

Japanese immigration in Mexico

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Introduction

In many cases, Japanese immigration in Mexico has created scenarios where formation of small Japanese economic settlements sets the grounding for technological and other innovations that influenced significantly on the socioeconomic development of localities where they have been residing. In this work considerations are made about some attributes with which Japanese arrived in the country, for instance, their high level of education, their highest level of income and the role they have played in economic activities in contrast to that of total population in places where they arrive. Thus, economic success stories of these immigrants were written in nearly all geographic areas of the country to which they came.

Highlights the fact that economic and social participation of Japanese population began in a period when Mexico wanted to achieve economic growth based upon foreign investment, so most of the Japanese projects by immigrants have been of great importance for the development in some Mexican regions.

Due to the lack of official data from pre-1970, immigration presented here is obtained from selected literature and, post-1990 data are taken from Mexican population and housing censuses. However, the latter should be taken with

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reservation because data are estimated from samples of 10 percent of households surveyed in 1990, 2000 and 2010. So they are small to capture adequately Japanese immigration flow, also because of definition of an immigrant; who is a person arriving in the country during five years preceding the census and he or she is habitually resident in Mexico when the censuses are taken. But, in fact the majority of immigrants in the last three decades have been people who have not tended to reside in the country, but remains for a short period of time. Anyway, the information presented here provides an overview of Japanese immigration and some of its main characteristics.

The present study shows some of the economic participation of immigrants from Japan in different regions in Mexico, and their main production activities. Also, that since the Japanese economic recession, which began in the nineties, Japanese investors looked at Mexican regions with features considered strategic to their international economic activities, as is currently the case of the automotive industry. Although the literature on Japan-Mexico immigration is scarce, here a general overview of Japanese economic activities in different regions is provided.

This study shows that the territorial distribution of Japanese immigrants in Mexico is closely related to the economic activities that they have been enrolled. Originally, they mainly worked in agriculture and livestock; afterwards in cotton production, fisheries, trade and services. Since the 90's until today, Japanese rates of immigration had grown, particularly in urban regions characterized by better location and infrastructure. Thus, new immigrants coming into the country are principally settled in cities that allow them to conduct export-related economic activities. At present, the automotive industry is the dominant growing economic activity lead by Japanese investment which indirectly is not yet reflected in a corresponding impact on immigration.

This paper presents some findings of other authors who have studied the history of Japanese immigration, the way some families influenced others and their economic impact in places they have arrived. They invariably mention that immigrants brought ways of innovative working so that somehow they have been an example for local inhabitants in receiving regions. In general, they have arrived with

high level of education, entrepreneurial skills that had a positive effect on local and regional development. In this regard, most prominent cases have been the colonization in Chiapas, railway construction, fishing in Ensenada, Mexicali and cotton farming on the coast of Jalisco and Colima, among other activities and regions. At present, Mexico has been experiencing a large-scale impact of the Japanese automotive industry, especially in the states of Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, Nuevo Leon, Jalisco and San Luis Potosi.

The beginning of Japanese immigration in Mexico

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Mexico and Japan experienced fundamental changes that had a major impact on their economies and societies. In Mexico, after the French Intervention, President Benito Juárez restored the republic and the country entered an incipient democracy, allowing his government to restructure the rural economy with the Law on Confiscation of Land and Buildings Belonging to Civil and Religious Corporations —enacted in 1856— during the time of the Reform, in order to put into production land owned by the Catholic Church which were abandoned until then. Meanwhile, in Japan, after the exhaustion of the feudal model that the country experienced for hundreds of years, emperor Meiji made efforts to incorporate the nation to the modern world.

Simultaneously in Mexico, Juárez regains his usurped presidency by the French and, in Japan began the government of Emperor Mutsuhito, better known as Meiji in Japanese history. While in Mexico beginning in 1872 the brief historical period known as the Restored Republic, Japan initiated the called Renewal Meiji period that lasted until 1912. In Japan the emperor was in power for more than four decades, in Mexico Porfirio Díaz lasted about thirty years.

