

**JAPANESE SOCIO-CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON MIGRANT
ENTREPRENEURSHIP: EXPLORING THE ENTREPRENEURIAL
ACTIVITIES OF FORMER FILIPINA ENTERTAINERS IN THE
PHILIPPINES**

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ABSTRACT

Over the years, Japan has opened different channels for labor migrants to address its chronic labor shortage. The Philippines has been one of the major sending countries of female temporary migrant workers to Japan since the 1970s, most of whom worked in the entertainment industry. Thousands of these Filipinas eventually returned to the Philippines to set up a business using their accumulated social and financial capital, as well as lived experiences in Japan. However, to date, it remains unknown how their migrant lives in Japan influenced their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. This study investigated the impact of 20 former Filipina entertainers' experiences in Japan on their entrepreneurship upon return to their home country. It built on Kushminder's model (2017) to examine how their reintegration strategies shaped their entrepreneurial engagements. Depending on their level of preparedness, social networks, knowledge and skills, cultural maintenance, and structural conditions in Japan, the study revealed that Filipina entrepreneurs could be categorized as reintegrated, enclavists, traditionalists, and vulnerable. It also found that their Japan-bound migration drove them to take the entrepreneurial route to either maintain the social status earned in Japan or support their household upon return to the Philippines. Not all Filipinas venturing into business capitalized on their sociocultural experiences in Japan; others are oriented toward Filipino consumer needs and rely on some aspects of the Filipino culture in doing business.

Keywords: former Filipina entertainers, entrepreneurial activities, reintegration, Japan, Philippines, return migration

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the topic by presenting the rationale and background of the study. It also includes the problem statement and the specific research questions. Moreover, it also presents the study's main goal and specific objectives. It also presents the significance and limitations of the study.

A. Background of the Study

Among the many definitions, entrepreneurship in this study can be defined as initiating a venture based on new ideas and personal development through building a mindset and skills (Diandra & Azmy, 2020). For example, during the Meiji Restoration in Japan in 1868–1869, entrepreneurial efforts evidently played a vital role in the economic development of the country (Sagers, 2019).

Today, Japan, a developed country ranked as the third largest economy in the world mainly due to its *keiretsu* (major businesses that are interlinked with various companies), ironically faces low entrepreneurship levels. Although privately owned Japanese startups set a record high total capital of 271.7 billion yen in 2017 compared to 63.6 billion yen in 2012 (Japan Venture Research, 2011, as cited in Inagaki, 2018), such an amount is lower than that of startup companies in Southeast Asia, China, and Silicon Valley in the US. In fact, according to Economy (2015), Japan is the fourth least entrepreneurial country in the world. According to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (2022), Japan ranks 41st of 47 countries in total early-stage entrepreneurial activity, as seen in Table 1. Table 2

shows that Japan had a low percentage of business startups or entrepreneurial activities in the last five years.

Table 1. Entrepreneurial Activity Levels in Various Countries (% of Adults Aged 18–64)

	Total Early-Stage Entrepreneurial Activity		Established Business Ownership		Entrepreneurial Employee Activity	
	Score	Rank /47	Score	Rank /47	Score	Rank /37
Germany	6.9	38	5.0	30	3.4	17
India	14.4	18	8.5	13=	0.5	35
Italy	4.8	45	4.5	33	3.2	19
Japan	6.3	41	4.8	32	1.7	26=
Norway	3.1	46	3.5	43	1.9	24=
United States	16.5	12=	8.9	9=	4.5	12

NOTE: An equals (=) sign indicates that the ranking position is tied with another economy or economies. Source: Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2021/2022 Report.

Table 2. Entrepreneurial Expectations and Scopes (% of Adults Aged 18–64)

	Total Early-Stage Entrepreneurial Activity		Established Business Ownership		Entrepreneurial Employee Activity	
	Score	Rank /47	Score	Rank /47	Score	Rank /37
Germany	6.9	38	5.0	30	3.4	17
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Norway	3.1	46	3.5	43	1.9	24=
United States	17.4	10	10.6	=14	6.5	7

NOTE: An equals (=) sign indicates that the ranking position is tied with another economy or economies. Source: Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2021/2022 Report.

The Japanese government has three main policies that promote entrepreneurial activities in Japan: (1) removal of the minimum capital regulation, (2) provision of education and information to entrepreneurs, and (3) provision of startup loan programs to entrepreneurs where it was conditionally executed on 2004 and implemented in 2005 (National Research Council, 2009). It also had the *Enhancing Global Entrepreneurs* program from 2014 to 2016, under which selected Japanese universities designed courses to promote entrepreneurship (Kim, 2016). In addition, former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe launched *Abenomics* in 2012, a new set of policies to counter the challenges of globalization and Japan's rapidly aging society. The highlights of *Abenomics* for entrepreneurs are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Highlights of Japan's *Abenomics* Reforms

Strategy	Structural and legislative transformations
Boosting productivity	Equal pay for equal work legislation; regulatory limits for overtime work; better cultivation of human resources; promoting flexible work styles; introducing new scholarship programs for children to ease the financial burden of higher education; lessen the burden of working parents and accelerate women's promotion; facilitate change through helping seniors engage with business; leveraging the talent and promoting and expanding opportunities for expatriates in Japan
Drive innovation and trade	Continue to maintain worldwide leadership in the tech industry; encourage entrepreneurialism nationwide through deregulation and support; expand the healthcare market; increase in energy to address global warming; double the integrated market value of the agriculture industry; leverage free trade and other economic agreements; promote quality infrastructure investment; modernize SMEs to meet global standards; reinforce tourism as a central component of revitalization; double labor productivity growth
Energize corporate activities	Stimulate growth through business-friendly reform; strengthen investor confidence through increase transparency; attract foreign companies

through promotional activities; resolve issues hindering the foreign companies entering Japan.

NOTE: Based on data from the Japanese government policy documents for *Abenomics*. Source: Yokoyama & Birchley (2020), *Entrepreneurship in the Japanese Context*.

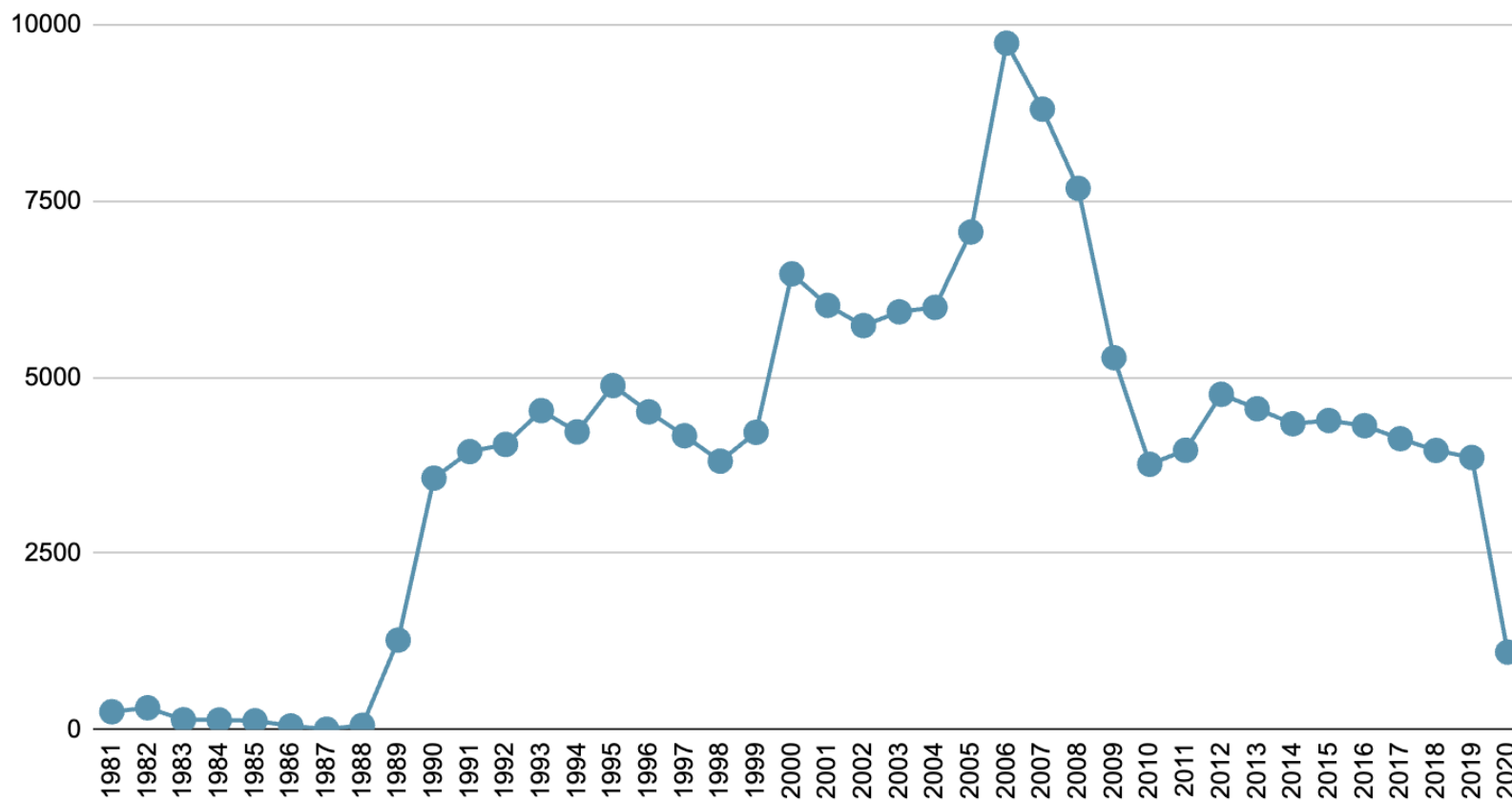
However, despite the Japanese government's numerous programs and policies to boost entrepreneurship in the country, cultural and social factors continue to hinder entrepreneurial activities therein. Pecly and Ribeiro (2020) found that a nation's cultural traits influence the entrepreneurial attitude of its people. A Japanese cultural trait is aversion to risks. According to Tomoko (as cited in Eberhard & Gucwa, 2013), Japanese culture does not encourage risk-taking behaviors as it encourages conformity and conventionality in Japanese society. Unsurprisingly, most Japanese are reluctant to venture into entrepreneurship, which entails taking risks such as exiting one's job to start a business that may yield unstable earnings. In addition, for the Japanese, entrepreneurship means going against their sociocultural concept of *kokorozashi*, which signifies that their sense of ambition should be coupled with their civic duty to stay respected in society even if they are fulfilling their individual goals. They see entrepreneurship in a negative light as a selfish endeavor that opposes their sociocultural norms of lifetime employment and stable income unless profit-making is balanced with social responsibility goals (Yokoyama & Birchley, 2020). Moreover, the Japanese tend to have smaller social networks, which makes it more difficult for Japanese entrepreneurs to start up (Eberhard & Gucwa, 2013).

Given the aforementioned socioeconomic and cultural conditions in Japan, foreign migration has become one of the ways to foster entrepreneurship in the country. Migrants do not necessarily carry the sociocultural and economic weight of risk aversion that the Japanese do (Honjo, 2015). However, the rigid sociocultural structures of Japan still make it more difficult for migrants to start entrepreneurial activities in the country.

1. Filipino Migration to Japan

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2021), in 2019, there were an estimated 169 million international migrant workers, and they constituted 4.9% of the labor force of destination countries. Over 10 million of those workers were Overseas Filipino workers (OFWs); the *World Population Prospects 2019: Highlights | Multimedia Library* (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, n.d.) stated that the Philippines, a developing country, was among the world's top 10 origins of international migrants in the same year. The ILO (2021) added that more than one million Filipinos leave the country each year to work abroad. Filipinos consider migration a lifeline and a way to step up the ladder of economic development (Milly, 2018).

Table 4. Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants in Japan (1981–2020)



NOTE: The data set presents the annual population of registered Filipino emigrants in Japan from 1981 to 2020. Source: Commission on Filipinos Overseas.

