepreneurship may increase their identification with an ethnic community.

Hypothesis 2a: Brazilian migrants who have ties with co-ethnic individuals or institutions are more likely to feel attached to their ethnic community.

Hypothesis 2b: Brazilian entrepreneurs are more likely to feel attached to their ethnic community.

In addition, if we apply this argument to their emotional attachment to the origin country, we may observe similar types of association between variables related to ethnic communities and emotional attachment to the origin country. We draw the two possible hypotheses based on this assumption.

Hypothesis 2c: Brazilian migrants who have ties with co-ethnic individuals or institutions are more likely to feel attached to their origin country.

Hypothesis 2d: Brazilian entrepreneurs are more likely to feel attached to their origin country.

The segmented assimilation theory also emphasizes the importance of discrimination in shaping the trajectories of immigrant assimilation and integration. We assume that prejudice or discrimination against Brazilian migrants would also strengthen their identification with their co-ethnic group and produce a cohesive ethnic tie with other individuals. Given this

consideration, we make several possible hypotheses;

Hypothesis 2e: Brazilian migrants who perceive discrimination are more likely to feel attached to their origin country.

Hypothesis 2f: Brazilian migrants who perceive discrimination are less likely to feel attached to their destination country.

Hypothesis 2g: Brazilian migrants who perceive discrimination are more likely to feel attached to their ethnic community.

Finally, we discuss the hypotheses based on theories of transnationalism. According to this theory, we assume that immigrants' transnational ties with people in their country of origin and their transnational engagement allow immigrants to keep attached to their country of origin. Conversely, transnationalism theories lack a consistent discussion on how transnational practices shape immigrants' identification with the country of destination or ethnic communities. There are two possible scenarios for explaining immigrants' identities with their destination. On the one hand, transnational practices may weaken a sense of attachment to their destination. In contrast, immigrants' transnational engagement with their country of origin encourages them to maintain attachment to their ethnic community and other co-ethnic individuals. Given this argument, we derive the following hypotheses;

Hypothesis 3a: Brazilian migrants who engage in transnational practices are more likely to feel attached to their origin country.

Hypothesis 3b: Brazilian migrants who engage in transnational practices are more likely to feel attached to their ethnic community.

Hypothesis 3c: Brazilian migrants who engage in transnational practices are less likely to feel attached to their destination country.

On the other hand, transnational engagement with their country of origin may not weaken identification with the country of destination. Previous literature argues that immigrants can maintain a dual frame of reference concerning the country of origin and the country of destination through their transnational activities (Gelatt, 2013; Levitt, 2001). Based on the arguments, we draw the hypotheses as follows:

Hypothesis 3d: Brazilian migrants who engage in transnational practices are more likely to feel attached to their destination country.

Data, measurement, and methods

We use the data derived from the survey on Brazilian immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture, undertaken in 2007, primarily because it measures how immigrants feel attached to their country of origin, ethnic community, and country of destination. This survey has six indicators for measuring emotional attachment: attachment to Brazil, hometown in Brazil, Brazilians in Japan, Japan, Shizuoka Prefecture, and neighborhood. Using the indicators, we can ensure how these items are correlated to each other.

This data focuses on Brazilian immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture in 2007. The author of this article helped the Shizuoka Prefectural government design the questionnaire, check any errors in the data set, do statistical analyses, and write discussion papers for this government. After the end of this research project, the Shizuoka Prefectural government allowed us to use the data set.

As the Shizuoka Prefectural Government implemented this survey, the survey assessed the extent to which Brazilian immigrants in Shizuoka were integrated into Japanese society. The sample in this survey was not nationally representative. Nonetheless, we believe we can illustrate Brazilian immigrants' socioeconomic conditions in Japan with this dataset. Among the 47 prefectures in Japan, 16% of Brazilian immigrants reside in the Shizuoka Prefecture. In 2007, more than half of the Brazilian immigrants lived in the Tokai region, the central area of Japan (which includes the four prefectures of Aichi, Gifu, Mie, and Shizuoka). Manufacturing industries, especially export-oriented industries that

produce automobiles and electronic appliances, are located in these prefectures. Employers need temporary workers because the demand for these products often fluctuates considerably. The demand for temporary workers attracted many Brazilian workers to the region (Takenoshita, 2013).