Both Japan and Mexico were concerned with modernizing through industrialization, construction of roads and improvement of agricultural production; the two countries held reforms in land tenure to make it more productive, which in both cases affected the peasantry negatively. In Japan, they were outside the usufruct of land due to a large collection of tax on land tenure since 1873. In Mexico land of

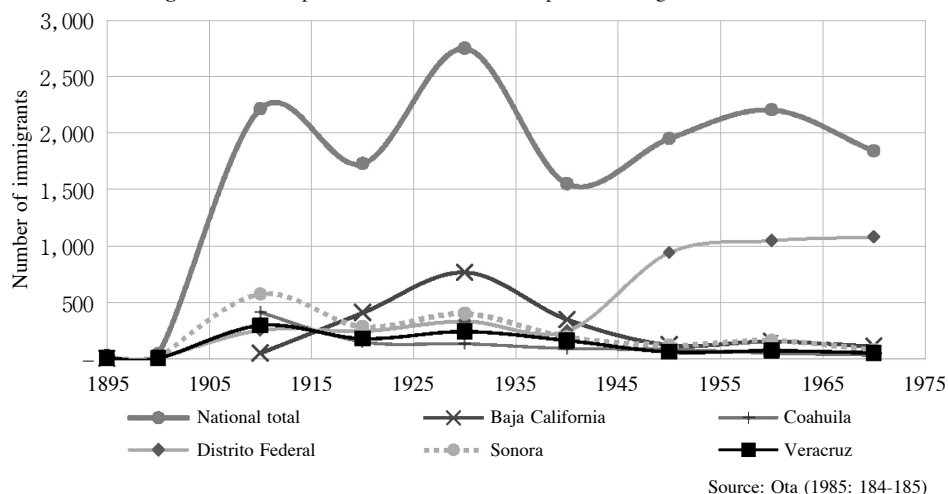
big holdings was expropriated when they could not prove ownership, based on the law that sought to revive the so-called “unused land”, of which were identified by surveying companies. This led to land concentration in hands of powerful landowners during the “Porfiriato”. The policy somehow helped boost agricultural productivity but had an enormous social cost that was one of the main causes of the Mexican Social Revolution.

In Japan, besides the reform in land tenure that left many farmers landless, led to the migration of many rural Japanese populations to urban centers in search of mainly manufacturing employment. In spite of this, the inability to employ these newcomers in many cities they were forced to emigrate from Japan and settled abroad (Laborde, 2006: 155).

This population somehow supported by the Japanese government, got involved in an international diaspora, particularly to the United States and Canada at first. When these countries prevented them from entering they turned to others as Mexico, Peru, Argentina and Brazil. Perhaps because of this, Mexico and Japan signed a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation which led to the arrival of many other Japanese. With this agreement, Mexico provided Japan a model for new agreements with other countries that housed Japanese migrants.

The Japanese consulate in Mexico was opened in 1891. After a study of the Pacific by Japanese during 173 days, Takeaki Enomoto, Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked the Mexican ambassador in Japan to process the “permit transfer of a planned region for colonization” in the state of Chiapas. For this settlement, promoted by Enomoto, the country sold around 65,000 hectares in Escuintla Chiapas for creating a colony that would bear his name. With this, Japanese immigration to Mexico formally began (Melgar Tisoc, 2009: 28). According Ota (1985), Enomoto officially founded Japan’s Colonization Company in 1897 to undertake an agricultural project; however, inappropriate climatic, economic and health circumstances caused the settlers to leave the original colonization plan. Thus, the colony had to focus on the production of coffee, which was an unproductive activity by that time. While efforts to rebuild the colony Enomoto were palpable, the results were not the expected; death of the founders also caused a decline that made them abandon the project and

Figure 1. Principal states in Mexico with Japanese immigrants, 1895-1970



created the conditions for many immigrants wishing to return to their home country. But, others retook the project, cultivating land with other crops (e.g. coffee only temporarily, corn and beans), which obtained greater success in their activities.

In these contexts of Mexico and Japan, Japanese arrivals began in Mexico, initially in the states of Chiapas and Veracruz, and then to northern states. The first population to arrive, in 1897, was mainly farmers seeking to take advantage of the coffee boom and cultivate it in the Chiapas region of Soconusco. Along with them came some pharmaceutical professionals (Mexico-Japan Association, 2009). Japanese immigrants who arrived in Chiapas shared the ideal of colonization and exchange between Mexico and their country, a different way than those who come to the United States, namely wanted to settle as immigrants and not as contracted laborers. However, the colonization ideal they have when arriving in the country did not become a reality because of the revolutionary movement and the Second World War afterward (ibid.: 220–221).