Japan is the leading destination of OFWs (Piquero-Ballescás, 2013). As seen in Table 4, Japan was the third leading destination of Filipino emigrants from 1981 to 2020. It also shows that there was a steep decline from 2019 to 2020 mainly due to the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic. In 2019, there were over 282,000 Filipino migrants legally living in Japan with permanent resident visas (Kyodo, 2021). In addition, because Japanese women are having fewer babies, Japanese population is rapidly aging and shrinking, compelling Japan to accept foreign workers to fill its labor gaps (Milly, 2018). According to Gelin (2021), out of Japan's 126 million total population in 2020, over 3 million were migrants. Thus, from an emerging migration state, Japan has become an immigration country (Hollifield & Sharpe, 2017; Liu-Farrer, 2020). Labor migration to the country has been feminized. That is, Japan is opening up different channels of labor for women (Ogawa, 2011; Rosenberg, 2020). One such channel is the service industry in which women from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka offer contract labor in Japan as live-in domestic workers (Piper & Yamanaka, 2005).

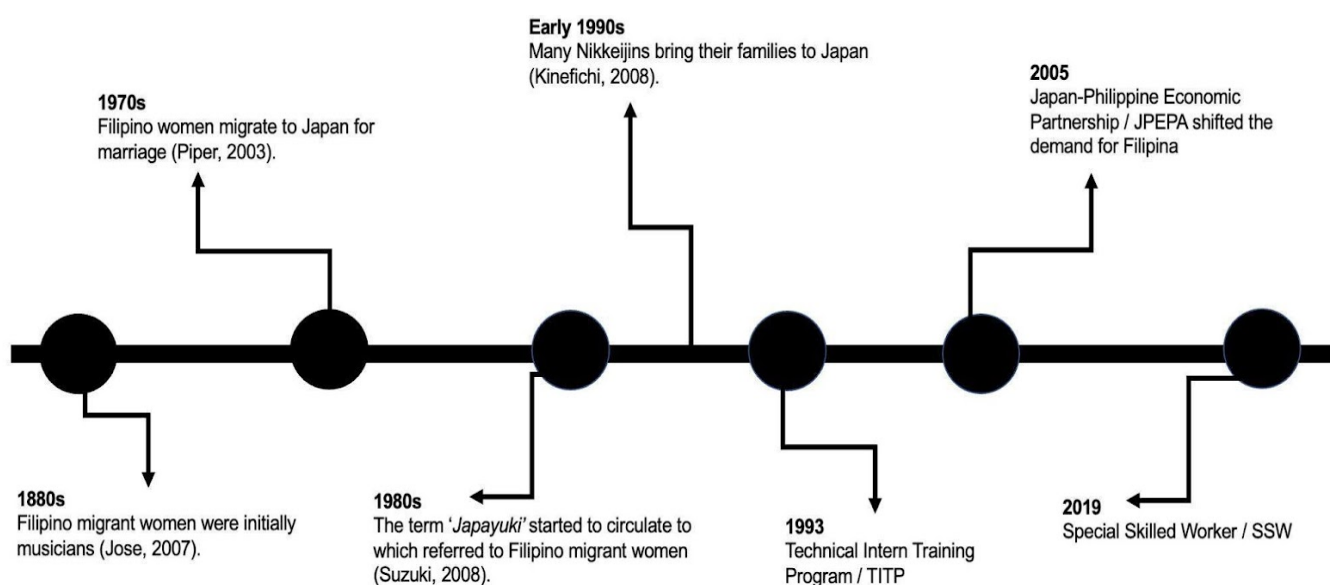
The history of Filipino labor migration shows Japan as a receiving country of Filipino labor migrants since the 20th century as seen in Figure 1. However, Yu-Jose (2007) pointed out that Filipino labor migration to Japan did not start in the 20th century but as early as the 1880s. Filipino migrants were initially musicians and, later in the 20th century, were called "entertainers." In the 1980s, the term *Japayuki* circulated, which referred to female OFWs in Japan who worked as

strippers or sex workers (Da-anoy-Satake, 2000). However, most Filipina migrants in Japan were actually not involved in the sex industry but were bar hostesses (Suzuki, 2008). The working visa offered to 'entertainers' was usually temporary. Thus, Filipina migrants worked in Japan only for a short period and then returned to their home country, but planned to work abroad again to earn more for their family. To not only circumvent this temporary visa but to acquire permanent residency in Japan, Filipina migrant entertainers often married Japanese men and had half-Japanese children. The second- and third-generation descendants of Nikkeijins¹ who lived outside Japan utilized their blood relation with a Nikkeijin to migrate to Japan, and this became the common way to achieve permanent residence in the country. Many Nikkeijins brought their families to Japan and have been living there for years (Kinefichi, 2008). However, Japan's migration scheme restricts migrants' entitlement to benefits and advantages compared to Japanese nationals, as the Japanese cannot accept racial diversity in their country. The definition of the 'Japanese' in a legal context is racialized, which is applied to interpretation and law enactment to public policy, including nationality, citizenship, residency, and family registry (Arudou, 2021). Japan's migration scheme prohibits foreign migrants from bringing their families to Japan. Moreover, many foreign workers in Japan fit uncomfortably in Japan due to the tight immigration policies, which led them to an illegal migrant status that faces discrimination in finding houses, work, and living, in general, in Japan setting (Douglass, 2000). Therefore,

¹ These are different children of Japanese migration patterns from the Philippines. One was the migration of half-Japanese children during the pre-war, and the other was Japanese-Filipino children of Filipina entertainers or newcomers.

as Filipina migrants in Japan have families in the Philippines, some of them have chosen to return to the Philippines either temporarily or permanently. This made the migratory flow of Filipina migrant entertainers in Japan circulatory and transnational (Parreñas, 2010).

Figure 1. *Timeline of Filipino Migration to Japan*



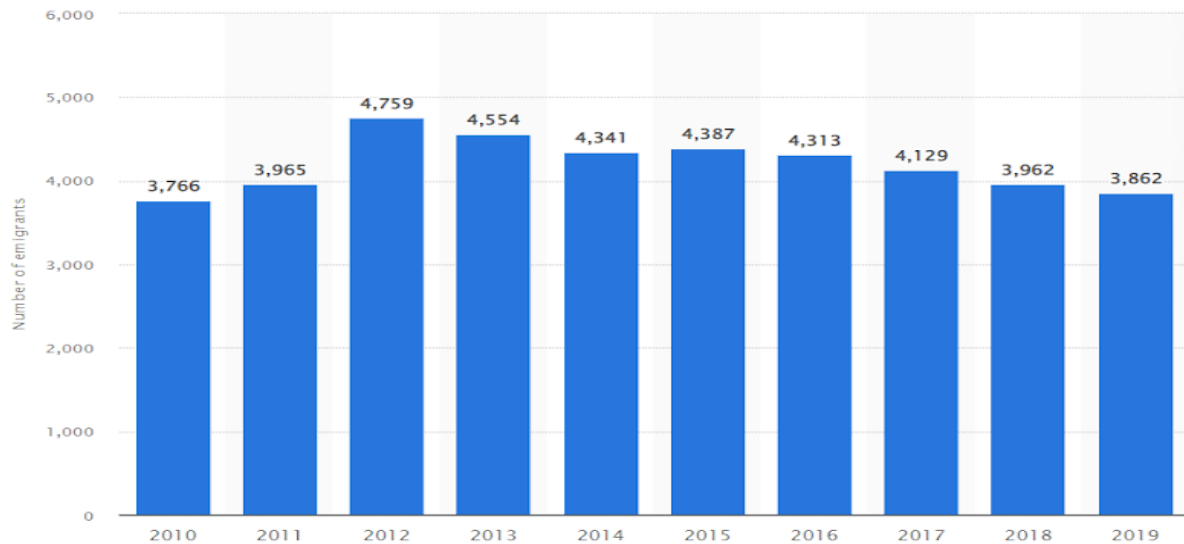
NOTE: Illustration made by the author.

When Japan's demand for 'entertainers,' which denoted sex workers, declined in the late 1990s, the country opened its doors to a new route for labor migration. In 1993, the Japanese government established its Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) to transfer its knowledge, skills, and technologies to developing countries such as the Philippines. At the start of 2005, the

Japan–Philippine Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA) shifted the demand for Filipina migrants from entertainers to ‘emotional laborers,’ that is, to nurses and caregivers due to Japan’s increasing need for healthcare workers; as a result of their aging society (Ishige, 2021; Suzuki, 2008). Then, in 2019, Japan launched its Special Skilled Worker program to outsource labor migrants who have the skills needed in the identified industries. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2019), the program covers 14 industries namely: care services; building cleaning management; machine parts and tooling; industrial machinery; electronics; information; construction; shipbuilding and ship machinery; automobile repair and maintenance; aviation; accommodation; agriculture, fishery, and aquaculture; manufacture of food and beverages; and food service.

In 2020, almost 20% of foreign laborers in Japan’s workforce were hired through TITP, the second highest percentage after Japanese nationals (Chonlaworn, 2021). However, Figure 2 shows a decline in the number of OFWs living in Japan permanently from 2012 to 2019. As of December 2021, there were 276,615 Philippine nationals residing in Japan (Embassy of the Republic of the Philippines, Tokyo, Japan, n.d.).

Figure 2. Number of Emigrants Living Permanently in Japan from 2010 to 2019



NOTE: The data set shows the number of Filipino emigrants living permanently in Japan from 2010 to 2019. The data set presents the number of Filipino emigrants in hundreds. Source: Statista Research Department 2022.

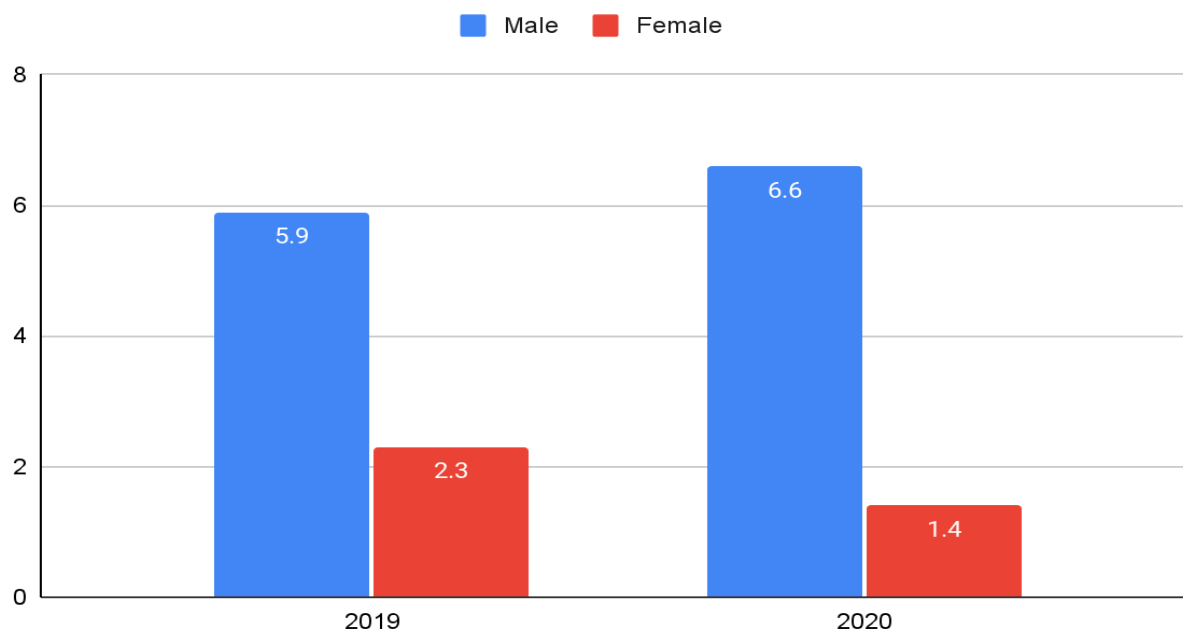
The socioeconomic and political conditions in Japan have influenced the nature of work and/or the sector or industry where Filipino workers are needed in the country from the 20th century up to the present (Lambino, 2015; Piquero-Ballescás, 2009). The demographic challenge of the aging population of Japan demonstrates their need for unskilled workers (Ogawa, 2011). The low birth rate of Japan as well concerns on increasing social costs of childcare and healthcare, therefore, the Japanese government acknowledges the labor shortage it entails and turned into employing foreign workers (Lambino, 2015).

According to the Philippine Department of Migrant Workers (2022), the top jobs for Filipinos in Japan in 2022 were the following: performing artists, housekeepers, engineers, construction workers, welders, automobile technicians,

agricultural workers, caregivers, machine operators, and teachers. As the nature of the work needed in Japan from foreign laborers shifted, it also changed the distribution of Filipino workers there by sex.

