

A STUDY ON THE ADAPTATION OF NIKKEIS IN BOLIVIA

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SUMMARY

The adaptation of descendants of Japanese immigrants in Bolivia was surveyed using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to 101 Japanese descendants in two regions of Bolivia. The results obtained were as follows. First, Japanese culture and custom are conserved to a certain degree in the urban region, but they are only slightly retained in the rural region. Secondly, in both regions there are more descendants who consider themselves to be more Latin-American than those who regard themselves as more Japanese. This tendency is marked more in third/late generation than in second generation. As a whole, Japanese descendants are acclimated in Bolivia. They seem to be assimilating to Bolivian society little by little but steadily.

INTRODUCTION

Living in a country which is not the native one tends to be stressful. One lives in a society, adapting oneself to its natural and social environments. Each society has its norms and mores, and its member learns and follows those social norms and mores in order to adjust to one's environment. When people move to another country, it is possible that in the new environment they meet with different social norms and mores which are unfamiliar to them. For example, role expectations can be distinct. Interpersonal relationships and mode of communication may be different. Some of them can be conflictive to those of their native country. In order to adapt to the new society, non-native has to cope with many circumstances and situations which this person has not experienced before, which causes stress in the new life. If there are more differences between two environments, the old and the new, the life in the new environment can be more difficult and more stressful. Also, the language can be different in the new country. An insufficient ability of the new language brings about problems of communication

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with others, which surely impedes the process of the adaptation to the new environment. It has been reported that many factors are concerned in the adaptation process and that when people can not adapt themselves to the new environment, they suffer various psychological and social problems (Nicassio, 1985).

Nowadays, a lot of foreigners are coming to Japan from various countries, and the number of foreign people who live in Japan is markedly increasing. Considering that there exist great differences in many aspects between their countries and Japan and that Japan has been a monocultural society, it is not difficult to imagine that they have difficulties in the adaptation to the Japanese society. Among them, there are many Nikkeis (descendants of Japanese migrants), especially from Latin-American countries. Some of them come to Japan as scholarship student or trainee, and the others as laborer. With regard to their adaptation to Japanese society, Nikkeis may have less difficulties than other foreigners, because Nikkeis generally maintain, to a certain degree, Japanese customs in their countries and are conceived to be familiar with them. But they have grown up in Latin-American societies and they are supposed to have Latin-American character to some extent. Also it is known that many Nikkeis have difficulties with the Japanese language. So it is possible that also Nikkeis have problems of adaptation in the country of their origin. The authors have carried out a research on their adaptation in Japan (Hirata & Foster, 1991). The results of this study revealed that there were much differences between the “Japan” that they had imagined and the “Japan” that they actually observed. Also Japan differs much from their countries, especially in the aspects of social and human relationships. These differences were considered to be a source of their problems of adaptation in Japan, and to make them feel less identified with Japanese than when they were in their countries.

In order to understand the problems of adaptation of Nikkeis in Japan, it is very important to know how they live in their countries, how they adapt themselves to their societies, and what they think of Japan and of their origin. So we have made a research in Bolivia regarding adaptation of Nikkeis in that country.

Among Latin-American countries, Brasil has more Japanese immigrants and their descendants, and Peru and Argentina follow it. Bolivia occupies the fourth position in the population of Nikkeis. The history of Japanese immigration in Bolivia started in the end of the nineteenth century. In April of 1899, the first group of 790 Japanese immigrants into Latin-American countries arrived at Peru. They, divided into small groups, began to work in plantations as fieldworkers. But as conditions of work and life in the plantations were very severe, many Japanese immigrants left there. Among them was a group of 93 Japanese, including two translators, that entered Bolivia in September of that year. This group is considered to be the first Japanese immigrants in Bolivia that has been documented. They arrived at a place named San Antonio in the jungle of the department of La Paz, and began to work in a plantation. But here in Bolivia they also suffered severe conditions of work and life, and many of them moved to another plantation. From there some of them returned to Peru. At the end of the year 1900 most of those who had remained in Bolivia returned to Peru by an

order of the Japanese government.