Ota (1985) found that during the period from 1900 to 1910 Japanese immigration consisted largely of laborers who arrived under contract, as already mentioned. Investment in railway construction, mining and sugar cane plantations led to the hiring of more than 10,000 Japanese workers, 5,000 of them during construction of

the railway projects, particularly in the line Tuxpan-Manzanillo. However, similarly, to settlers in Chiapas situation, defection in fulfillment of contracts, most immigrant laborers returned to Japan. The decline in Japanese population in Mexico is registered in the 1910 census which counted only 2,216.

Between 1905 and 1910, an important group of Japanese migrants arrived in the small town La Oaxaqueña, localized in the border between the states of Oaxaca and Veracruz, to work in sugar mills, owned by Americans and another group headed to Sonora, Durango and Chihuahua. Others Japanese worked in laying railroad tracks Guadalajara-Colima from 1908 to 1915. An additional group headed to Ensenada. Many Japanese immigrants arrived in Tijuana and Mexicali with the intention of emigrating to the United States from 1920 to 1935; but they could not do it because of the Gentlemen's Agreement signed by this country and Japan in the nineteenth century. So, they remained in border towns in Mexico (Mexico-Japan Association, 2009). A group of skilled Japanese population also came from South America, mostly doctors, with the intention to move to the United States but they rather remain and work professionally in Mexico. One example was Alfredo Saruwatari who held positions in health programs in Jalisco being a well-known physician (Ota, 1985).

Some Japanese made a fortune as owners of ice plants, corn mills and soft drink bottlers in cities of the Pacific coast of Mexico, particularly in Sinaloa and Sonora. Others became prosperous farmers, ranchers and fishermen (Ota, 1985). Thus, Japanese immigration that began in the late nineteenth century and continued in the early twentieth century was characterized mainly by a large quantity of them who were repatriated as well.

Japaneses in the development of the Mexican economy

Ota (1985) mentioned that another group of migrants called *yobiyose* acceded to Mexico only if Japanese already established in the country extended an invitation to come. These migrants, unlike the previous ones, arrived with the intention of settling permanently, especially in the former territory of Baja California and the Federal

District (capital of Mexico) to serve mainly in the sectors of fishing and related industries. This group helped to create an important cotton industry in Mexicali, Baja California, where economic centers of Japanese began to have stability in their settlements, as its healthy economic-administrative organization helped their firms that could be considered as first class at that time, so that they could export to the United States. It is important to note that agricultural policies in 1934 affected the land tenure of some of these producers since some of the largest farms had to be divided into smaller plots of land to benefit peasants. Japanese struggled to preserve their land proved futile as ejidos so that it was assigned to peasants a large number of hectares. Each ejido had to be divided in turn among peasants. In spite of this, they initiated the development of the cotton industry in Mexicali region.

Many immigrants have a remarkably high level of education compared to the inhabitants in the regions where they settled. This allowed them, in a second stage –the farm Fujino in Chiapas, that followed the failed colony Enomoto–, due to difficulties to produce coffee, diversify their production adding livestock to commercial crops such as vegetables (*ibid.*, 2004: 216, 220-221). In what could be considered the third stage of the colony Enomoto –the Japanese-Mexicana- Cooperative Company–, there was a diversification of activities, including agriculture, pharmacy, stores, inks for textile manufacturing and installation of a power station in Escuintla, Chiapas. It could be said that in this region as well as in Northern Mexico Japanese immigration have a significant impact on economic development in localities they settled.

From Japanese immigrants, agronomists played an important role in the second attempt at colonization. In fact, in the study ordered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, along with Tadashi Nemoto, an agronomist named Bunzo Hashiguchi participated in such attempt. Both lived a year and a half in Mexico. These professionals had innovative initiatives since their arrival, as the combination of livestock with vegetables. Their innovation was spread and applied in many regions in the country. Another agronomist, Fuse Tsunematsu, was one of the initiators of the farm Fujino.

An important event in the history of Japanese immigration to the country was the Second World War. Mexico declared war in 1942 to the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo

Axis. She had previously broken off diplomatic relations with Japan in December 1941. During this period Japanese immigration was halted by measures taken by the country against Germany, Italy and Japan. The Mexican government decided to concentrate Japanese immigrants primarily in Mexico City; then suspended individual rights affecting Japanese population, so they began to suffer financial reprisals. This policy was implemented first by the United States, after Mexico was requested to do the same. From 1942 to 1945, Minakata Yuzaburo a leading trader in Jalisco, began organizing committees to help their compatriots providing food and asylum. Repatriate Japanese was intended, but many Mexicans opposed this policy because of the risk involved in the fact that those who leave the country knew perfectly the Mexican coast.