This survey primarily employed a systemic sampling method to randomly select samples from the alien registration records maintained by each municipality within the Shizuoka Prefecture. After randomly selecting 3,861 samples from these lists, the government mailed the questionnaires to the respondents. In total, 161 questionnaires did not reach their targets largely because of address changes. The government received 1,090 responses from the participants—a rate of 29.5% (Takenoshita, 2013).

Table 1 lists the variables used in the multivariate analyses. To proceed with the statistical analyses, we have two steps; first, we explore how different attachments to places or groups are related to each other using the principal component analysis. We assume that there are three dimensions to place attachment among immigrants: country of origin, country of destination, and ethnic community. The principal component analysis ensures how many dimensions exist in place attachment among Brazilian immigrants in Japan. Second, we examine what shapes place attachment among Brazilian immigrants in Japan. In this analysis, we test several hypotheses, such as straight-line assimilation, segmented assimilation, and transnationalism.

Descriptive results

Figure 1 presents the results of six questions regarding place attachment among Brazilian immigrants in Japan. More immigrants reported that they felt very attached to Brazil (43%) and their hometowns in Brazil (31%) than to other places. Meanwhile, the proportions of those who felt very attached to the current neighborhood, Shizuoka Prefecture, and Japan are relatively smaller than that of their origin country. Less than 10% of respondents felt attached to other co-ethnic individuals in Japan. It means that a sense of attachment to the ethnic community is much weaker than the one to their country of origin.

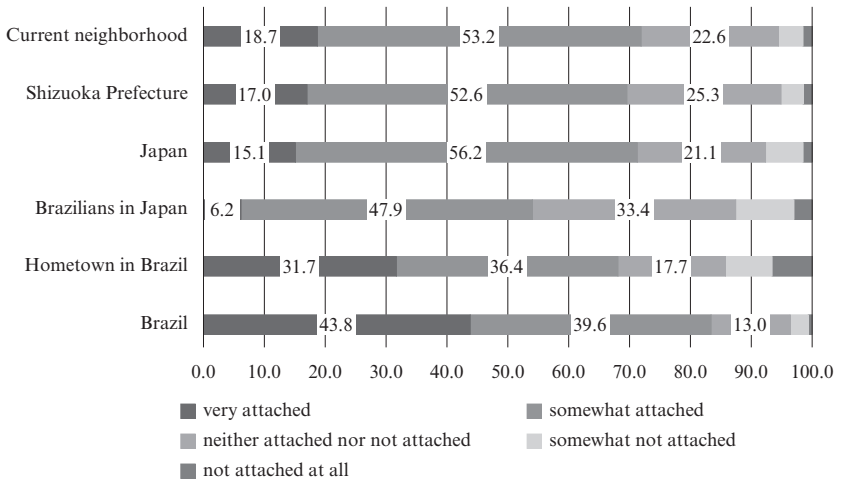
Table 1 lists the results of variables used in the multiple regression analyses.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of variables used in the multivariate analyses