Afterwards, starting from around the year 1908, many Japanese immigrants entered the jungle of northwestern region of Bolivia, in the departments of Beni and Pando, from Peru to work in the collection of sap of rubber tree. Also there were other Japanese immigrants who began to engage themselves in other occupations such as agriculture, commerce, etc. Many of them remained there and had family. Today, a lot of descendants of Japanese immigrants are found in this region. Although it is not known exactly how many they are, it is estimated that the population of them reaches in thousands or more.

There were Japanese immigrations not only in the rural region but also in the urban region. About 1910, some Japanese immigrants came to the city of La Paz from Peru as peddlers, and then opened their stores in this city. From then many Japanese immigrants have arrived at this city to engage in commerce and other industries from Peru and Japan. The commercial activities of Japanese immigrants flourished and the population of them also increased. In 1922, the Japanese Society of La Paz was founded with about 30 members. This society filled the role of Japanese consulate until when a Japanese diplomatic office was opened in La Paz in 1949. Now the association has about 140 members, and it is estimated that there live hundreds of Nikkeis in the city of La Paz.

The Japanese immigration to Bolivia from Peru and Japan mentioned above was done at personal level. Apart from this, there exist two other Japanese immigrations which were organized by the governments of Bolivia and Japan¹⁾. In these immigrations, the Bolivian government provided the land and the Japanese government sent its people, who had applied, in group to Bolivia as agricultural colonists. One of these group immigrations was from the prefecture of Okinawa. In 1954, about 400 immigrants (about 150 families) arrived in two groups to a land in the department of Santa Cruz. Owing to an unknown disease and other reasons they had to move twice in one year and arrived at the place where they live now, which is called Colonia Okinawa. As the land provided to them was forest, they had to clear it in order to make fields for agriculture. From 1954 until 1988, about 3300 Okinawan people (about 700 families) immigrated in this colony. But as it has been very difficult to attain the economical stability because of unfavorable conditions of land and of natural disasters such as flood and drought, many families moved out from the colony. Only 190 families still live there today.

And the other group immigrated to the colony of San Juan de Yapacani also in the department of Santa Cruz. From 1955 until 1987, about 1700 immigrants (about 500 families) from various prefectures in Japan entered this colony. Owing to the similar reasons as in the colony of Okinawa, many families left there, and now about 190 families still remain. Both colonies were made up of only Japanese immigrants in its earlier period, but now they have also many Bolivian inhabitants who engage in commerce or work as laborer.

¹⁾ After the World War II, Okinawa had been occupied by the United States of America until 1972, and Okinawa had been administered by a government named Ryukyu. So in fact, the Okinawan immigration in Bolivia was organized by Ryukyu government.

In the present research, the adaptation of descendants of the Japanese immigrants in Bolivia was investigated using a questionnaire. The research was carried out in two regions of Bolivia. One was the city of La Paz and the other was a rural region extending across the departments of Beni and La Paz. The city of La Paz is the first city of Bolivia, and has a population of about six hundred thousand inhabitants. This city is not a capital but it is the seat of government and legislature. Also it is the center of economic activities of this country, and there are many offices of Japanese companies within the city. As mentioned above, it is estimated that hundreds of Nikkeis are living in this city. In the other region, the research was done in four provincial towns: Rurrenabaque, Reyes, and Santa Rosa of the department of Beni, and San Buenaventura of the department of La Paz. These towns are situated nearby one another and are considered to belong to one region, having natural, cultural, and industrial characteristics in common. They have populations of about one to three thousand inhabitants. The principal industry of this region is agriculture and cattle breeding. And compared with the city of La Paz, it is an economically underdeveloped region. In this region it is conceived that several hundreds of Nikkeis are living.

METHOD

Questionnaire Questions about the following topics were included in the questionnaire.

Background information: A series of personal questions were asked including sex, year and place of birth, length of residence in the region where they lived then, nationality, level of education, actual occupation and its relation to Japan or Japanese company, religion, number of times of visit to Japan and total length of stay, nationality (or generation) of parents, nationality of spouse (for those who were/had been married), and friendship with Nikkei/Japanese and with Bolivian.

Language: Proficiencies in speaking and reading Japanese and Spanish languages were asked on a four-category scale, good-average-poor-very poor.

Conservation of Japanese culture and custom: Subjects were asked about preparing Japanese foods, listening to Japanese music (on a four-category scale, frequently-sometimes-rarely-never), and having Japanese ornaments (on a four-category scale, many-some-few-not any) in their house. Also they were asked whether they would like their offsprings to learn Japanese language, to marry with a Nikkei/Japanese, and to maintain Japanese custom or tradition.