After the war, many families returned to their places of residence in Mexico, others decided to stay in cities where they were concentrated and engaged in commerce and other activities because they could not recover its former possessions (Ota, 1985). Although the Mexican government began to unfreeze assets of the Axis countries immigrants, many could not overcome the implied endless legal procedures. However in some places economic participation of Japanese was of great importance; for example, in Baja California, Ensenada Industrial Company requested the return of those who were engaged in fishing as their training and assistance was needed to keep production levels high enough to meet the demand of the domestic market in Mexico. Most Japanese who were unable to recover their property remained in cities, especially in large ones.

Ota (1985) considers that another important period of Japanese immigration to Mexico was the arrival of technicians at the end of the Second World War. At the time Japan experienced a severe economic crisis that lasted four years; however, thanks to the application of adequate economic policies to overcome crisis, they have achieved a stabilization led to Japan recovery since 1956, characterized by a high level of industrialization and application of technology in agriculture, which took off the Japanese economy from 1961 to 1970; thus the gross domestic product of \$ 1.3 trillion in 1946 increased to 51.9 trillion in 1962. The author mentions that Japan sought to invest their surplus capital abroad, so Mexico was recipient of large

investment from corporations. Moreover, the Mexican government created the conditions to attract foreign investment in order to industrialize the country. In 1957 Toyota settled in Mexico, one of the first Japanese companies, then came as major companies such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Nissan, among others. Ota (1985) says that the arrival of Japanese investment in Mexico also brought technicians recruited in Japan, as well as professionals on international trade. These immigrants normally reside in the country under contract, so they stay in Mexico no more than two years.

Another interesting example of Japanese immigration influence in the development of regions is located in Jalisco, where some Japanese came after the colonies in Chiapas and worked as laborers on the border between Oaxaca and Veracruz. As it has been already mentioned, in 1908-1915 there were Japanese workers in laying railway tracks from Guadalajara to Colima. Perhaps, this was the beginning of their presence on the border between the municipalities of Cihuatlan, state of Jalisco, and Manzanillo, state of Colima. Federico Ashida Sijiko a Japanese immigrant, studied medicine in the United States for a year, but afterward he decided to study agricultural engineer. By 1919, he reached the hacienda of Tequesquitlan, municipality of Cuautitlan, Jalisco which was owned by an American, Alberto G. Wilbur and administered by Japanese, Yosokichi Kosonoy Nakaione. Ashida was invited by Manuel Garcia Mesa to Cihuatlan, and then he moved to this municipality.

Federico Ashida created the first power plant, the first corn mill and the first ice factory in Cihuatlán. In 1923, he bought some land in La Vena de Ixtapa, in this municipality; he made an innovative planting of coconut palm: he planted linearly at a distance of ten meters so that bananas could be planted between their logs. He also introduced the plant Haden mango in Mexico in 1926. He imported from Florida, United States, five grafted plants of this variety, of which only one survived. His son Carlos Enrique Ashida obtained some plants of this variety by the grafting approach: in the first year he grafted 20 trees, in the next 50 and, another 100 (Orozco Uribe, 1983: 3) and so on until he had an orchard. When he managed to export this mango the label said *Tsune*, in honor of the Japanese name of Federico Ashida. At present,

it is likely that the rise in production and export of such mango, especially in many parts of the Western coast of Mexico is due to the work of the Ashida family. They created in 1941 in Guadalajara the coconut factory Montecarlo, gingerbread, copra and coconut oil, which a decade later changed to Cihuatlan where the raw material is produced. Furthermore, Ashida provided coconut oil soap factory to a countryman Yusaburo Minakata. It could be said that the Ashida family also contributed to develop manufacturing Guadalajara city. This is an example of the important Japanese immigration influence in regional economies of Mexico.