	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Dependent outcomes				
Identity with an origin country	6.031	1.773	0	8
Identity with co-ethnic people in Japan	2.503	0.832	0	4
Identity with a destination country	8.461	2.202	0	12
Independent variables				
Gender (1=female)	0.490	0.501	0	1
Age	37.743	10.609	16	63
Education in Brazil (Reference: Compulsory)				
secondary	0.534	0.499	0	1
tertiary	0.199	0.400	0	1
Education in Japan	0.079	0.269	0	1
Employment status (Reference: Regular employment)				
part-time employment	0.063	0.243	0	1
dispatched employment	0.707	0.456	0	1
self-employment	0.031	0.175	0	1
unemployment	0.042	0.201	0	1
inactivity in labor force	0.026	0.160	0	1
Non-manual occupation	0.039	0.194	0	1
Household income	325.785	223.855	0	1700
Home ownership	0.084	0.277	0	1
Length of years in Japan	9.447	5.431	0.3	19.5
Japanese language fluency	7.950	5.130	0	20
Perceived discrimination	1.853	1.065	0	4
Return to an origin country (Reference: No experience)				
Once	0.332	0.472	0	1
Twice	0.181	0.385	0	1
Three times or more	0.123	0.329	0	1
Marital status (Reference: No spouse)				
spouse living in Japan	0.702	0.458	0	1
spouse living abroad	0.037	0.188	0	1
Children living in Japan	0.466	0.499	0	1
Children living in an origin country	0.126	0.332	0	1
Participation into a co-ethnic festival or activity	0.432	0.496	0	1
Affiliation in religious organizations	0.346	0.476	0	1
Affiliation in co-ethnic organizations	0.086	0.281	0	1

We describe the characteristics of samples used in our analyses. Regarding the distribution of education acquired in Brazil, 27% finished their schooling at a compulsory level, 53% at a secondary level, and 20% at a tertiary level. The

Figure 1. The descriptive results of place attachment



educational level of Brazilian immigrants in Japan is relatively lower than that of the Japanese population. Only less than one in ten achieved their education in Japan. We describe the distribution of employment status among Brazilian samples in this study. 13% were employed as regular workers, and 70% were in dispatched employment. Self-employed were only 3%. A large number of Brazilian workers concentrated in the non-standard employment sector. In addition, many Brazilian workers engaged in unskilled factory jobs, and only 4% were clerical workers. Turning to the homeownership, less than 10% owned housing in Japan. A third of respondents have never returned to their country of origin. Other two-thirds have returned to the origin country once or more. Regarding family situations, three-quarters were married, and most lived with their spouse in Japan. Less than half of respondents lived together with their children in Japan, while 13% had children living separately in other countries (mostly their country of origin).

Relationships among place attachment

Table 2 indicates the result of the principal component analysis. The table on the

Table 2. The results of place attachment estimated by principal component analysis

	Eigenvalue	Proportion		PC1	PC2	Uniqueness
PC 1	2.686	0.448	Brazil	0.010	0.856	0.267
PC 2	1.582	0.264	Hometown in Brazil	0.028	0.856	0.267
PC 3	0.708	0.118	Brazilians in Japan	0.450	0.471	0.575
PC 4	0.471	0.078	Japan	0.860	-0.032	0.260
PC 5	0.367	0.061	Shizuoka Prefecture	0.913	0.076	0.161
PC 6	0.186	0.031	Neighborhood	0.892	0.056	0.202

left side shows the extent to which each factor explains the variance of the six observed variables. We estimated the six principal components using the six observed variables of place attachment. The first and second principal components account for more than 70% of the variances of the six observed variables. A principal component is extracted if its eigenvalues exceed one. Based on this criterion, we conclude that the first two principal components can summarize the variances of the six variables.

The table on the right side lists the coefficients of the two principal components, estimated after applying for varimax rotation. The result of the first principal component indicates that attachments to Japan, Shizuoka Prefecture, and the current neighborhood have larger coefficients, nearly equal to one. We can interpret the first principal component as a summary of attachment to a country of destination. Turning to the second principal component, Brazil and hometown in Brazil have the larger coefficients. The second principal component represents attachment to a country of origin. Meanwhile, attachment to co-ethnic individuals in Japan is relatively weakly affiliated with the first and second principal components. Thus, attachment to an ethnic community is related to attachment to a country of origin and a country of destination but not independent from both attachments.

This result is partly consistent with our prior discussions on migrants' identities because immigrants' identification with a country of origin and a country of destination are formed independently. Meanwhile, the result differs from our expectations regarding their identities with ethnic communities. Attachment to co-ethnic individuals is not formed separately from the other two

types of identities.