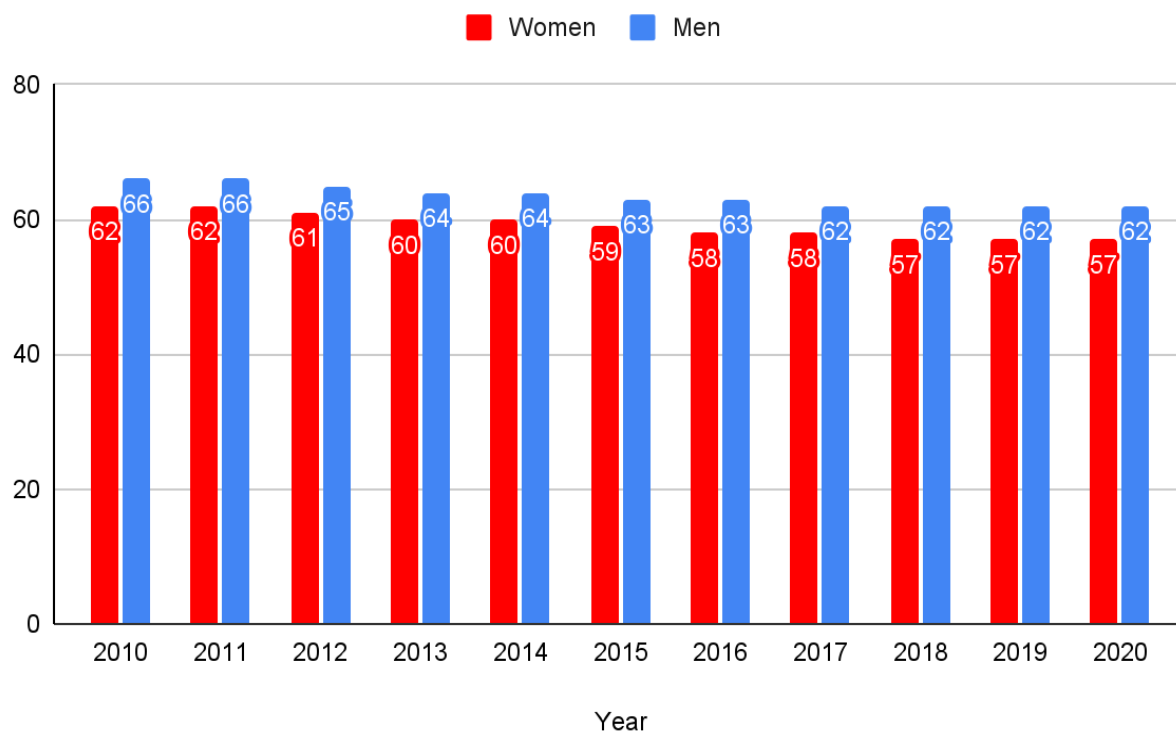
As seen in Table 4, for 2019–2020, there was a significant difference between the percentages of male and female OFWs in Japan. In 2019, 5.9% of male OFWs worked in Japan, compared to only 2.3% of female OFWs. In 2020, the percentage of male OFWs in Japan increased to 6.6%, whereas that of female OFWs decreased to 1.4%. It is in consideration that the labor scheme in Japan that is open for Filipinos shifted to male-oriented jobs such as production processes workers, workers in transport and communication workers, and technical workers, as seen in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 5. *Distribution of OFWs by Sex in Japan in 2019 and 2020*



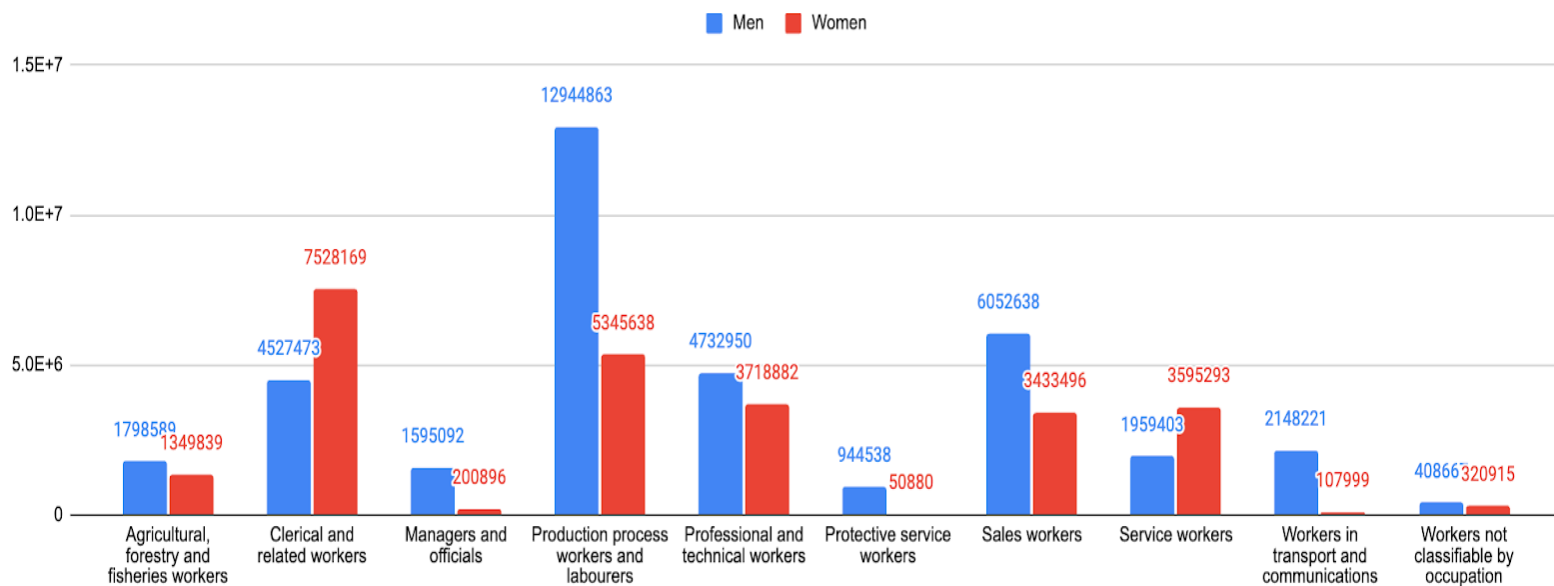
NOTE: The estimates cover overseas Filipino workers who were working or had worked abroad during the past six months (April to September) of the survey period. The 2019 and 2020 estimates were based on the 2015-based population projections. Source: Philippine Statistics Authority. 2019 and 2020 Survey on Overseas Filipinos.

Table 6. *Distribution of OFWs by Sex in Japan from 2010 to 2021*



NOTE: The data present the shares of OFWs in the 15–64 years old working age. The data were extracted on 26 May 2023 at 00:47 UTC (GMT). Source: OECD Stat (2023).

Table 7. Immigrants in Japan by Occupation and Sex



NOTE: Data extracted on 26 May 2023, 01:04 UTC (GMT). Source: OECD.Stat (2023).

With the shift in Japan's labor force to the industrial and care service sectors, migrant workers have tried to fill the gaps and thus, to readjust themselves. Lambino (2015) pointed out that most female OFWs in Japan are now in the manufacturing sector.

Studies on female OFWs in Japan have focused on their self-development challenges after working in the entertainment industry, crawling their way toward renegotiating themselves amidst the shift in Japan's labor demand (Docot, 2009). Although the Japanese pragmatically view unskilled foreign workers as necessary to fill the lowest segment of their labor force so that their economy would survive (Sugimoto, 2010), female OFWs in Japan face several challenges in integrating into Japanese society either as wives or workers, such as language barriers, illegal residency, problematic relationships, social isolation, and discrimination (Cheng & Choo, 2015; Kita et al., 2015; Parreñas, 2010; Piper, 2003). Onuki (2009) stated that the deployment of care workers to Japan commodified labor in the country through the route of JPEPA. Several studies have been conducted about female OFWs in the care service industry in Japan after the country's demand shifted from the entertainment industry (Lopez, 2012; Ogawa, 2012; Onuki, 2009). Indeed, most female OFWs in Japan now perform emotional labor, which most Japanese do not want to perform (Kamiya & Lee, 2009; Piquero-Ballescás, 2009). Former Filipina entertainers, due to the stigma attached to them as 'aliens' or 'outsiders' in Japan, took on jobs at the lowest work strata in the country, described as the 3Ks (*kitanai*, *kiken*, and *kitsui*) or the 3Ds (dirty, dangerous, and difficult; Nault, 2008).

As the former 'Japayuki' or Filipina entertainers in Japan found other jobs there, former Filipina entertainers who put up businesses in Japan have been understudied. There are no available academic studies that focus on how former Filipina entertainers do business in Japan and how most of them return to the Philippines to do business as well.

2. Return Migration of Filipinas to the Philippines

According to Rother (2009), OFWs tend to eventually return to the Philippines. There are various factors and reasons for this. In the case of female OFWs in Japan, their aforementioned challenges in the country drive some of them to return to the Philippines. However, the migration theory considers return migration either a complete failure or a complete success (Cassarino, 2004). As international migrants have a greater need for achievement and are exposed to higher risks, they show a higher tendency to become entrepreneurs to continue their economic development (Démurger, 2011; Vandor, 2021). Yet, while studies have been conducted on Bangladeshi, Chinese, Brazilian, and Latin Japanese migrant entrepreneurs (Higuchi, 2010; Rahman & Lian, 2011; Rahman & Rahman, 2011), there is no literature yet on how Filipina migrant workers became entrepreneurs in Japan.

Filipino and Indonesian returnees are encouraged to take the entrepreneurship route back home due to their accumulated economic and social capital from their host country (Spitzer, 2016). In addition, migrants' experience in

their host country greatly affects their living conditions upon their return (Bilgili, 2018).

B. Statement of the Problem

As discussed in the previous subsection, labor migration goes beyond the economic goals of Filipino women. The field of migration studies now encompasses different shifts in various issues that range from mobilities, diversity, and development to the cultural and social dynamics of migration (Pisarevskaya et al., 2020). This study investigated whether Japanese migration enabled Filipina migrant returnees to the Philippines to become entrepreneurs through the process of *Japanization*, that is, of the diffusion of sociocultural influences from Japan to the Philippines.

Thus, this study aims to answer the following main research question:

Does Japan influence former Filipina entertainers to the Philippines to become entrepreneurs?

This study also aims to shed light on the following auxiliary questions:

- 1) How do former Filipina entertainers' life experiences in Japan impact their entrepreneurial activities upon their return?
- 2) How do their socioeconomic and cultural experiences in Japan shape their business outlook and goals?
- 3) How do they negotiate Japanese and Filipino values and attitudes toward doing business?

C. Research Objectives

The main objective of this research is to analyze the impact of Japan-bound migration on the entrepreneurial activities of former Filipina entertainers in the Philippines.

Specifically, this study aims to:

- examine the entrepreneurial activities of the former Filipina entertainers in the Philippines upon living in Japan,
- form empirical insights on the process of the return and reintegration of former Filipina entertainers, and
- gain a deeper understanding of the mobility and dynamics of entrepreneurship among former Filipina entertainers.

D. Relevance of the Study

In today's era of globalization, the study of migration is becoming more complex. More and more levels of complexity should be uncovered to understand the dynamics of people's mobility. Considering the complexity of the interplay between social, cultural, political, and economic factors that might influence the process of migration, this study highlights the need for an interdisciplinary approach to migration research. This research contributes to studying the relationship between Japan and the Philippines beyond their borders by considering how socioeconomic and cultural dynamics of migrant returnees' lives

cross borders through the context of entrepreneurship. This study may provide a new perspective on understanding transnational processes and insights into the impact of continuing migration flows between Japan and the Philippines. In addition, it contributes to the understanding of the extent to which former Filipina entertainers from Japan capitalized on their sociocultural and socioeconomic experiences in Japan in pursuing entrepreneurship in the Philippines. Finally, this study expands understanding of Filipinas in the Philippines and their sociocultural experiences in Japan help them succeed in business. For future researchers on Japan, this study may provide a starting point in understanding the realities of migrant entrepreneurship in Japan, return migration, and reintegration in the Philippines.

Moreover, this study aims to offer recommendations for the Philippines' Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) in improving their aids and programs available (or the lack thereof) to returning former Filipina entertainers from Japan. This study contributes insights helpful to Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry in developing migration visa schemes available to current and prospective migrant entrepreneurs. This study also contributes to the development of NGOs' (such as the BATIS Center) methods of assisting returning former Filipina entertainers in the Philippines.

E. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The life narratives and experiences of Filipina migrant returnees were used as the data for this study. However, this study had only 20 participants, considering the researcher's reliance on personal networks and the snowball sampling method for methodological convenience. Most of the participants in the study were former entertainers; therefore, other categories of Filipina migrant returnees were not represented in the study, such as students, professionals, and/or nurses. Therefore, this study focused on conducting a qualitative investigation of the participants' lived experiences in Japan. Moreover, the interviews were mainly done online to protect the health and wellness of the participants during the pandemic. The study locale mainly concentrated on Greater Manila area, which was close to the perimeter of the researcher. It focuses on former Filipina entertainers' experiences in Japan, highlighting its link are the focus of this study; the socioeconomic and cultural conditions to their economic activities upon return to the Philippines

F. Definition of Terms

The concepts used in the present study are defined and operationalized as follows:

1. Cultural maintenance: Reflects the value systems of return migrants and their orientation towards the value of country of return or origin (Kushminder, 2017).

While this study utilized it as the process of negotiation of Filipina migrant returnees to the cultures and values of Japan as well as the Philippines.

2. Entertainer: A person who worked in local bars in Japan who performed several functions such as bar hostesses, singers, dancers, waitresses, and other miscellaneous works like washing the dishes and cleaning after hour (Fuwa, 1999). In this study, former entertainers were mostly the participants in the study, who lived and worked in Japan, eventually returning to the Philippines and starting their businesses.
3. Entrepreneurship: It is initiating a venture based on new ideas and personal development through building a mindset and skills (Diandra & Azmy, 2020). This study focused on the entrepreneurial activities that Filipina migrant returnees set up to pursue economic and social development upon their return to the Philippines.
4. *Japayuki*: A negative, derogatory label for Filipina migrants who work as prostitutes, sex slaves, and scavengers in Japan's entertainment industry (Da-anoy-Satake, 2000).
5. Kushminder model: A typology of reintegration strategies of female migrant returnees in Ethiopia developed by anthropologist (first name) Kushminder in 2017. The present research reconfigures this model by adopting the four typologies of returning former Filipina entertainers to the Philippines such as reintegrated, enclavists, traditionalists, and vulnerables. The study replaced the dimensions Kushminder provided, from 'transnationalism' and 'social

change' to 'transnational mindset and activities' and 'cultural and structural conditions'. The study as well changed the 'access to rights and institutions', 'self-identification', and 'cultural orientation' to 'knowledge and skills', 'cultural maintenance', and 'structural conditions' as key factors in determining the reintegration strategies of Filipina returnees.

6. Reintegration: Sociocultural, political, economic, and security sustainable processes that the returnee faces upon return (Koser & Kushminder, 2015). Reintegration in this study is the interplay of transnational mindsets and activities, social networks, and cultural and structural conditions of Japan that determine the entrepreneurial activities of and enable Filipinas to become entrepreneurs in the Philippines.
7. Return migration: A form of migration in which migrants move back to one's country of origin (Carling, et al, 2015). In this study, it is the return of Filipina migrant returnees from Japan to the Philippines, whether temporarily or permanently.
8. Social network: "A set of relationships surrounding an individual embedded in different formal and informal contexts" (Lubbers et al., 2020, p. 180). Meanwhile, for this study, it refers to the social connections that the Filipina migrant returnees acquired or maintained during the cycle of their migration which can be transnational or local ties either in Japan, the Philippines, or both.

9. Sociocultural experiences: The values, socializing practices, as well as the cultural and social changes that a migrant experiences (Vandeyar, 2010). While in this study, these pertain to the first-hand experiences of Filipina migrants based on observing, interacting, adapting, and valuing the culture and society of Japan.
10. Transnationalism: a process of sustaining connections across borders (Clavin, 2005). It is used in the current study to describe how Filipina migrant returnees maintain their ties, mindset, and entrepreneurial engagements in Japan as well as the Philippines.

G. Thesis Organization

This study has seven chapters. The first chapter provides the background and the rationale of this study. It includes the history of Filipino migration to Japan and problematizes the context of this study. It also provides the limitations and relevance of this study. Chapter II discusses previous studies relevant to this study and provides the limitations of the previous literature. It discusses the previous studies on migration and entrepreneurship, theories and models in migrant entrepreneurship, policies and programs for migrant entrepreneurs in Japan as well as programs for Filipino returnees in the Philippines. At the end of Chapter II, the synthesis of the research gaps is presented to develop the basis for conducting the study. Chapter III presents the theoretical model and methodology utilized in the study. It presents the detailed research methodology as well as the profile of

the respondents in the study. Following this, Chapter III provides the reconfigured model of Kushminder (2017) as a basis for analysis of data. Chapter III is the basis of the results and discussion for Chapters IV, V, and VI.

Chapters IV, V, and VI discuss the results of the study using the theoretical framework presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV examines the transnational mindsets and activities, and social networks of former Filipina entertainers as well as the cultural and structural conditions of Japan. Following the model in Chapter III, Chapter IV provides a critical understanding of the reintegration process. While Chapters V and VI categorize former Filipina entertainers into four reintegration strategies. The four reintegration strategies used in Chapters V and VI are reintegrated, enclavists, traditionalists, and vulnerable.

Chapters V and VI utilize five dimensions to assess and evaluate the Filipina migrant returnees. The five dimensions of entrepreneurship of Filipinas are level of preparedness, social networks, knowledge and skills, cultural maintenance, and structural conditions. Chapter V examines Filipina migrant returnees as reintegrated and enclavist entrepreneurs. Chapter VI discusses the former Filipina entertainers categorized as traditionalists and vulnerable entrepreneurs. Finally, Chapter VII provides a summary of the entire research study. It addresses the problem of the study presented in Chapter I. It also further recommends future research directions.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

To find key information upon which to premise the answers to the stated research questions, this chapter reviews studies on the nexus between migration and development, as well as migration and entrepreneurship, including theories and models of migrant entrepreneurship. Also reviewed are previous studies on migrant entrepreneurship specifically in Japan, including Filipino migrants doing business in Japan, and policies and programs for migrant entrepreneurs in Japan, and programs for Filipino returnees in the Philippines. This chapter ends with summarizing the limitations of existing research.

A. Migration and Development

Migration has always been connected to development. In the new economics of globalization, the flow of goods, ideas, services, and capital has become faster and more fluid as national borders are diminished, and barriers to economic trade are lowered to allow active participation of more countries in the trend toward the expansion of the global economy (Oyekola, 2018). In the process, the ties between and among people are becoming closer, and more and more people are sharing cultures and ideas across borders and territories. Globalization is also the main driver of international labor migration. More and more people in countries that lack economic opportunities move out of their home country to earn more abroad. Thus, migration also produces an inflow of money to the home country.

Aside from the economic benefits of migration to the home country, it also results in the embodiment of new ideas, technologies, partnerships, products, markets, attitudes, and institutions that are channeled through the migrants (Clemens, 2014). As migrants build and accumulate capital, values, attitudes, skills, ideas, technologies, networks, trade, investments, and modern social norms in their host countries, they use those for their development when they return to their home country (Akesson, 2011; Asomoza, 2019; Bobova, 2016; Boccagni & Decimo, 2013; Marchetta, 2012; Zohry, 2017). Thus, their return migration to their country-of-origin results in the maximization of productivity and other massive global economic benefits in their home country (Clemens, 2017; Naude et al., 2015). Since migration also helps the host country to fill its demand for labor, it is considered to have a positive economic impact on both the home country and the host country (Hermele, 1997).

Developing countries are mostly the countries of origin or the primary senders of migrants, and developed countries, are their host countries or the receivers of skilled migrants. Due to the current financial crisis, many policymakers from developed countries advocate migration (Wahba, 2015). Asia, which is the most populous continent in the world and is a growing economic power, has both developed and developing countries. Thus, it is both a supplier and receiver of labor migrants.

In the 1970s, while East Asia began to be the new frontier of economic development and the Middle East's power grew from its oil production, Southeast Asia found alternative development pathways due to its post-colonial dimension (Amrith, 2011). In the mid-1970s, with the phenomenal rise in employment tied to migration

(Abella, 1984), Southeast Asia started crawling its way to economic growth by sending thousands of its skilled and semi-skilled workers abroad. For example, Wickramasekara (n.d.) noted: “The Philippines overseas migration has become a pair of crutches for the local economy, serving two main objectives: to ease the unemployment situation and to generate foreign incomes to fuel the faltering economy.”

Unfortunately, this phenomenon misrepresents the notion of development, as it has increased the imbalance of power relations between the North and South (Geiger & Pecoud, 2013) and deepened their divide (Piper, 2009). Schiller (2009) and Skeldon (1997) thus recommended studying migration and development regionally rather than simply in-country and taking academic discussions on the development and migration nexus beyond economic dimensions.

The benefits and costs of international migration to development have been the salient feature in studies on migration. Numerous studies have provided evidence of the propensity of returning migrants to be entrepreneurs (Ashourizadeh, 2016; Bhachu, 2017; Black, 2009; Demurger, 2011; Kerpaci, 2019; Levie, 2007; Loschmann, 2020; Marchetta, 2012; Naude, 2015; Vlase, 2019; Wahba, 2012). This study expands the limited literature on return migration, entrepreneurship, and development that link Japan to the Philippines and how migrant experiences in Japan shape and reshape their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. This study may also contribute to giving a new perspective on migration and development by presenting how the socioeconomic and cultural aspects of migration can indirectly pave the way for development in the home country. The Philippine government provides programs and training that promote

entrepreneurship as the route for migrant returnees but discount the migrants' social and cultural experiences that may enhance their entrepreneurial success. This study may help the government and policymakers to come up with better entrepreneurial policies or programs by capitalizing on and institutionalizing the sociocultural remittances of Filipina migrant returnees.

B. Migration and Entrepreneurship

Recent studies on migration and development used economic paradigms to justify development both for developed and developing countries. These studies explored various factors such as gender, family structure, education, development, labor, entrepreneurship, and even settlement aspirations (Asis et al., 2004; Celero, 2021; Eviota & Smith, 2019; McKay, 2005; Oishi, 2002; Rodriguez, 2017; Yang, 2005). With increasing globalization, however, migratory flows and processes are becoming more complex and are demonstrating multidimensional dynamics that position migrants to enter entrepreneurship as a new door for development.

As migration is usually viewed through the economic lens, existing literature suggests that migration is related to entrepreneurship. Indeed, migration and entrepreneurship both contribute to achieving the goal of development and constitute a win-win relationship between the host and home countries, because migration addresses labor shortages in receiving countries and facilitates the transfer of resources to sending countries that enables economic development therein.

However, a migrant household with capital does not usually start entrepreneurial activities. Entrepreneurship sets in when it is heralded by the national government to sustain migrants' financial and economic status after migration. As migrants return to their homeland, economic concerns surface, particularly related to their livelihood through re-employment or the establishment of a small business. Their acquired social network and experience gives them an entrepreneurial advantage (Ashourizadeh et al., 2016; Yu, 2017). In turn, entrepreneurship promotes economic development (Lacomba, 2017; Wahba, 2012).

The type of entrepreneurship activity undertaken by migrant returnees varies according to the type of migration experience they have accumulated (Mezger, 2015). Their social, cultural, and demographic experiences greatly influence their decision on what kind of business they will put up when they return to their homeland and how they will run such business. What is essential to point out, however, is that the success of migrants in the host country is a factor in the probability of their return to their home country. There is empirical evidence in the Netherlands, for instance, of almost equal percentages of return by successful and unsuccessful migrants. Migrants who have achieved their target savings and have accumulated relevant experience are more likely to be entrepreneurs back in their country (Wahba, 2015a). Honig (2020) highlighted the need for an interdisciplinary study on the influence of multiple social and demographic factors on migrant entrepreneurship. Dabic (2020) echoed the need for an interdisciplinary approach and the use of multilevel methods when looking at migrant entrepreneurship as a phenomenon of global interest.

C. Migrant Entrepreneurship in Japan

Entrepreneurship has become one of the sources of opportunities for the success and development of migrants typically in destination countries (Glinka & Jelonerk, 2020). Numerous studies have argued that migrants are more entrepreneurial than natives (Bolzani, 2020; Vandor, 2021; Zhang & Zhao, 2021). Thus, migrant entrepreneurship has become a topic of global interest for researchers (Dabic, 2020).