Immigration 1990-2015

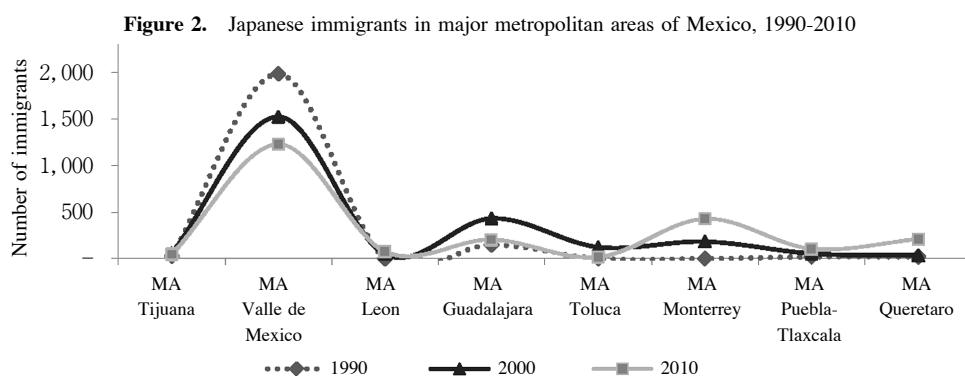
The period of economic recovery and stabilization that Japan had after World War II lasted since 1951 to 1970. During this period Japan experienced a strong industrialization process which led to an annual average growth of 9.6 percent (Vilariño, n.a.). The automotive industry began with a production of 15,000 cars in that country in 1946 and, in 1990 reached 13 million 487 thousand (Nishijima, 2009). The policies applied by the Japanese government to protect this industry operated so that Japan decided to open up to international trade once their manufactured goods were competitive in this trade.

Japanese firms have increased its level of direct investment in Mexico: in 2000 was 442.8 million dollars in 2010 to 545 million dollars and in 2012 it increased to reach 1,657.8 million. Fernandez (2012) mentions that a phenomenon of decentralization has occurred in the production of Japan. Although, this country accounted for small percentage of foreign investment in Mexico, the amount has grown in recent years as the main obstacles that Japan faces are the high cost of labor, the appreciation of its currency, the low growth of the economically active population and the 2011 earthquake.

Japanese immigration to Mexico in the last three decades is mainly associated with foreign direct investment from Japan in the automotive industry, which in the past nine years increased by five hundred million dollars, representing an increase of 355 percent.

As mentioned before, information on Japanese immigration was obtained from population censuses that define as an immigrant as a person who said that in the last five years resided in a country other than Mexico, in this case in Japan and he or she is habitually resident in Mexico when the census was taken. Because of this definition, the absolute number of them is comparatively small because maybe some Japanese working in transnational companies resides only temporarily in the country. Obviously, taking into account all residents during a short period of time and people of Japanese origin, population considered Japanese has increased in Mexico in the last two decades.

A recent Japanese immigration is concentrated in states that have considered suitable for investment in the automotive industry; these states are: Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Queretaro, Jalisco and Aguascalientes, that have the infrastructure and a strategic location for exporting cars. Three moments of Japanese immigration in Mexico are considered: 1990, 2000 and 2010, and ordered by metropolitan areas (MA). As already noted, before the Second World War these immigrants were concentrated in very different regions of the North, but after the war the concentration was in the Central region of Mexico. **Figure 2** shows that in the MA of the Valley of Mexico Japanese population fell by 37 percent from 1990 to 2010, a realignment that began with the growth of the automotive industry. Furthermore, the graph shows that new immigrants began arriving in metropolises to facilitate investment on installations for manufacturing. Among the MA that received more Japanese



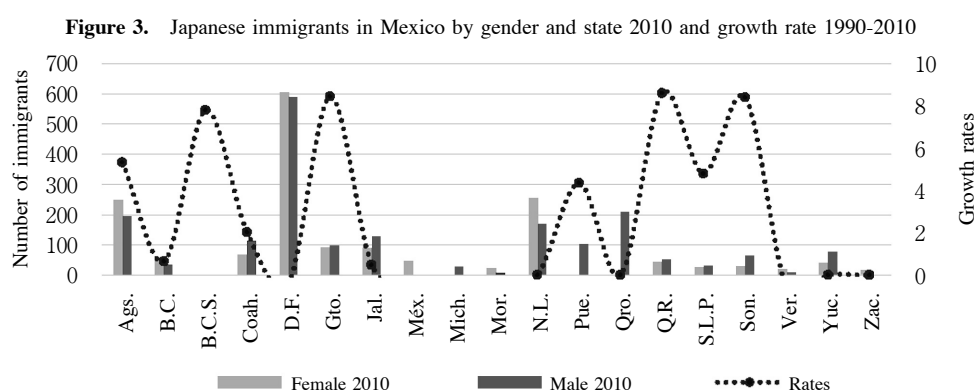
Source: Census data, INEGI.

immigrants are Monterrey, Queretaro, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosi, Aguascalientes and Guanajuato, even though the censuses do not take into account many of the Japanese who reside for less than five years in those metropolitan areas.