However, I find it problematic that we will use the scores of the two principal components in the regression analyses. By using the scores, we cannot observe what shapes attachment to an ethnic community among Brazilian immigrants in Japan. The concern of this study is to explore what shapes the three types of immigrants' identities: identities with a country of origin, a country of destination, and an ethnic community. As our priority is to identify what shapes the three types of attachment, we decided not to use the scores of the two principal components. Instead, we calculated the scores on the three identities according to the results of the principal component analysis. The measure of immigrants' identities with their country of origin was calculated by the sum of the scores regarding attachment to their country of origin and hometown. The measure of immigrants' identities with their destination country was calculated by the sum of the scores regarding attachment to their country of destination, the prefecture of current residence (Shizuoka Prefecture), and their current neighborhood. Finally, we used responses to attachment to co-ethnic individuals as a measure for immigrants' identities with their ethnic community.

What shapes psychological integration?

Table 3 presents the results of regression analyses predicting the three outcomes: attachments to immigrants' country of origin, country of destination, and ethnic community. We depict the results of the determinants of the origin country. Regarding the stratification-related variables, education acquired in Brazil did not influence attachment to their country of origin. Meanwhile, we see the negative effect of educational experience in Japan on this outcome. In other words, immigrants who enrolled in Japanese schools were less likely to feel attached to their country of origin. This result seems consistent with the straight-line assimilation hypothesis, such as Hypothesis 1a. We can find similar results in the effects of the length of years in Japan and Japanese language proficiency. The longer immigrants lived in Japan, the better they spoke Japanese, the less likely they were to feel attached to their origin country. In

contrast, there were no significant effects on attachment to the origin country of other socioeconomic status variables such as employment status, occupations, household income, and homeownership. Moreover, social capital with co-ethnic institutions did not significantly influence attachment to the origin country.

We consider the roles of family in shaping emotional attachment to the origin country. Those with spouses living separately abroad were more likely to feel attached to the origin country. This result is quite reasonable from the transnationalism perspective and consistent with Hypothesis 3a. In addition, we observe that those with children living together in Japan were less likely to feel attached to the origin country. We predicted this pattern based on the straight-line assimilation theory.

Meanwhile, we also see that those with spouses living together in Japan were more likely to feel attached to the origin country. This result deviates from the prediction of straight-line assimilation theory because familial lives in the host society would presumably promote immigrants' assimilation. Although we did not distinguish married couples based on the spouses' nationality in this analysis, most respondents in this data set married co-ethnic partners. This result means that marriage with co-ethnic individuals strengthened immigrants' identification with their country of origin. Turning to the results of the frequency of returning to the country of origin, we see that return visits promoted attachment to the country of origin. This result also highlights the importance of transnational engagement with the country of origin in maintaining immigrants' identification with their country of origin. It supports the claim of Hypothesis 3a. Overall, attachment to the origin country depends on assimilation and transnationalism.

We describe the result of attachment to an ethnic community. One notable finding is that the self-employed are more likely to feel attached to an ethnic community. This result supports the claim of the segmented assimilation hypothesis, which assumes that immigrant entrepreneurs depend on and obtain economic resources from their ethnic community. In addition, linguistic assimilation weakened immigrants' identification with their ethnic community. This result supports the claim of the straight-line assimilation theory. Hence, Brazilian immigrants who speak Japanese well do not have to rely on ethnic