Consciousness of being Nikkei: Degree of identification with Bolivian and with Japanese was asked on a three-category scale, more with Bolivian-with both-more with Japanese. Also Subjects were asked about their character on a three-category scale, more Latin-American-half Latin-American and half Japanese-more Japanese. And they were asked in what aspects they consider themselves to be more Japanese and in what aspects more Latin-American. For each they were required to mention three aspects. (Also to each of the following questions which asked for free responses, except the last question, the subjects were required to give three answers.)

Attitude toward Japan and Japanese people: Those who had been to Japan before were asked what they liked more and what they disliked more about Japan. And those who had not visited Japan were asked what they imagined about Japan. Also all subjects were asked what was the most typical characteristics of Japanese people.

Attitude toward Bolivia: Subjects were asked what they liked more and what they disliked more about Bolivia. And they were asked which country they would like to live in, Bolivia, Japan, or another.

The questionnaire was written in Spanish. It was distributed personally. To each subject the purpose of the research was explained briefly when they received the questionnaire. They were permitted to fill it in their house.

Subjects All the subjects were descendants of Japanese immigrants who lived in Bolivia. Some of them were friends of the authors. They and other Bolivian friends introduced to us other Nikkeis. We asked to fill the questionnaire only to those who were 18 years of age or above.

In La Paz, we collected the questionnaire from 101 Nikkeis (51 males and 50 females). The age of them ranged from 18 to 75 years. And in the rural region 46 Nikkeis (26 males and 20 females) responded the questionnaire. The age of them ranged from 18 to 75 years.

RESULTS

Background information Within the group of subjects from the urban region, only one subject was born in Peru, and the rest in various parts of Bolivia, of whom 11 Nikkeis were from two Japanese colonies. All subjects of the rural region were born in the same region.

There were 45 Niseis (second generation), 53 Sanseis (third generation), and three Yonseis (fourth generation) in the urban group. And 20 Niseis, 24 Sanseis, and two Yonseis were included in the rural group.

In reference to the nationality of parents, 42 subjects (91.3%) of the rural group had a Bolivian father or mother, and there were only four (8.7%) both of whose parents were Japanese. In the urban group, 74 Nikkeis (73.3%) had a Bolivian parent, and 27 (26.7%), out of whom 11 were from the Japanese colonies, had Japanese parents. It can be seen that in the former generation the marriage between Japanese/Nikkei was not common except in the Japanese colonies.

In the urban group 15 Nikkeis (14.9%) had the nationality of Japan, of whom 10 had also the nationality of Bolivia, and 86 (85.1%) had only the Bolivian nationality. Out of 15 Nikkeis who had the nationality of Japan, 14 were of second generation. Especially the subjects from the Japanese colonies showed higher percentage of having Japanese nationality. Eight of them had both nationalities and only three had the nationality of Bolivia alone. Meanwhile, no one in the rural group had the nationality of Japan. In Bolivia those who were born in its territory can have its nationality, even if their parents are not Bolivian. To the contrary, according to the Japanese law, only those who had a father of Japanese nationality were able to acquire it¹⁾.

¹⁾ In 1989 the law on the acquirement of nationality was reformed, and now also those who have a mother of Japanese nationality can acquire it.

As to the level of education, 43 Nikkeis (93.5%) in the rural group, had only the basic education of nine years or less. Only three (6.5%) finished the senior high school of three years, of whom one was an university graduate. In the other group, 44 subjects (43.6%) remained at the level of basic education. Twenty (19.8%) advanced until the senior high school or the technical education course. And 37 Nikkeis (36.6%) graduated from universities. In Bolivia the percentage of those who enter superior education courses is lower in rural regions than in urban regions. The results of Nikkeis seem to reflect the general situation of education in this country.

As to the religion, all the subjects of the rural group were Christian, of whom 37 were Catholic. And there was neither Buddhist nor Shintoist at all. In the urban group 85 Nikkeis (84.2%) were Christian, out of whom 82 were Catholic. Only four Nikkeis (4.0%) were Buddhist, all of whom were from the Japanese colonies.