The Japanese population in Mexico is 40 percent women and 60 percent men; however, in states such as Queretaro, Puebla and Sonora it consists mainly of economically active men. In **figure 3**, Japanese population structure by sex is shown in 2010 and its growth rate in the major immigration states from 1900 to 2010. It shows growing annual rates in places where recent immigrants began settling down, as in Baja California Sur (7.8 percent), Guanajuato (8.4 percent), Puebla (4.35 percent), Quintana Roo (8.6 percent), San Luis Potosi (4.8 percent) and Sonora (8.6 percent).

Moreover, the educational level of Japanese immigrants in Mexico is a factor that has contributed to innovation and development of some regions, since this is above that educational level of total population in arrival localities. **Table 1** shows their schooling in the past three decades by state. Importantly, the level of education that have the immigrants has not changed much in the last thirty years, as it can be seen in the cases of states of Coahuila, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacan, Sonora and Veracruz.

The level of education of Japanese immigrants in 1990 indicates, according the **table 1**, that only in Mexico City (Federal District) predominate those having



Ags.: Aguascalientes; B.C.: Baja California; B.C.S.: Baja California Sur; Coah.: Coahuila; Gto.: Guanajuato; Jal.: Jalisco; Méx.: Estado de Mexico; Mich.: Michoacan; Mor.: Morelos; N.L.: Nuevo Leon; Pue.: Puebla; Qro.: Queretaro; Q.R.: Quintana Roo; S.L.P.: San Luis Potosi; Son.: Sonora; Ver.: Veracruz; Yuc.: Yucatan, y Zac.: Zacatecas.

Source: Census data,

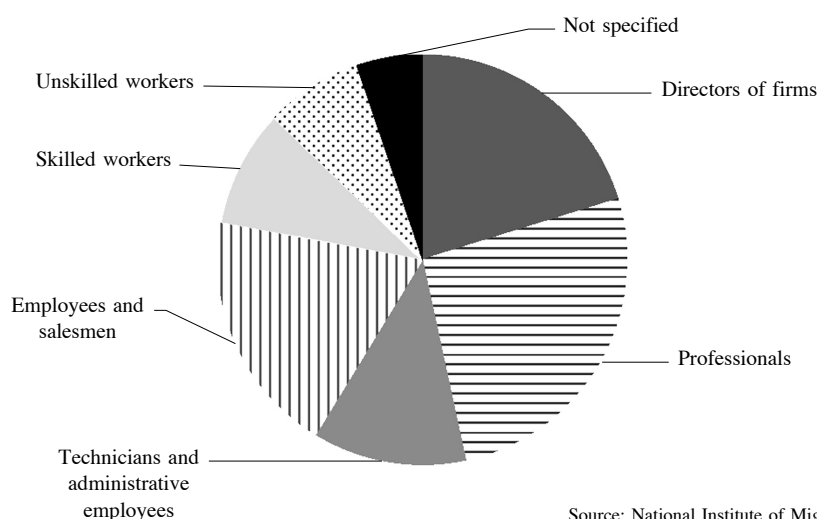
master degree, while those with bachelors degree prevail in most states except Aguascalientes and Quintana Roo. In 2000, Mexico City showed the highest level of education again among Japanese with predominance of a doctorate degree, while in 2010 lower educational attainment it found with respect to the previous two decades, prevailing immigrants having bachelors degree. Instead, states such as Baja California, Guerrero and Puebla show highest levels, with a predominance of

Table 1. Predominant level of schooling of Japanese immigrants aged 14 and over by the states of Mexico having important immigration

<i>State</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2010</i>
Aguascalientes	High school	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Baja California	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Masters degree
Baja California Sur	Bachelors degree	–	Bachelors degree
Coahuila	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Chiapas	–	Bachelors degree	–
Chihuahua	Bachelors degree	–	–
Distrito Federal	Masters degree	Doctorate	Bachelors degree
Guanajuato	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Guerrero	Bachelors degree	–	Masters degree
Jalisco	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Estado de Mexico	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Michoacan	Bachelors degree	High school	Bachelors degree
Morelos	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Nuevo Leon	–	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Puebla	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Masters degree
Queretaro	–	High school	Bachelors degree
Quintana Roo	High school	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
San Luis Potosi	High school	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Sinaloa	–	Elementary school	–
Sonora	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Tamaulipas		High school	–
Veracruz	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree	Bachelors degree
Yucatan	–	–	Bachelors degree

Source: Data from ten percent sample survey of censuses 1990, 2000 y 2010.