Table 3. The regression analyses predicting place attachments

	Brazil		Brazilians in Japan		Japan	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Gender (1=female)	-0.230	0.179	-0.109	0.090	0.056	0.232
Age	-0.015	0.010	-0.004	0.005	0.021	+ 0.013
Education in Brazil (Reference: Compulsory)						
secondary	-0.112	0.210	-0.004	0.106	-0.120	0.275
tertiary	0.413	0.270	-0.039	0.136	0.161	0.353
Education in Japan	-0.822 *	0.354	0.246	0.183	0.240	0.461
Employment status (Reference: Regular employment)						
part-time employment	-0.359	0.417	0.211	0.210	0.495	0.543
dispatched employment	-0.322	0.275	-0.092	0.138	0.338	0.357
self-employment	0.126	0.553	0.680 *	0.278	1.381	0.719
unemployment	-0.012	0.495	-0.014	0.248	0.262	0.657
inactivity in labor force	0.559	0.603	-0.228	0.315	0.911	0.785
Non-manual occupation	-0.772	0.480	-0.114	0.241	-0.068	0.625
Household income	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001
Home ownership	-0.168	0.345	-0.136	0.173	-0.549	0.449
The length of years in Japan	-0.056 **	0.020	-0.010	0.010	-0.033	0.027
Japanese language fluency	-0.065 **	0.021	-0.023 *	0.010	0.025	0.027
Perceived discrimination	-0.023	0.085	-0.097 *	0.042	-0.528 **	0.110
Participation into a co-ethnic festival or activity	0.102	0.184	0.103	0.093	0.219	0.240
Affiliation in religious organizations	0.248	0.188	0.078	0.094	0.052	0.244
Affiliation in co-ethnic organizations	-0.317	0.321	0.137	0.166	0.459	0.419
Marital status (Reference: No spouse)						
spouse living in Japan	0.509 *	0.226	-0.048	0.113	-0.670 *	0.293
spouse living abroad	1.550 **	0.512	0.323	0.258	0.096	0.667
Children living in Japan	-0.451 *	0.195	0.153	0.098	0.130	0.255
Children living in an origin country	-0.123	0.269	0.202	0.137	0.463	0.351
Return to an origin country (Reference: No experience)						
Once	0.469 *	0.211	-0.019	0.106	-0.131	0.275
Twice	0.697 **	0.252	0.208	0.127	-0.061	0.327
Three times or more	0.274	0.301	0.120	0.149	-0.062	0.384
Constant	7.417 **	0.566	2.986 **	0.286	8.745 **	0.736
N	382		382		382	
R ²	0.152		0.028		0.068	
F	3.62 **		1.42 +		2.06 **	

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

communities or ties with other co-ethnic individuals to obtain some resources or support, leading to their weaker attachment to the ethnic community.

Another interesting finding is that perceived discrimination weakened attachment to the ethnic community. Based on the discussion of segmented assimilation theory, we assumed that perceived discrimination would strengthen immigrants' solidarity with co-ethnic individuals, their participation in ethnic institutions, and their identification with ethnic communities. However, we cannot observe the empirical evidence which supports this hypothesis. At the time of the survey implementation in 2007, many Brazilian immigrants believed that they would return to their origin country. Considering that temporary migration hinders immigrants from helping each other and establishing their ethnic community, temporary migration would also weaken their attachment to their ethnic communities.

Finally, we turn to the result of attachment to the country of destination. One of the notable findings is that neither cultural nor economic assimilation enhanced attachment to the destination country. Regarding the regression model predicting attachment to the origin country, cultural assimilation and educational experiences of themselves and their children weakened immigrants' identification with their origin country. In contrast, we did not obtain a similar pattern of the results when observing their identification with their destination country. Hence, cultural and economic assimilations did not strengthen their identities for the destination.

Conversely, perceived discrimination and having a spouse who lived together in Japan had negative influences on attachment to the destination country. We can understand that perceived discrimination discourages immigrants from forming their identities with their destination. The effect of having a spouse living together in Japan is viewed as quite similar to the results predicting attachment to their origin. In other words, the fact that immigrants live together with a spouse contributes to maintaining identities with the origin country and weakens their identification with the destination country.

Discussion and conclusion

This study explores what shapes immigrants' identifications with their country of origin, ethnic communities, and country of destination among Brazilian immigrants in Japan. To do so, we used three theories: straight-line assimilation, segmented assimilation, and transnationalism. What we found through examining how assimilation, discrimination, and transnationalism form place attachment are threefold. First, assimilation into the host society and transnational engagement with the sending country weaken immigrants' identification with the origin country. As Figure 1 shows, Brazilian immigrants felt more attached to their country of origin than to their country of destination and ethnic communities. Hence, Brazilian immigrants overall maintain an attachment to their country of origin.