Many studies have focused on the emergence of migrant entrepreneurs in Japan, which has a long history as a receiving country of migrants with noticeably diverse ethnic, gender, visa, work, and foreign spouse categories (Sato, 2004). For example, Takenaka (2015) studied how Peruvian migrant entrepreneurs in Japan and the US differ in their definitions of success and opportunities. Karayilmaz (2018) observed that most immigrant entrepreneurs sell ethnic products from their home country and presented how migrant entrepreneurs can successfully integrate into Japanese society through the conversion of their way of thinking to that of the locals. Kharel (2016) and Higuchi (2010) stressed the importance of social capital and networks to entrepreneurship, using the case of Brazilian migrant entrepreneurs, and Nepali migrants respectively, who decided to stay in Japan permanently due to the heavy influence of their families. Suppatkul (2021) also stressed how Japanese citizens play a major role in the setup of migrant businesses in Japan from the point of view of Thai migrant entrepreneurs. He also argued that the Thais' Japanese citizen spouses help them considerably in their ventures. While there are success stories of migrant

entrepreneurs in Japan, studies have also shed light on the challenges migrant entrepreneurs face in the country. Particularly, female migrant entrepreneurs have experienced major hindrances such as political and legal obstacles in putting up a business venture in Japan (Billore, 2010). Billore (2011) further studied Indian female migrant entrepreneurs in Japan, who face significant challenges both socially and culturally due to the lack of support and initiatives by the Japanese government. Takenaka (2015) also stressed that Japan has not provided immigrants with more entrepreneurial opportunities and has restricted modes of immigrant incorporation. Therefore, it is essential to consider the programs, policies, and initiatives available for immigrant entrepreneurs in Japan.

D. Japanese Policies and Programs on Migrant Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is tied to innovation and economic development. It is identified as combing through different existing resources in creative ways, thus becoming the source of all economic change (Schumpeter, 2000). Across the globe, Silicon Valley in the US started an economic boom through the development and promotion of innovation. This is called the *startup ecosystem*, wherein there is a cooperation between the business sector, academia, and the government in providing opportunities for the pursuit of innovation, with entrepreneurs in the lead. As startup ecosystems took off in the US and other developed countries, many Asian countries also adopted this idea. In fact, according to Kushida (2022), Japan is recognized as one of the Asian countries that promote global collaboration in the ecosystem that provides services for

entrepreneurs. Japan supports entrepreneurship through the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO, 2021), which has several programs for startups, such as intensive training, boot camps, mentoring, and exhibitions. The Invest Japan Business Support Center is also under the JETRO programs and supports foreign entrepreneurs and foreign-affiliated companies in entering the Japanese market (JETRO, 2021).

There are three major Japanese government-led initiative programs for foreign entrepreneurs. These programs were launched only recently. In 2018, Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI); JETRO; and the New Energy and Industrial Technology Development Organization collaborated with large enterprises to launch the J-Startup program (Startup Universal, 2021). The program is the most prominent program for promoting entrepreneurship in Japan by providing technical know-how, networks, and support services for foreign startup entrepreneurs in the country. In 2020, the Japanese government introduced Shibuya Startup Support, which invites entrepreneurs, whether residents or foreign, to invest mainly in Shibuya, Tokyo, by helping them meet the qualifications for being awarded a visa for migrant entrepreneurs in Japan—that is, providing the visa requirements, opening a bank account, and finding an open business space in Shibuya, Tokyo. In 2021, Japan's Ministry of Environment launched the Transformer Japan Lab to provide services to young entrepreneurs in Japan who are seeking to solve social and environmental issues (Institute for Promoting Sustainable Societies, 2020 as cited in National Research Council of the National Academies, 2009).

For foreign entrepreneurs to be able to start a business in Japan, they must have a visa for foreign startups. The Japanese government awards the startup visa after a six-month-long preparation period, with the support of a partner local government unit in Japan. The startup visa was first awarded in 2015, at which time it required a clear business plan in Japan and proof of academic qualifications in starting a business to be given a six-month maximum residence in Japan (Yamamura, 2022). In 2019, METI extended the maximum residence period in Japan to one year and allowed startup entrepreneurs to become business managers. However, a capital of five million yen and a dedicated office space are needed to be awarded the startup visa and later, to apply for a business manager visa. However, according to local governments, there is no guarantee that migrant entrepreneurs who have applied for a business manager visa will be awarded such a visa (Yamamura, 2022).

Table 8 below shows the development of visa schemes for migrant entrepreneurs in 2015 and 2019 and the requirements for changing startup visas to business manager visas.

Table 8. *Three-Step Enhancement of Migrant Entrepreneurship by Specific Visa Schemes*

Visa Type	Business Manager	Startup Visa (2015)	Startup Visa (2019)
Aims of scheme & revisions	Main obstacle: visa criteria difficult to meet from above language barrier	Visa to a startup rather than entering as business manager and then changing into entrepreneurship upon approval of New Business	Status changed from Student, Researcher, or Professor status is possible without the need to leave for application (national level)

		Implementation Plan to local government	
Required investment	5 million yen	Same requirements to be cleared with support from the local government in coordination with local support institutions (one stop shop, including Japanese language support, living support, etc.)	
Company registration			
Physical office	Required		Coworking spaces permitted, dependent on respective local government
Employee duration	2+ years of full-time position	6 months	1 year
Renewal of visa	Yes	No-> required to change successfully to Business Manager visa (national level)	Yes, facilitated (6 months + 6 months) re-examined by local government; followed by Business Manager visa (national level)
Location limitation	None	National strategic special zones: Tokyo Pref., Aichi Pref., Hiroshima Pref., Fukuoka City, Sendal City, Niigata city, Imabari City, Ehime Pref.	Further municipalities & prefectures added in agreement with METI, e.g., Hokkaido, Kobe City, Kitakyushi City, etc.
Other limitations		Eligibility of business fields dependent on local government, In agreement with the National Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI)	

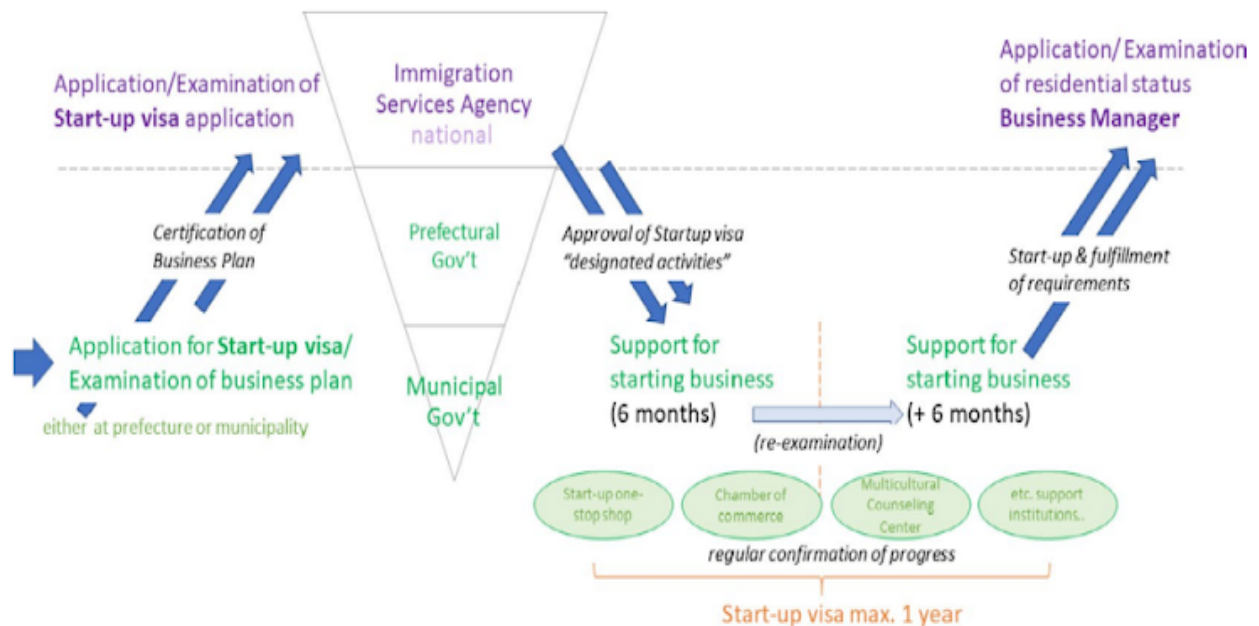
NOTE: Source: Yamamura (2021).

As shown in Table 8, Japan's national policy for startup visas is intertwined with local government policies. In such policies, business fields are dependent on the local government, so migrant entrepreneurs must find the prefecture, city, or province whose business fields match their business (Yamamura, 2021).

As the granting of the startup visa is tied with local government policies, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office also offers various forms of startup support,

including subsidy programs, tax incentives, and promotion of businesses in specific areas such as in the city of Tama in the Tokyo Metropolis (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2016). Among the programs and projects are the incubation hub promotion project, the incubation facility operation plan certification project, the incubation facility maintenance and operation cost subsidy project, the life science venture startup support project, the life science venture business meeting support project, the Tokyo Strategic Innovation Promotion Program, and the model project for utilizing vacant houses by entrepreneurs. All the entrepreneurship programs initiated by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office are for entrepreneurs in Japan, and therefore, only the Japanese or migrants who have permanent resident visas can participate in such programs. Figure 3 shows how rigid and complicated the policies and regulations are for migrant entrepreneurs to start a business in Japan. As most of the documents needed to start a business in Japan are not available multilingually, language barriers are among the challenges that migrant entrepreneurs face, especially if they are not assisted and supported by Japanese residents in the overall process of starting a business in Japan, specifically in remote areas (Yamamura, 2021).

Figure 3. Multi-Scalar Process of Migrant Entrepreneurship from Startup Visa to Business Manager



NOTE: Source: Yamamura (2021).

Hence, legally speaking, working visa holders in Japan can still try building their businesses on the side. Tanaka (2020), founder of Startup Japan, in her narratives on Le Wagon Boot Camp 2020, said that permanent residency is the best option for starting a business in Japan as it does not require an initial funding of five million yen and a dedicated office space, which the startup visa does. Also, Japanese residents or their Japanese spouses can start a business in Japan faster due to their technical knowledge such as their ability to communicate with service providers in Japanese. The stated Japanese policies, programs, and visas for migrant entrepreneurs open the country's doors to a new scheme for migrants coming into the country but do not cater to the migrants already living and/or working in Japan who plan to become

entrepreneurs. Although there are more lenient requirements for starting a business in Japan for migrants who have permanent residence visas, they still face a great challenge with the language barrier and their limited social networks with Japanese nationals who can further assist them throughout the entire process of starting a business. Moreover, as the new scheme initiated by the Japanese government of issuing business manager visas and startup visas started only recently, previous migrant workers may not be aware of the new migrant policies. In addition, as these startup programs are intertwined with local governments, migrant entrepreneurs may face locational restrictions if they could not match their business with the specific locality that needs that kind of business (Yamamura, 2021).

E. Philippine Government and Non-Government Programs for Returnees

There are several assistance programs for returning Filipino returnees in the Philippines. One of the major initiatives from the Philippine government is the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) Reintegration Services. It aims to provide opportunities for returning migrants and its family to reintegrate successfully into the Philippines. The service includes psychosocial counseling, livelihood components, education, and livelihood assistance programs (DOLE, 2023). The livelihood programs focus on assisting these returning migrants to self-employment by starting entrepreneurial activities. *Balik-Pinas* or *BalikHanap Buhay* (Back to the Philippines, Back to Work) program is one of the assistance programs that provide training for their self-employment. In addition, Financial Awareness Seminar and Small Business

Management Training are other opportunities provided by the Philippine government to assist returning migrants intended to teach financial literacy and encourage them to put up small business enterprises.

Moreover, the National Reintegration Center for OFWs under the DOLE is established in 2007 to cater to the OFWs' returnees in their successful reintegration in the Philippines (OWWA, 2023). The goal of the agency is to equip the Filipino returnees with their reintegration needs by empowering them with an entrepreneurial mindset. The agency provides multiple programs that primarily teach and raise awareness with investments, businesses, and local employment. The *Sa 'Pinas Ikaw ang Maam at Sir!* program is for OFW teachers intending to assist them to work or start a business. There are also programs intended specifically for Filipina returnees such as the *Balik Pinay! Balik Hanapbuhay* (Filipinas Back Home! Back to Work) program and the Women Entrepreneurs Reintegrated and Economically Active at Home (Women REACH!) program. The *Balik Pinay! Balik Hanapbuhay* program aims to assist self-employment ventures of Filipina returnees by providing livelihood skills training sessions and financial assistance as a startup or supplementary fund for their business. While the Women REACH! program is a partnership with Coca-Cola Philippines that aims to empower Filipina returnees on entrepreneurship through providing full entrepreneurship training and learning courses.