There were 34 and 66 Nikkeis who had some occupation, in the rural and the urban group, respectively. Twenty-eight (42.4%) of them in the urban group engaged in the work which had relations to Japan or Japanese company. Especially Nikkeis from the Japanese colonies had more relations to Japan in their work. Ten of them were doing some work which was related to Japan. In the rural group there was no one whose occupation had some relation with Japan or Japanese company. This result suggests that Nikkeis of the urban region have more opportunities to have contacts with Japan or Japanese people through their work than those of the rural region.

Twenty-one subjects (20.8%) of the urban group have been in Japan before. Eleven of them visited only once. The length of stay in Japan ranged from one month to ten years. In the rural group there were only two Nikkeis (4.3%) who had visited Japan before. But we were told that there were many Nikkeis of that region who were then staying in Japan to work.

Thirty-five and 50 subjects were or had been married in the rural and the urban group, respectively. In the former group only six Nikkeis (17.1%) had a spouse who was Nikkei. Four of them were Niseis and two were Sanseis. In the latter group 13 Nikkeis (26.0%) were married with a Nikkei/Japanese. All of them were of second generation. The marriage with Nikkei/Japanese was very notable in Nikkeis of the Japanese colonies. There were six married Nikkeis from the Japanese colonies, and five of them had a Nikkei spouse. The percentage of marriage between Nikkeis in the subjects of this research did not differ so much from the percentage in their parents.

Concerning social relations with Bolivian and with Nikkei/Japanese, in the rural group 28 subjects (60.9%) replied that they had more Bolivian friends than Japanese/Nikkei ones, and only one (2.2%) replied that he had more Japanese/Nikkei friends. Sixteen subjects (34.8%) answered "half-and-half". In the urban group 53 Nikkeis (52.5%) had more Bolivian friends and only four (4.0%) had more Japanese/Nikkei friends. And the rest (43.6%) indicated that they had half-and-half. And there was a difference between generations. While in the group of Niseis there were 28 subjects (43.1%) who had more Bolivian friends, there were 53 (64.6%) in the group of Sanseis/Yonseis.

Language In the proficiency of Spanish language, there were little differences between two regions. In both regions all the subjects replied that their levels of speaking and of reading Spanish were average or good.

On the other hand, Two groups showed differences in the proficiency in Japanese language. In the rural group, all the subjects indicated that their levels of speaking and of reading Japanese were poor or very poor. Regarding speaking ability, nine Nikkeis (19.6%) replied that their level was poor and 37 (80.4%) very poor. Also about reading, only three subjects (6.5%) replied that their level was poor and 42 (91.3%) very poor. In the urban group, 28 subjects (27.7%) indicated that their level of speaking Japanese was average or good, 26 (25.7%) poor, and 45 (44.6%) very poor. About reading, 17 Nikkeis (16.8%) of this group responded that their level was average or good, 31 (30.7%) poor, and 49 (48.5%) very poor. Nikkeis of the Japanese colonies showed a superiority in the ability of Japanese language. All of them spoke Japanese with average skill or better, of whom eight read moderately or well.

The proficiency in Japanese language of the urban group appeared to be related to the generation. While 19 Niseis (42.2%) spoke Japanese moderately or well, only nine Sanseis/Yonseis (16.1%) felt their ability was average or better. Also while eleven Niseis (24.4%) read Japanese with average skill, only six Sanseis/Yonseis (10.7%) felt their ability was moderate. However, when a comparison of the Japanese language proficiency was done excluding the subjects of the Japanese colonies, there were little differences between generations. There were eight (23.5%) out of 34 Niseis and nine (16.1%) out of 56 Sanseis/Yonseis who spoke Japanese moderately or well. And three (8.8%) of Niseis and six (10.7%) of Sanseis/Yonseis read Japanese moderately or well. It is seen that the difference in the proficiency in Japanese language does not depend on the factor of generation itself.