Conversely, there are significant variations in identification with their origin country, depending on a level of assimilation and transnationalism. While assimilation into Japanese society leads to a gradual decline in attachment to their origin country, transnational engagement allows immigrants to maintain their identities in their origin country. Given the empirical findings, both assimilation and transnationalism theories can explain attachment to the origin country among Brazilian immigrants in Japan well.

Second, in contrast to attachment to the origin country, attachment to the destination does not depend significantly on immigrants' assimilation and transnationalism. Brazilian immigrants felt less attached to their destination country (Japan). Based on the results, assimilation was not an important driver for shifting their identities from country of origin to country of destination. For instance, even if they lived in Japan for longer years or spoke Japanese very well, they did not switch their identities from country of origin to country of destination because integration into mainstream Japanese society was blocked, and immigrants themselves remained ambiguous in deciding whether to remain in Japan or return to their origin country. Immigration control policy for immigrants of Japanese descent allowed Brazilian immigrants to move to Japan with relatively fewer constraints at the time of the survey. It means that even if they return to their origin country after migrating to the destination for several

years, they can move again to the destination in the future. The permanence of temporary migration was thus constructed by the immigration control policy that put relatively fewer restrictions on international migration across countries (Tsuda, 1999). The empirical finding supported this point; the survey result shows that while only 13% reported that they would settle in Japan permanently, more than 70% intended to return to Brazil in the future. As the Japanese government also identified immigrants of Japanese descent as temporary visitors, it justified a lack of integration programs that support immigrants in Japan (Takenoshita, 2015).

Third, we investigated how assimilation and transnationalism shaped immigrants' identification with ethnic communities. One of the significant findings is that immigrant entrepreneurship strengthened their attachment to ethnic communities. According to the ethnic enclave theory, immigrant entrepreneurs depend on and mobilize economic resources from ethnic communities. The entrepreneurs hire other co-ethnic workers or sell some products to them. Given this argument, it is unsurprising that their attachment to ethnic communities is higher than that of employees. Nevertheless, this result does not contribute substantially to changing lower attachment to ethnic communities among Brazilian immigrants in Japan, mainly because the proportion of entrepreneurs is tiny among this immigrant group. As shown in Table 1, only 3% were self-employed among Brazilian immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture.

Another significant finding in the identification with ethnic communities is that except for immigrant entrepreneurship, immigrant assimilation and transnational engagement are not crucial in shaping their identification with ethnic communities. Segmented assimilation theory assumes that economic assimilation or integration may enhance their ethnic identities or that the perception of discrimination may strengthen immigrants' identification with co-ethnic individuals and other ethnic communities. Furthermore, transnational engagement, such as return visits to origin countries, may also make immigrants attached to their country of origin and ethnic communities. Nevertheless, we did not find any empirical evidence which supported the role of assimilation and transnationalism. This finding is predictable, given the weaker role of ethnic

communities among Brazilian immigrants in Japan. Many Brazilian immigrants in Japan are incorporated into the unstable segment of the labor market, such as temporary employment controlled by labor brokerage agencies. Although migrant temporary workers are more likely to be jobless, they could also find similar types of temporary work quickly. Consequently, immigrants did not have to start entrepreneurial activities by themselves. A lack of immigrant entrepreneurs impeded the development of the ethnic enclave and ethnic communities.

Based on the data derived from the 2007 survey of Brazilian immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture, the critical finding in this study is that assimilation and transnationalism were not significant contributors to the transformation of immigrants' identities in Japan. However, this finding is derived from the research on Brazilian immigrants in Japan, using the quantitative survey data collected over a decade ago. The future study should ensure whether this finding can apply to other immigrant groups at different times.

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