The OWWA, under the DOLE has reintegration programs as well (DOLE, 2023). The Overseas Filipino Workers – Enterprise Development and Loan Program intends to support the development of their enterprises by providing loan assistance. The *Tulong*

Pangkabuhayan sa Pag-unlad ng Samahang OFWs (Livelihood Assistance for the Development of OFW Associations [*Tulong-PUSO*]) program supports business plans and expansion of OFW groups by providing financial livelihood grant.

Non-government entities have also extended support for returning OFWS. For instance, Batis AWARE (Association in Action for Rights and Empowerment) is a non-governmental organization established in 1996 by Batis Center for Women and other former Filipina entertainers in Japan (Takeda & Yamanaka, 2017). It aims to assist fellow former Filipina entertainers through peer counseling, livelihood, organizing, education and training, advocacy, and networking. According to Anolin & Javier (2010), Batis Center celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2009, which shows how it consistently committed to serving and protecting the welfare of Filipino women migrant workers. Takeda & Yamanaka (2017) assessed Batis AWARE on how it assisted the social and economic reintegration of Filipina migrant worker returnees and suggested a need for exploring other methods to support Filipina migrant returnees.

With these programs led by Philippine government and non-government institutions, it can be seen that entrepreneurship is one of the areas where forms of assistance are given to Filipino returnees. Scholars have explored Philippine programs and their influence on the migrant themselves and their families (Ang, 2023; Asis, 2012; Banta, 2023). They examined the challenges and the limitations that the programs provide. The study of Banta (2023), for example, focused on returning OFWs and their reintegration into Cordillera, Philippines. Batis AWARE supports the reintegration of former Filipina entertainers in the Philippines. Except for Banta (2023), there have been

no academic studies yet that examined how and whether former Filipina entertainers from Japan have accessed these programs.

F. Theories and Perspectives on Migrant Entrepreneurship

The ties between migration and entrepreneurship have been well studied and have thus produced various theories and perspectives for understanding this twin phenomena. Among these theories and perspectives, transnationalism, market disadvantage, the capital theory, the cultural theory, and intersectionality seek to explain the dynamics and structures of migrant entrepreneurship.

1. Transnationalism

Transnationalism is a phenomenon that emerges from migrants' multistranded social relations linked to their countries of origin and settlement, which emphasize their establishment of social fields across geographical, cultural, and political borders (Schiller et al., 1992). Transnationalism explains that migrants are not only bound to their host country but also to their home country. It analyses how migrants' ties to both their host and home country influence their social, cultural, political, economic, and even religious development (Levitt, 2007). Moreover, it affirms that migration processes show the flow of people, money, and social remittances (ideas, norms, practices, behavior, and practices) that develop migrant lives even if they do not move (Levitt, 2011, as cited in Levitt, 2007).

“The specific spatiality of migrants acts in multiple locations and progressively develops meaningful social, economic, political, and symbolic connections by conducting and maintaining diverse mobilities across borders” (Sandoz et al., 2021). In light of transnationalism, migrant entrepreneurs are viewed as migrants who have networks and sociocultural experiences that are defined as key assets in developing their business. As migrants’ ties go beyond their ethnic community, their accumulated sociocultural and/or economic experiences influence the development of their business. Moreover, it affirms that migrant businesses are not heavily bound locally but also rely on transnational ties, networks, or spaces (Wahlbeck, 2018). Human capital, social capital, and the modes of their incorporation are the key determinants of migrants’ development as potential entrepreneurs (Portes & Martinez, 2021). Chen and Fan (2022) further affirmed that migrants in China are shaped to be entrepreneurs by their social networks and language skills in China as well as by the economy and the culture in their home country. The capital theory contributes to the understanding of migrant entrepreneurship through human and social capitals. The theory also affirms that the capital that migrants use for their business is not only their economic capital such as financial savings but also their social and cultural capital, which can be strategic to their success as migrant entrepreneurs (Tolciu, 2011). In the context of migrant entrepreneurship, human capital can be defined as migrants’ educational attainment, experiences, skills, and initiatives to invest in continuing education (Moon et al., 2013), whereas social capital refers to the social networks and connections of migrants, which are seen to have a positive impact on their business growth (Zolin et al., 2016). Other

scholars showed that the higher the levels of the human and social capitals of migrants are, the higher the success rate of their business is (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009; Beckers & Blumberg, 2013). Sociocultural conditions, thus, play an important role in setting up the business of migrants. Despite the transnational advantage of migrants in becoming entrepreneurs, the social space, marketplace, and policies in starting up a business are also important to consider, as they have implications on migrant entrepreneurship.

2. Intersectionality Theory

Considering the complexities of migration as a process, it is also essential to consider the intersection of structures that influences the activities migrants undertake. Such structures as age, gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and even legal status that pose a barrier or a challenge for migrants intersect with each other, and in this case, in starting a business. According to Lassalle and Shaw (2021), it is essential to understand the context of the entrepreneurial activities of migrants, especially of female migrants, to further explore the interplay of oppressive structures such as gender and the patriarchal system, racism, religion, and ethnicity serve as barriers to setting up a business. These overlapping structures impact their entrepreneurial activities. For example, Wong (2004) argued that the business migration programs, marketplace, and citizenship policy of Canada discourage transnational practices of Taiwanese migrant entrepreneurs there. Lassalle and Shaw (2021) found, after trailing wives and female migrant entrepreneurs, that they face disadvantages due to the interplay of class,

gender, institutionalization, and age. The intersectionality theory was also applied by Barrett and Vershinina (2017), who argued that migrant entrepreneurship in Poland is influenced by the intersection between their ethnic and entrepreneurial identity.

Indeed, in the face of migration, the underpinnings of the experiences of migrants heavily influence how and why they start a business. Hence, more factors influence migrant entrepreneurship other than social and cultural structures. As mentioned, it is also essential to consider how agencies and institutions play an essential role in the entrepreneurial activities of migrants.

3. Market Disadvantage Theory

This theory ties in with the survivalist behavior of migrant entrepreneurs in the host country. It theorizes that migrants' strategy for surviving in the host country is starting a business. Moreover, it presumes that migrants are left with no choice but to start a business or any entrepreneurial activity due to the social, cultural, economic, and political barriers in their host country (Boyd, 2000; Chrysostome, 2010; Khosa, 2015). It also necessitates the push and pull factors of migrants not on the host and home countries but on entering entrepreneurship. Khosa stated that African migrant entrepreneurs 'push' toward entrepreneurship due to their need to survive in the host country, where they are confronted with discrimination in the job market. Likewise, Ramasobana and Fatoki (2017) affirmed that in South Africa, migrant entrepreneurship faces a great 'push' from the employment of migrants, which triggers entrepreneurship.

Furthermore, migrant-owned businesses suffer due to the lack of support from the government, weak markets, lack of financial capital.

4. Institutional Role

The government and its policies play a key role in encouraging entrepreneurship in a country. Institutions and the social, cultural, political, and economic environments that migrants live influence their entrepreneurial choices (Dacin et al., 2002; Tolbert et al., 2011). In the case of female migrant entrepreneurs, Amine et al. (2009) argued that the sociocultural, political, economic, technological, and legal environments in Africa pose challenges to their setting up of a business. In addition, Amine et al. pointed out that based on the institutional theory, legal and political regulations, policies, and laws add a burden to the success of the business of female migrant entrepreneurs. Moreover, there are formal and informal institutions that affect the success of the entrepreneurial activities of migrants. Formal institutions are the laws, policies, and regulations of the host country (Brzozowski, 2021), and informal institutions comprise the sociocultural environment—the values, traditions, and customs—of the host country. Most migrant entrepreneurs rely heavily on informal institutions than formal institutions, considering the consistent lack of support for migrant entrepreneurs (Brzozowski, 2021). In the context of female migrant entrepreneurs, however, their reliance on informal institutions adds to the weight of their challenges in setting up a business, considering that they face specific gender-related sociocultural problems (Amine et al., 2009).

5. Mixed Embeddedness Model

One of the most common frameworks used to analyze migration and entrepreneurship is the mixed embeddedness model. This model analyzes migrant entrepreneurship by understanding the link between the supply of migrant entrepreneurs' resources and the opportunity structure and markets (Kloosterman et al., 2016). It argues that the multidimensional dynamics that migrants are embedded in play a significant role in understanding their entrepreneurship. The social, economic, cultural, and political contexts of migrant entrepreneurs are the multilevel existent conditions that need to be disentangled to grasp the dynamics of migrant entrepreneurship (Yamamura & Lassalle, 2022). A mixed embeddedness perspective suggests that migrant entrepreneurship is heavily influenced by opportunity structure and migrant's resources. It establishes the duality of the social network embeddedness of migrants, which they use as capital to set up a business. The perspective of mixed embeddedness argues that migrant entrepreneurs capitalize on their social networks both in their ethnic niche market and in the spatial context in which they are setting up the business (Yamamura, 2022). The mixed embeddedness model is not only an established perspective and common lens for understanding perspective, but it also presents the importance of uncovering the other domains of migrant entrepreneurship that are embedded in and within the migrant entrepreneurs themselves (Barberis et al., 2018).

G. Filipinos Doing Business in Other Countries

As discussed above, migration brings positive effects on the country of migration as well as the migrants themselves. Migration opens a new route for profitable opportunities such as businesses. A lot of Filipino migrants around the world have nurtured entrepreneurial abilities. There are several studies that employ Filipinos as a case study of research. A study by Kelly and Lusi (2006) suggested that understanding the transnational entrepreneurial activities of migrants is multistranded, and it is studied through evidence from Canada and the Philippines. Moreover, the studies of Maas (2005) and Pijpers and Maas (2014) focused on Filipino migrants in the Netherlands. Maas (2005) pointed out how the migrant's business networks influence the lives of people in their country of origin. While Pijpers and Maas (2014) argued that the entrepreneurial activities cannot be understood by separating them from their structures such as sexuality and class. It has the same argument as the study of Fresnoza-Flot (2007) that explored Filipino entrepreneurship in Paris, where transnational connections are examined. In contrast, a study by Butt-Gow (2003) found that Filipino female workers in Hong Kong are more inclined to start a business than their Filipino male counterparts. Weekley (2006) also focused on the lives of Filipina migrant workers in Hong Kong and how they use entrepreneurship as an alternative source of income. In contrast, Collins and Low (2010) showed that Filipina immigrant entrepreneurs in Australia face several barriers in setting up their businesses.

While these studies explored Filipino migrant entrepreneurs and their lives, the context of the study has been focused on other countries such as Hong Kong, London,

Netherlands, Australia, and Canada. There have yet to be any academic studies that examine the case of Filipinos doing business in Japan.

H. Filipinos Doing Business in Japan

Given the high number of OFWs in Japan, there is a high tendency for them to do business there to explore other ways to earn money. As mentioned, in the context of the migration and entrepreneurship nexus, it has been established that migrants are more entrepreneurial than natives (Levie; 2007; Naude, 2017; Thomas, 2013). However, there are no available data or reports yet on the number of Filipino entrepreneurs or Filipino migrants doing business in Japan. A successful Filipina migrant entrepreneur in Japan is Mari Nihei. She was initially a ‘cultural’ dancer and married a Japanese, and is now the owner of a sushi restaurant in Tokyo (*How Pinay entertainer became a successful entrepreneur in Japan*, 2015). Many other Filipina migrant entrepreneurs in Japan use YouTube as their platform for showcasing their business experiences and their daily lives. They post their success stories in setting up a business in Japan to help their fellow Filipino migrants who also want to start a business in the country. Another Filipina migrant entrepreneur in Japan goes by the profile name *QueenBugyo* (2021) on her YouTube page. On the page, she promotes her restaurant named *Nikubugyo*. The restaurant is a *yakiniku* (grilled meat) restaurant with two branches—one in Ota, which has been operating for three years, and the other, in Isesaki, which was opened only recently. In a vlog of ‘Inang to sa Japan’ (2021), she interviewed *QueenBugyo* (2021) about the challenges she faced in starting up a

restaurant in Japan. QueenBugyo had to file various licenses and permits, including individual licenses for her kitchen staff that authorize them to touch and serve food. Mrs. Susan, a Filipina married to a Japanese, owns the Filipino grocery store *PhilMart* in Chiba, Japan. In her interview by Shugy's Japan House (2020) on YouTube, she said she went to Japan in 2004 to help her sister-in-law with her child, and she later worked there as a caregiver, factory worker, English teacher, and hotel housekeeper. She shared that she saved more than USD10,000 to start her grocery store business. Valencia Amor Nakayama (2021) is also a Filipina migrant entrepreneur who shared her experience and life on YouTube. She said that on June 7, 2021, she started her translation and interpretation service business, *Amores T & i*. In her vlog, she said she had to open a bank account and apply for a business permit before she could start her business. Cathy Oliveira, a YouTuber and a Filipina entrepreneur with an online selling business in Japan, shared her experiences in her almost two-month-long process of getting a business permit for her online selling business. She said she filled out documents at the police station and had to submit certificates signed by the owner of the apartment she was living in that authorized her to start her online selling business in the apartment. After that, she paid almost USD100 for the application fee and waited for a month while her records were being checked for existing loans or legal cases. She added that she started as a dancer 'talent' in Japan in 2004 and later married a Brazilian (Cathy Oliveira in Japan, 2020). Kae Makihiro, who married a Japanese, likewise has an online selling business in the Philippines. She also has a YouTube account as well as a Facebook page named *Kae's Collection*, where she sells her

preloved Japanese signature and branded bags and shoes (Kae Makihira Official, 2021). Whereas most Filipina entrepreneurs in Japan are successful in their businesses in Japan, there is a Filipina entrepreneur in Japan who started a business in the Philippines but failed to sustain it. Noemi (Pinay in Japan Noemi Vlog, 2020) shared on her YouTube account her experience because of the COVID-19 pandemic; she let go of her *Mr. Karaage Japan* restaurant in the Philippines. Most of the media sources available on Filipino migrants doing business in Japan feature women who are married to Japanese nationals.