Conservation of Japanese culture and custom In the questionnaire the subjects were asked about having Japanese ornaments or objects, listening to Japanese music, and preparing Japanese foods in their house. With regard to the Japanese objects, Nikkeis of the rural group had less ornaments than those of the urban group. In the former group, only nine subjects (19.6%) replied that they had few ornaments, and the rest not at all. To the contrary in the urban group 23 Nikkeis (22.8%) had them considerably, 43 (42.6%) little, and 34 (33.7%) not at all. A similar tendency was obtained about music and foods. While in the rural group there were only 11 Nikkeis (23.9%) who listened to Japanese music in their house frequently or sometimes, in the urban group there were 49 subjects (48.5%) who listened to it frequently or sometimes. Also eight Nikkeis (17.4%) of the rural group and 61 (60.4%) of the urban group replied that they prepared Japanese foods frequently or sometimes. Especially almost all Nikkeis of the Japanese colonies indicated that they, at least sometimes, listened to Japanese music and prepared Japanese foods in their house.

The subjects were asked also whether they would like their offsprings to learn Japanese language, to marry with a Nikkei/Japanese, and to maintain Japanese custom or tradition. About learning Japanese language, most of Nikkeis of both regions gave a positive answer. Forty-two subjects (91.3%) of the rural group and 88 (87.1%) of the urban group replied

that they wanted their offsprings to do it, and only three (6.5%) of the former and twelve (11.9%) of the latter group indicated that it depended on their children. In two groups there was only one Nikkei who did not want it.

Also with regard to the marriage with a Nikkei/Japanese and the conservation of Japanese custom, many respondents indicated that they liked their children to retain it. However, compared with the question on the learning of Japanese language, more subjects left the decision to their children. About the marriage, while 26 Nikkeis (56.5%) of the rural group and 38 (37.6%) of the urban group answered "Yes", 15 (32.6%) of the former and 56 (55.4%) of the latter group replied that it depended on their children. Similarly, to the question on the conservation of custom, while 31 (67.4%) and 59 subjects (58.4%) of each group gave a positive answer, 13 (28.3%) of the rural group and 36 (35.6%) of the urban group indicated that it depended on their children. Seven and five subjects responded "No" to the second and the third questions, respectively. All of them were of third/fourth generation and belonged to the urban group. Except that, there were little differences between generations.

Consciousness of being Nikkei The subjects were asked about their identification with Bolivian and with Japanese. About a half (52.2%) of the rural group answered that they identified themselves more with Bolivian and the other half (47.8%) with both. There was no one in this group who identified oneself more with Japanese. In the other group there were 36 (35.6%) and 55 Nikkeis (54.5%) who had an identification more with Bolivian and with both, respectively. Also there were nine subjects (8.9%) who indicated more identification with Japanese. In the latter group there was a difference between generations. The percentage of Nikkeis whose identification was more with Bolivian was higher in the Sansei/Yonsei group (48.2%) than in the Nisei group (20.0%). And the percentage of those who had the identification more with Japanese was lower in the former (3.6%) than in the latter group (15.6%).

Also the subjects were asked what they think of their personality characteristics, more Latin-American or more Japanese. Similar results were obtained in two groups. Eighteen subjects (39.1%) of the rural group and 38 (37.6%) of the urban group replied that their character was more Latin-American than Japanese. Only four (8.7%) of the former and 11 (10.9%) of the latter group gave the contrary answer. And the rest (43.5% of the former and 51.5% of the latter group) responded that their character was half Latin-American and half Japanese. Similarly as in the case of identification, there was a difference between generations. The percentage of Nikkeis who had more Japanese character was higher in the group of Nisei (16.9%) than in the group of Sansei/Yonsei (4.9%), and the percentage of those who had more Latin-American character was lower in the former (23.1%) than in the latter group (50.0%).

In relation to their character, the subjects were asked in what aspects they consider themselves more Japanese and in what aspects more Latin-American. The "Japanese" characteristics which appeared more in their answer were "physical characteristics" (given by 31 subjects), "Japanese family name" (by 17), and "Japanese custom" (by 14). Another common response was "personal characteristics". In total 52 Nikkeis referred to them. The

characteristics mentioned more frequently were as follows: "honest" (by 11 subjects), "responsible" (by 10), "industrious" (by 9), "cultivated" (by 7), "punctual" (by 6). On the other hand, The "Latin-American" characteristics that were given more often were "custom" (mentioned by 43 subjects), "language" (by 24), "culture" (by 16), and "mode of life" (by 7). Also two personality characteristics were mentioned as "Latin-American" character. They were "sociable" (by 21 respondents) and "affable" (by 6).