Figure 4. Main occupations of Japanese immigrants in Mexico. 2015



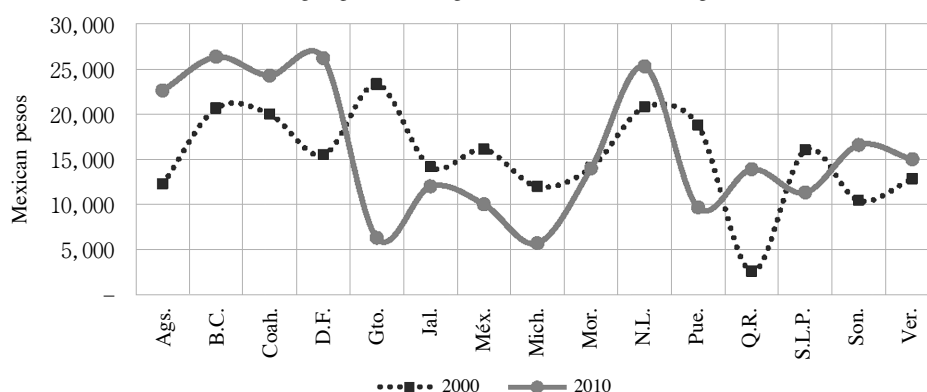
masters degree.

It is important to consider the main activities of Japanese immigrants. In 2015, **figure 4** shows that most of these have occupations as senior managers, skilled professionals, technicians and administrators. All of these occupations require higher education and training. There are few, however, who work in activities that do not require training. In sum, most Japanese have occupations in accordance with their high level of education compared with total employed population in Mexico.

The per capita income of immigrants somehow indicates their participation in the Mexican economy. Census data show that Tijuana MA have the highest average monthly earnings with 35,000 pesos (US\$ 3,699), followed by Valley of Mexico MA with 26,000 pesos (US\$ 2,748), Leon with 20,000 pesos (US\$ 2,114) and Monterrey with 30,000 pesos (US\$ 3,138) in 2010. These are indicators that Japanese immigrants have much higher average income than total population. This could be so because immigrants registered in the last census year have higher education and most important occupations than total population.

Figure 5 shows average monthly income for Japanese workers by state. It compares data for 2000-2010. It can be observed that in the last year average income in states such as Aguascalientes, Baja California, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon,

Figure 5. Average monthly income of Japanese EAP in Mexico by state having important immigration, 2000-2010 (current pesos)



Ags.: Aguascalientes; B.C.: Baja California; B.C.S.: Baja California Sur; Coah.: Coahuila; Gto.: Guanajuato; Jal.: Jalisco; Méx.: Estado de Mexico; Mich.: Michoacan; Mor.: Morelos; N.L.: Nuevo Leon; Pue.: Puebla; Qro.: Queretaro; Q.R.: Quintana Roo; S.L.P.: San Luis Potosi; Son.: Sonora; Ver.: Veracruz; Yuc.: Yucatan, y Zac.: Zacatecas.

Source: Data of INEGI.

Quintana Roo, Sonora and Veracruz were much higher than in 2000. However, Guanajuato, Jalisco, State of Mexico, Michoacan, Puebla and San Luis Potosi experienced decreasing income.

Table 2 shows employment status observed in states having important immigration. Campeche, Chihuahua and Mexico City are among states where Japanese immigrants employed as head or employers predominate, while in other states most of them are employees.

Employment of Japanese immigrants in Quintana Roo, Sinaloa, Tamaulipas, Baja California and Jalisco was mainly as employees and workers in 1990. By 2000 there is an increase of Japanese working as self-employed and, by 2010 they are mainly occupied as employees of firms. This is the case of Jalisco. The change may be related to the drop of average income that immigrants in the economically active population experienced. According to data, in the Federal District and the states of Mexico and Chihuahua, Japanese employment as heads of some activity prevailed in the last three decades.