There is also no available study on the dynamics of Filipina migrants doing business in Japan. Most of the aforementioned literature on international migrants doing business in Japan was limited to Bangladeshi, Koreans, Chinese, Brazilians, and Indians. Moreover, most case studies on migrant entrepreneurship have used male migrant entrepreneurs as the sample population.

New literature on Asian migration has shown interest in return migration and diaspora as it explores new channels of development for developing countries in Asia. Return migration in Asia creates a new paradigm that scholars need to ponder. A new lens is proposed through which to look at the complexities of the new dynamics of return migration. In fact, Biao (2014) argued for moving away from the predominant perspective of migration that sees it as influenced by different actors. While return migration presents new migration patterns, it also poses a new threat or challenge to migrants: that such temporariness of migration can put Asian migration at a disadvantage (Hugo, 2009; Rosewarne, 2012).

The view of migration and development in Asian Studies stresses the significance of the discussion concerning knowledge production or remittances, whether economic or social (Anderson, 2020; Asis et al., 2010). Several studies point to the importance of the role of diaspora and the recent intensification of return movements in Asia to understand further the dynamics and various factors that constitute migration and development in Asia (Hugo, 2005; Nyberg-Serensen, 2002).

Several studies point to return migration and diaspora as an advantage to their home countries. A study in Sri Lanka, for instance, argued that the social and economic remittances and the human capital of migrants could increasingly drive development (Ireland, 2014; Sriskandarajah, 2002). Likewise, a study in Indonesia considered the role of human capital and skill transferability in shaping productivity in the home countries (Bazzi et al., 2016). A case study in Thailand also argued that there are multiple possible economic gains from migration through circulating workers (Bhula-or, 2020). Fong and Shibuya (2020) highlighted that most studies in Asia and East Asia were descriptive, and limited data are available for detailed analysis. These studies prove that return migration and diaspora open a new channel of development for home countries, and that the migration and development nexus is understudied in Asian studies. The studies failed, however, to provide a new perspective on how such social and cultural processes, through the mantle of transnationalism and diaspora, contribute to development in Asian countries. Specifically in the Philippines, there is related literature on how migration experiences influence Filipinos' attitudes toward democracy (Rother, 2009), but there is limited literature on how labor migrants bring their

sociocultural experiences from host countries that may later provide development to their home countries.

Considering that there is an enormous number of Filipino migrants in Japan, there is no available literature yet on understanding Filipino migrant entrepreneurial activities in Japan. Moreover, most of these studies focused on male migrants as their population, which may limit the understanding of migrant entrepreneurship in Japan. In addition, the study on migrant entrepreneurship was limited in its context, as Japan was its sole locale, and there is no available literature yet on the return of migrants to their home country and how they became entrepreneurs. Past research studies on Japanese migrant entrepreneurship were limited to the challenges that migrant entrepreneurs in Japan face. Therefore, this study aims to fill the research gap on Japanese migrant entrepreneurship and to explore the perspectives and experiences of Filipino migrants in Japan to uncover the complexity of migrant entrepreneurship therein that past studies neglected. This research offers a new population set, as women are focused on exploring migrant entrepreneurship in Japan. Moreover, it focuses on how the Filipina migrants' experience in Japan influenced their entrepreneurial activities in their home country.

I. Research Gaps

This study emerged from the researcher's interest in understanding women in Japan. Several studies were reviewed in the chapter to find the research gaps that this study explores. At first, most of the studies reviewed were on the challenges of Japanese women in Japan; later, however, the researcher focused on studies about the

challenges that Filipina migrants face in Japan. As the researcher reviewed such studies, they opened a new perspective on the dynamics of Filipina female migration in Japan, from economic to sociocultural.

To summarize, this review uncovers the limitations of past research on migrant entrepreneurship, return migration, theories and models on migrant entrepreneurship, and the process of their reintegration of returning migrants.

Existing studies reviewed on migrant entrepreneurship in Japan focused on many migrant groups excluding Filipinos. Most case studies on migrant entrepreneurship have focused on male migrant entrepreneurs as the population of the study (Higuchi, 2010; Karayilmaz, 2018; Kharel, 2016; Rahman, 2013; Suppatkul, 2021; Takenaka, 2015). The study of Billore (2011) is the only available relevant study that focuses on female population, focusing on Indian female migrant entrepreneurs in Japan.

Studies on Filipinos doing business in Japan are available through media sources. There has been little to no academic study on Filipino migrant entrepreneurs in Japan, and how most of them return and do business in the Philippines. Multimedia sources have so far featured Filipina migrants doing business in Japan who are married to Japanese nationals. These multimedia sources exclude Filipinas who are not married to Japanese, and who are driven to do business but lack the capital to meet the requirements of Japanese government. As stated above, Japan's policies for startup visas and business manager visas are intertwined with local government policies; it does not have standardized governance and that adds a layer of Japan government

which further complicates the aspirations of migrants to start a business in Japan. Moreover, as the new scheme initiated by the Japanese government of issuing business manager and startup visas started only recently, previous migrant workers may not be aware of the new migrant policies. Yet, there are no available academic studies that either investigate how migrants have been involved or explore the challenges of migrants with these initiatives and programs. It is unknown how other Filipina migrants without a Japanese spouse venture into business. In addition, existing theories and models for migrant entrepreneurship were limited to understanding migrant entrepreneurship focusing on different dimensions. Past scholarships have not yet so far theorized about returning migrants' entrepreneurship.

As this chapter has surveyed existing studies, it became evident that this research must contribute to theorizing the link between return migration and entrepreneurship using the case of former Filipina entertainers. It also discussed the multiple themes explored to rationalize the conduct of the present study. The next chapter describes the theoretical framework and methodology used for the study.

CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the theoretical and methodological design used in this study. This also intends to guide future studies in replicating the Kushminder (2017) Reintegration Strategies model on which this study is built. The researcher reconfigures Kushminder's model of reintegration strategies to examine the Filipina migrant returnee's reintegration strategies as a basis for analysis of the sociocultural influences on their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines.

This chapter also explains the research methods and design adopted in the study. Moreover, it includes the population and sampling techniques used to identify the participants in this study. The data gathering process section discusses the detailed process of the researchers in conducting data collection. The results of the data analysis, as well as the ethical considerations of the researcher and the profile of the respondents are also presented.

A. Theoretical Framework

This study references Kushminder, who created a conceptual model for understanding return migration and the reintegration of Ethiopian migrant returnees. It brought a typology of four reintegration strategies that the migrant returnees used: (1) reintegrated, (2) enclaves, (3) traditionalists, and (4) vulnerables. The study by Kushminder was conducted in 2011 and examined the case of Ethiopian female migrant returnees. She explored three different groups of female Ethiopians: professionals, students, and domestics to demonstrate the variability of sampling population. It

explored the life cycle and experiences of these migrant returnees. The basis for assessing and categorizing Ethiopian female migrant returnees is through examining their transnationalism, social networks, and social change.

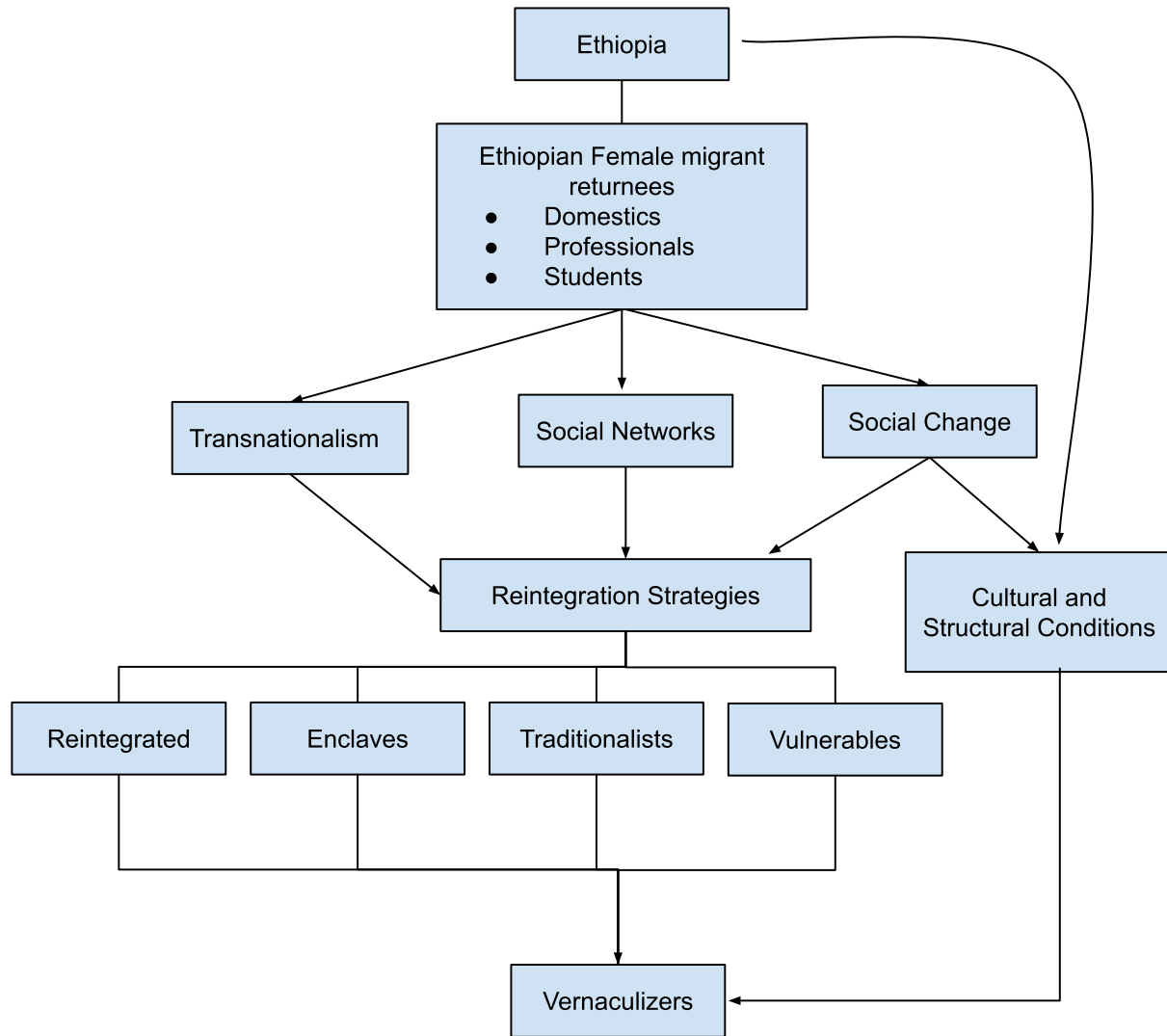
Kushminder's model argues that their sustained ties across borders reinforce their reintegration process. The model of Kushminder utilized transnationalism as a basis for understanding how sustained cross-border connections to the country of migration and return influence the process of migrant returnees' reintegration. Kushminder argued that it creates social fields and transnational communities that influence the communities in the country of destination and return. Consequently, she explored Ethiopia as the country of return and North America, Europe, and the Middle East as the country of migration, where Ethiopian female migrants commonly migrate. Moreover, according to Kushminder, social networks are understood by assessing the resources, social capital, and social structure of return migrants. It examined how migrant returnees mobilize their resources, whether tangible (financial resources) or intangible (contacts, relationships, skills, and acquaintances).