Attitude toward Japan and Japanese people Among the subjects there were 23 Nikkeis who had been to Japan before. They were asked what they liked and disliked about Japan. The favorable aspect mentioned most frequently was "organization and order", which was given by 10 respondents. Many of them evaluated positively that in Japan many things are well-organized and there exists a social order. As unfavorable aspects, eleven Nikkeis referred to "people who were closed, cold, and indifferent". Others were "stressful life", and "formal human relationship", each of which was mentioned by eight respondents.

Other subjects who had not visited Japan before were asked what they imagined of Japan. More frequent Responses were "a developed country" (mentioned by 42 respondents), "an industrialized country" (by 41), "a well-organized country" (by 28), "people who are honest and industrious" (by 17), and "economic prosperity" (by 12). These results show that in general they have positive images about Japan. The only negative image which appeared in their response was "people". Six Nikkeis replied that Japanese people are "indifferent to others and materialistic".

Also all the subjects were asked about the typical characteristics of Japanese people. More frequent responses were as follows: "industrious" (given by 62 subjects), "educated" (by 31), "honest" (by 17), "responsible" (by 13), "punctual" (by 13), "physical characteristics" (by 13). It is seen that generally Nikkeis have favorable images also about Japanese people. The sole response which was considered negative was "asocial", which was given by ten subjects.

Attitude toward Bolivia The subjects were asked what they liked and disliked about Bolivia. As a favorable aspect 101 of them mentioned "rich and beautiful nature" including geography, plants, animals, and minerals. And other principal aspects considered positive were as follows: "an easy and tranquil life" (given by 35 subjects), "custom and tradition" (by 28), "people who are warm, humane, sociable, friendly, cheerful, and simple" (by 26), and "culture" including music, dance, and handicrafts (by 25).

On the other hand, the negative aspects which many respondents mentioned were problems that actually existed in the country. Among them are included "political problem" (given by 36 respondents), "lack of organization" (by 36), "social injustice" (by 34), "economical problem" including unemployment (by 25), "retardation of development" (by 23), and "poverty" (by 13). Also 32 subjects replied that they did not like "people who are dishonest, irresponsible, unpunctual, and lazy". In summary, it seems that Bolivian Nikkeis like the natural environment of the country but they are dissatisfied with the socioeconomic environment of their country.

Lastly the subjects were asked in which country they would like to live, Bolivia, Japan, or another. In the rural group, 22 subjects (47.8%) replied that they liked to live in Bolivia and 19

(41.3%) in Japan. There was no one who preferred another country. In the urban group there were 65 Nikkeis (64.4%) who showed a preference to living in Bolivia, and 22 (21.8%) in Japan. In this group eleven Nikkeis (10.9%) indicated that they would like to live in other countries, which included the United States of America and other Latin-American countries.

DISCUSSION

Adaptation in Bolivia From the results described above it seems that generally Nikkeis do not have much problems in the adaptation to the Bolivian society. First, it has been suggested in many researches that the proficiency in the language is one of the most important factors in the adaptation to the new environment (Baker, 1986; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Leclézio et al., 1986; Nicassio et al., 1986). The results showed that all the subjects spoke and read the Spanish language at least moderately, which indicates that none of them has problems of language and of communication with other Bolivian people.

Secondly, in the urban region the economic situation of Nikkeis seems to be better than that of other Bolivian people. In the questionnaire they were not asked directly about their economic situation. But the results on their level of education revealed that in this group about 40% of Nikkeis entered universities. This percentage is very high compared to the average in Bolivia. It indicates that many Nikkei/Japanese families can afford to send their children to universities. Most of them are conceived to belong at least to the middle class. On the other hand, rural regions of this country have not yet been developed economically, and the people of these regions suffer an undesirable economic situation. This is true also of Nikkeis who live in these regions. Economically they are in an unfavorable situation. And this situation supposedly motivates many of them to go to Japan for work.

Thirdly, in relation to the social activities, only very little subjects replied that they had more Nikkei/Japanese friends than Bolivian friends. And more than 50% of Nikkeis answered that they had more Bolivian friends. Also more than 70% of married subjects have a Bolivian spouse. These results show that Nikkeis are not restricting their social activities within the Nikkei/Japanese society, and they have sufficient social intercourses with Bolivian people, which is more noted in the group of later generation. In this sense Nikkeis are assimilating to the Bolivian society. In general Japanese people have a good reputation in Bolivia. They are said to be honest, industrious, responsible, etc. This reputation may have favored the reception of Japanese descendants into the Bolivian society.