Table 2. Main type of employment of Japanese immigrant predominating in Mexico by state having important immigration, 1990-2010

<i>State</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2010</i>
Aguascalientes	Employee	Employee	Employee
Baja California	Employee	Employer	Employee
Baja California Sur	Self-employed	—	—
Campeche	—	Self-employed	Employer
Coahuila	Employee	Employee	—
Chiapas	—	Employee	—
Chihuahua	Employer	—	Employer
Distrito Federal	Employer	Employer	Employer
Guanajuato	Employer	Employer	—
Guerrero	Employer	—	Employee
Jalisco	Employee	Employer	Employee
Estado de Mexico	Employer	Self-employed	Self-employed
Michoacan	Employee	Employee	Employer
Morelos	Employee	Employee	Employee
Nuevo Leon	—	Employee	Employee
Puebla	Employee	Employee	—
Queretaro	—	—	Employee
Quintana Roo	Employee	Employer	Employee
San Luis Potosi	Employee	Employee	—
Sinaloa	Employee	Employer	Employee
Sonora	Employee	Employee	—
Tamaulipas	—	Employee	Self-employed
Veracruz	Employee	Employee	—

Source: Data from ten percent sample survey of censuses 1990, 2000 y 2010.

Concluding remarks

The economic implications of Japanese immigration in Mexico have been notable for the important regional economic development they promoted in places where they settled. As stated at the beginning of this work, the first formal immigration occurred after the formalization of diplomatic relations between Mexico

and Japan in the late nineteenth century, in a historical context in which both countries orchestrated modernization policies, particularly in agriculture, whose results were, among others, large surpluses of labor in rural areas. In the case of Japan that surplus was an incentive to move to other countries.

Classification of Japanese immigrants can be stated according to the objective they were seeking to achieve in the destination country. It was noted that one of the first and most important settlements of Japanese colony was founded by Enomoto, which was unsuccessful in relation to the original objective. Then investments in the railway system in Mexico led to a large influx of Japanese laborers recruited in Japan and they returned when contracts were finished. It can be said that migrants who played a role in a more stable Mexican economy were the *yobiyose* who have higher levels of education than local populations in Mexican regions. They exerted professions mainly medicine and agronomy. This was the case of Federico Ashida, who arrived in Cihuatlan Jalisco invited by other Japanese. Ashida introduced new ways of growing coconut palms and a new variety of mango trees using innovative technologies that extended throughout the Western coastal region of Mexico.

The pioneer Japanese immigrants settled in Mexico were among the leading exporters of cotton and developed an important fishing industry in Ensenada, Baja California. This population had a higher level of education compared to the inhabitants of the destination areas. Also, those having high technical skills began arriving particularly during the period of economic growth in Japan, along with Japanese investment in Mexico. Major Japanese economic growth after World War II brought to the Mexican economy significant investments from Japan that sought to relocate its surplus capital abroad when Japan could no longer invest the total accumulated capital.

Chronologically, Japanese arrivals are located as follows: at the end of nineteenth century, they settled mainly in Southeast Mexico; later, from 1905 to 1935, they concentrated in the Northwest and Northeast regions; after World War II, between 1939 and 1945, the Japanese population was concentrated by the federal government in the Midwest, where some of them dedicated to trade after losing their land property. In the economic recovery in Japan occurred between 1950 and 1970,

as well as during the 70s and afterward Mexico experienced large Japanese direct investment in manufacturing industry. In this century this investment directed to the automotive industry. In spite of this, Japanese immigration seems to be temporary with a small increase of that settled permanently in Mexico. Since then, population began to concentrate on the metropolitan area mainly in Central region of Mexico. In general, their education attainment is still higher than Mexican population; they also obtain higher incomes. The most important economic rebound in Mexico is the manufacturing industry in the automotive industry where Japanese immigrants play an important role. Such industrial growth is concentrated in large cities strategically located to export automobiles and automobile parts.

The academic attainment, employment status and income level of Japanese immigrants in Mexico highlighted its important economic impact in Mexico during the past three decades. Although Japanese investment multiplied by 355 percent, it is important to mention that Japanese immigration has not grown at a similar pace in the last thirty years according to census data.

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