Although they recognize that their country has many highly serious socioeconomic problems, more than a half of them indicated that they would like to live in Bolivia. This result also suggests that they are well adapted to this society.

Conservation of Japanese culture and custom The results obtained in this research indicate that the conservation of Japanese culture and custom depends greatly on the region which Nikkeis live in. About the marriage, it is not so common to marry with another Nikkei. Only 10 to 20% of married subjects have a Nikkei spouse. But it seems that in the Japanese colonies the marriage between Nikkeis is more frequent, because five out of six married subjects of the

Japanese colonies are married with another Nikkei. Also there was a difference between generations. Most of those who had a Nikkei spouse were of second generation, and there were very few cases in Sanseis/Yonseis. It can be said that the marriage between Nikkeis is less common in later generation.

In Bolivia, Catholic is determined to be the official religion by constitution. And most of Bolivian people are Catholic. On the other hand in Japan, Buddhism and Shintoism which is a Japanese traditional religion, are more common and the majority of Japanese people are Buddhist and Shintoist at the same time. In Bolivia there is no temple of Buddhism or Shintoism. A Japanese influence on religion is only seen in the Japanese colonies where exist Catholic churches which have a gate of Shinto style. The results indicate that Buddhism is conserved to a certain degree in the Japanese colonies, because there were some subjects of the colonies who replied that they were Buddhist. Also we were told that in La Paz there were some Nikkeis of the colonies who had a Buddhist altar in their house. But except those who were from the colonies, there was neither Buddhist nor Shintoist in the subjects. Outside the Japanese colonies, the traditional religions of Japan do not appear to be conserved.

The degree of the conservation of Japanese language differs from region to region. It is well sustained in the Japanese colonies. All subjects from the colonies use it moderately or well. Japanese language is much less conserved in the other regions. Except those of the colonies, only about 10% of the subjects in the urban group speak and read the Japanese language at moderate level. In the rural group all subjects replied that their level of Japanese was poor or very poor, which implies that the Japanese language is going to be lost in this region. These differences appear to result from the differences in the social environment. In each Japanese colony there is a Japanese school in which the Japanese language is taught and other materials are also taught in Japanese. Most of children in the colonies are going to these schools. Also in the colonies there are many Isseis (first generation) who usually converse more in Japanese. These factors are considered to facilitate the learning of Japanese language for Niseis of the colonies. In La Paz also there is a course of Japanese language, although it is not so intensive as the class of Japanese in the colonies. And as there is a considerable number of people from Japan in this city, Nikkeis are able to have some occasions to contact with them through their jobs or friendships. To the contrary, in the rural region Nikkeis hardly have opportunities to learn or use Japanese language, even if they want it.

Similar tendencies were obtained in the results on the degree of the conservation of Japanese culture and custom in the house. In the questionnaire the subjects were asked about having Japanese ornaments, listening to Japanese music, and preparing Japanese foods in their house. The results revealed that Nikkeis of the urban region retained Japanese custom more than those in the rural region. Especially it seems to be more retained in Nikkeis of the Japanese colonies.

As a whole, it is seen that the conservation of Japanese culture and custom differs from region to region, and that they are retained most in the Japanese colonies, less in the urban region, and least in the rural region.

The subjects were also asked whether they would like their offsprings to learn Japanese language, to marry with another Nikkei/Japanese, and to conserve Japanese custom. The results showed that while there were many Nikkeis who wanted their offsprings to maintain Japanese culture and custom, a considerable number of Japanese descendants thought that it was a concern of their children. It indicates that there are a considerable number of Nikkeis who have a receptive and affirmative attitude towards the assimilation of their children to Bolivia. Only on the learning of Japanese language, almost all Nikkeis showed their wishes for their children to obtain it. But it is conceived to be related to a trend of emigration of Nikkeis to Japan, and resulting from more practical reasons. In these years, same as in the other Latin-American countries, a lot of Nikkeis are going to Japan from Bolivia to work or to study. And it seems that many Nikkeis who live in Bolivia think that it is necessary or at least convenient to be able to use Japanese language in case that the opportunity to visit Japan is given.

Consciousness of being Nikkei About Japan and Japanese people, the subjects showed that they had positive images. These images seem to be general in Latin-American countries, because it is reported that also Brazilian Nikkei students in Japan have similar images (Furukawa et al., 1981). These images may serve to enhance the consciousness of being descendants of Japanese people. On the other hand, what they mentioned as characteristics of Japanese people are very contrastive to what referred to as their own character. So they are conceived to be aware of the differences in character between Japanese people and them. Especially many of those who had been in Japan before, mentioned as negative aspects of Japan, characteristics of people, human relationships, and stressful life. It makes the authors imagine that they had difficulties in living in Japan, and that through the intercourses with Japanese people they experienced the difference between Japanese people and themselves. The problem of human relationships in Japan is also mentioned by Brazilian Nikkeis (Asakawa et al., 1981).

On the self-identity there were little differences between regions. Most of the subjects replied that they identified themselves more with Bolivian or with both of Bolivian and Japanese. And there were few Nikkeis who had the identification more with Japanese. Also about their character, most of them answered that their character was more Latin-American or half Latin-American. And there were few Nikkeis who replied that they had a character more Japanese. These results indicate that while they have, to some extent, the consciousness of Nikkei, there also exists the assimilation of consciousness to Bolivian society. This tendency is noted more in Sanseis/Yonseis than in Niseis. There were less Niseis who had identified more with Bolivian and who had personality characteristics which were more Latin-American than Sanseis/Yonseis. Nikkeis of later generation appear to be more Latin-Americanized than those of former generation.

One aspect that called our attention was the consciousness of Nikkeis who came from the Japanese colonies. As they conserve Japanese culture and custom more, it was presumed that they considered themselves Japanese more than other Nikkeis. But Most of them indicated that

their identity was with both of Bolivian and Japanese and that their character was half Latin-American and half Japanese.

As Japanese aspects of their character, more Nikkeis mentioned physical features and family name, which suggests that the difference in apparent characteristics serve more to make them aware of their identity. This result coincides with that of Inoue (1988) which indicates that in Brazilian Nikkeis the consciousness of descendants of Japanese people starts from the awareness of physical differences between Brazilian people and themselves.

To conclude, Bolivian Nikkeis in the urban region appear to be well acclimated to their country, socially and economically. In the aspects of behaviour and consciousness they are assimilating to their society little by little, at the same time maintaining, to some extent, culture and custom of their origin. On the other hand, in the rural region Nikkeis are assimilating to the Bolivian society more than those of the other region. It seems that they are more "Bolivian" than "Japanese". Japanese culture and custom are going to be forgotten more in this region. Their relation to Japan is conceived to be maintained principally through their temporary emigration to Japan.

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ボリビアにおける日系人の適応に関する研究

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ボリビアに在住する日系人を対象として、彼らのボリビア社会への適応の様子と日本的文化・習慣の維持、日系人としての意識などについて質問紙による調査を行った。質問紙には①基本的な個人情報、②言語（スペイン語、日本語）、③日本的文化・習慣・伝統の維持、④日系人としての意識、⑤日本と日本人、⑥ボリビアなどのテーマに関する質問項目が含まれた。18歳以上のボリビア在住の日系人に質問紙への回答を依頼し、都市部（ラパス市）で101名、農村部（ベニー州、ラパス州の4町）で46名から回答を得た。

この調査で得られた主な結果は以下の通りである。都市部、農村部のいずれにおいても大部分の日系人はその社会的活動を日系人社会の中だけに制限しておらず、ボリビア社会の中に溶け込みつつあるといえる。日本的な文化・習慣の維持に関しては大きな地域差が見られた。都市部では、集団移住地出身者は日本語をはじめとして日本の文化・習慣を比較的よく維持しているが、それ以外の人においては維持の程度は低い。農村部では維持の程度がさらに低く、日本的なものが次第に失われつつある。いずれの地域でも日本的文化・習慣の維持のこだわらない人も少なくない。また、ほとんどの人が自分は日系人であるという意識をある程度は持っているが、それと同時によりボリビア人への同一視の傾向が強い人の方が多いなど、意識の面でもボリビア社会への同化が進んでいるようである。