The Ethiopian female migrant returnees acquired social linkages and connections from destination countries and Ethiopia. Therefore, examining the characteristics of these social connections is essential. It then provides social capital that influences their kind of return, whether expressive or instrumental. She defines expressive return as a kind of return due to mental health and life satisfaction. At the same time, instrumental returns are for business development, access to employment, or political positions. She further analyzed the Ethiopian female migrant returnees'

impact on their communities of return and argued that migrant returnees could bring social change to their country of origin. She identified migrant returnees as vernacularizers or agents of social change, and she focused on assessing the potential of these migrant returnees to bring new values and knowledge into the context of Ethiopia. In addition, she linked Ethiopia's structural and cultural conditions alongside the reintegration strategies of returning Ethiopian women.

Figure 4 shows the conceptual model of Kushminder, starting from the context of the study, Ethiopia, and Ethiopian female migrant returnees as the subjects of her study. Kushminder's study population set focused on three analytical groups: domestics, professionals, and students. Her model analyzed each group and compared their life cycles, experiences, opportunities abroad, and reasons for return. With that, she identified three key factors that shaped Ethiopian female migrant returnees' reintegration strategies such as transnationalism, social networks, and social change. Social change highlighted the potentiality of the migrant returnees to become vernacularizers or to affect social change in Ethiopia. With this in consideration, Kushminder argued the vital role of Ethiopia's cultural and structural conditions in evaluating the potential of Ethiopian migrant returnees.

Figure 4. Ethiopian Female Migrant Returnees' Dimensions of Reintegration Strategies



NOTE: Illustration made by the author. Source: Kushminder (2017).

Kushminder identified the dimensions influencing how Ethiopian women reintegrate such as migration duration, preparedness level, economic status, cultural orientation, social network, self-identification, and access to rights and institutions, as seen in Table 9. The model of Kushminder assumes that the longer the migrants stay and work in the country of migration, the more in-depth experiences that result in positive reintegration strategies, as reintegrated and enclaves returnees represent in the table. She uses the level of return preparedness to relate to the potential of the return migrants to impact social change. The model assumes that the higher the preparedness of the migrant returnees, the more potential they have to become vernaculizers and be economically successful.

She defined cultural orientation and maintenance as a dimension assessing the migrant returnees’ decision to adapt to the country of return or maintain the culture of the country of migration. Social networks reflect the type of network the migrants have, whether returnees, locals, cross-border networks, or a combination of these three groups. The networks and linkages of the migrant returnees were either acquired or maintained. Therefore, the characteristics, such as the strength of these connections, were examined under the social network dimension. The sustained ties promote the continuous circulation of new ideas, knowledge, culture, and connections. While self-identification, Kushminder pertains to how migrant returnees identify themselves, whether transnational, bidirectional, or unidirectional. She utilized the self-identification dimension to assess their sense of belongingness which evaluates their willingness to work with the locals in the country upon their return.

Furthermore, access to rights, institutions, and the labor market dimension seeks to understand the structural components in the country of return. Consequently, it assumes that the access of the migrant returnees influences how they economically and socially reintegrate.

Table 9. *Reintegration Strategies of Kushminder (2017)*

	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Migrant Returnees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abroad for a longer duration - Decided to return - High return preparedness - Economic success 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abroad for a longer duration - Decided to return - High return preparedness - Economic success 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abroad for a shorter duration - Decided to return - Medium preparedness - Economic stability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abroad for a shorter duration - Forced return (deportees) - No return preparedness - Economically vulnerable
Cultural orientation	Value both the culture of the country of migration and country of return	Value the culture of the country of migration	Value the culture of the country of return	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rejection of culture of the country of migration - Rejection of dominant society in country of return
Social network	Locals, returnees, and cross-border ties	Returnees and cross-border ties	Locals	Ties to kin and other vulnerable groups
Self-identification	Transnational	Transnational	Unidirectional	Unidirectional
Access to	- Limited or full	- Limited	- Full access to	- Full access to

rights and institutions	access to rights in country of return (depends on citizenship choices) - Limited access to key institutions in country of return	access to rights in country of return - Limited access to key institutions in country of return	rights in country of return - Full access to key institutions in country of return	rights in country of return - Limited access to institutions in country of return
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Source: Kushminder (2017, p. 155).

The first strategy is adopted by the “reintegrated” or those Ethiopian migrant returnees who have been abroad longer than five years, have a high level of preparedness, and have a vast social network both in the country of migration and the country of return. Moreover, reintegrated migrants have adjusted to the culture of the local context. There is high cultural maintenance in the country of migration, and they have solid access to resources due to their skills and adaptability. These migrant returnees value both the country of migration and the country of return, therefore, identifies themselves as transnational or belong to two cultures simultaneously. Their access to rights and institutions is dependent on the policies of the country of return.

In comparison, the second strategy belongs to the “enclave returnees” who are closely identical to the reintegrated returnees considering that they had also been abroad for more than five years and had a high level of preparedness and a vast social network in their host and home countries. Compared to the reintegrated returnees, the enclave returnees needed to fully adapt to the local culture of the country of return, and usually create a cultural clash between the culture of the country of migration and the

country of return. It is in consideration that enclaves migrant returnees have strong cross-border networks hence weak social ties to the local community. Kushminder (2017) argued that enclaves returnees may identify as transnational but fail to bridge their social capital to the country of return. While for access to rights and institutions, they may also have limited access depending on the policies of the country of return. Hence, the difference between reintegrated and enclaves returnees, reintegrated are most likely to give up their political rights from their country of migration to settle in their country of return. While enclave returnees are most likely to keep their citizenship, for example, to gain access to the rights and institutions in the country of return.

Another strategy is that of the 'traditionalist'; these migrant returnees have a medium level of preparedness and has less social status and networks. Compared to reintegrated and enclavist groups, traditionalists fully adapted to the local culture and rejected the country of migration. Their social network, thus, has limited access to resources and weak bridging social capital, considering their lack of maintained transnational ties. The traditionalists are more oriented toward the country of return; therefore, they have full access to rights and institutions.

Finally, vulnerable migrant returnees have a low level of preparedness or, worst, are forced to return to their home country, have little to no social networks in the country of migration, and face a considerable challenge in their current situation. Vulnerables do not associate themselves with the country of migration and are rejected by the country of return. As they are often deportees, they are deemed to be in a low social position

and face social exclusion in the country of return. Moreover, they are considered unable to reintegrate successfully.

Kushminder assumed that reintegration can differ for different migrant groups depending on their experiences and choices. Their reintegration strategies might change depending on the changes in experiences, social relationships, and state policies. Migrant returnees may adopt different strategies at different return stages and are not mutually exclusive, which denotes changes in their strategies over time. Likewise, their potential to become vernaculizers may change over time.

Kushminder's model brought a new conceptual model useful for understanding return migration and reintegration. It provides a qualitative assessment that may allow future studies to apply this model. As return migration is understudied, Kushminder's model opens up an analytical discussion that can be a basis for exploring other case analyses. It provided a depth of information and interpretation relevant to reintegration.

As she focused on the country of return, Ethiopia, it is essential to consider how different migration countries heavily influence the dimensions she pointed out. This study identified that Ethiopian female migrant returnees come from multiple destinations: North America, Europe, and the Middle East. As such, the findings of her study brought varying responses that substantially failed to bring definite distinctions. It explored different Ethiopian female migrant returnees, such as professionals, students, and domestics, that may fail to define a more in-depth understanding of one specific migrant group based on its specific characteristics.

In addition, age group as a variable is necessary to limit as it allows definitive interpretations in the study, which Kushminder only focused on the three different analytical groups of female Ethiopian migrant returnees, excluding their age as a variable to categorize them. The study's findings suggest the necessity to consider the cultural conditions that play a significant role in the reintegration strategies of migrant returnees. As Kushminder recommended, testing and refinement are necessary for the reintegration strategies model for applicability to the other cases.

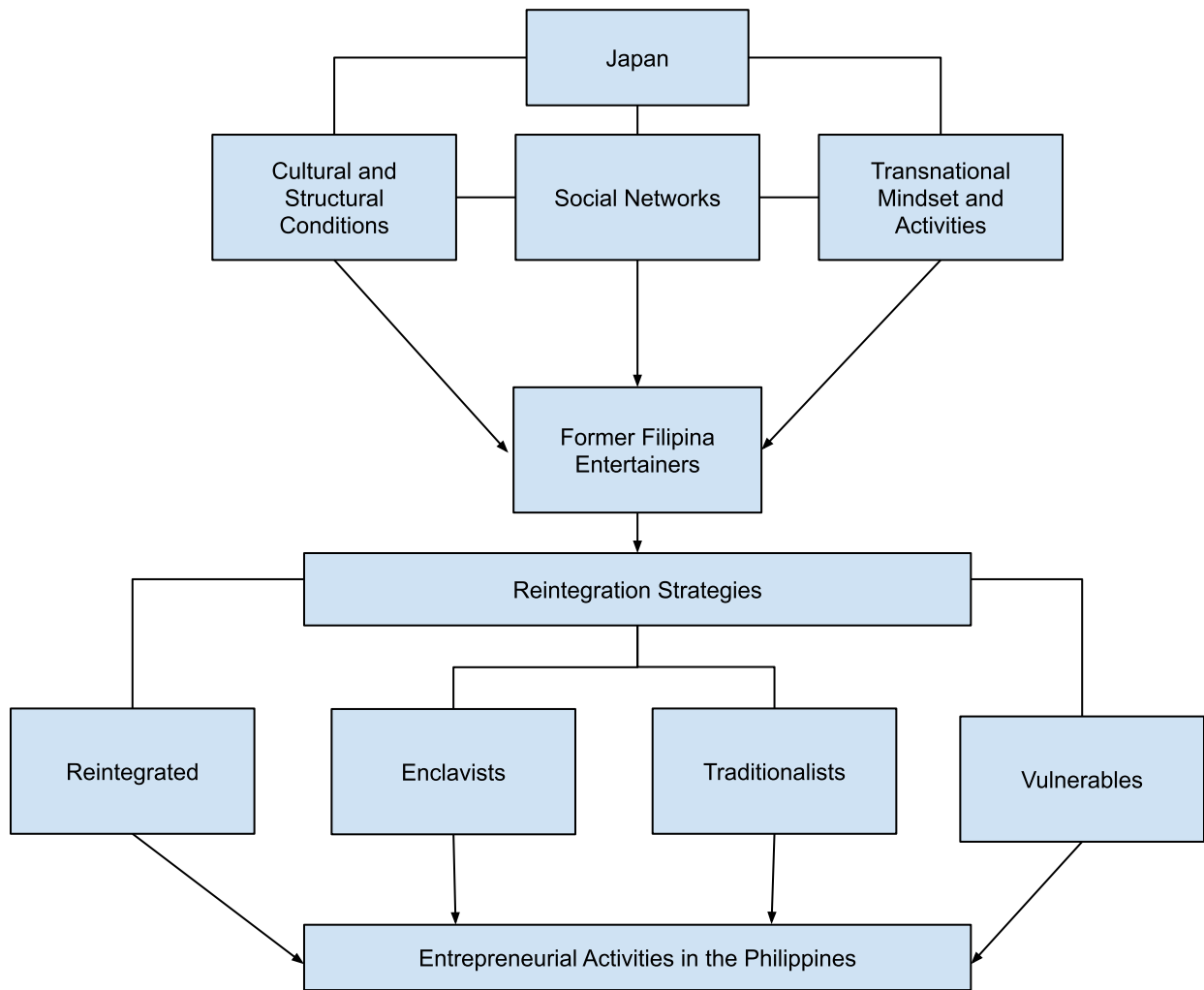
The transnationalism presented in Figure 4 is closely similar to social networks that arrived at a challenging way of understanding the process of reintegration. Ethiopia's cultural and structural conditions were considered a factor in the social change dimension or the potential of the migrant groups to become vernaculizers. The context of the different countries of migration of the Ethiopian female migrant returnees in the study of Kushminder should also be considered a vital study context.

As such, this study builds on Kushminder's reintegration strategies. This study aims to understand whether and how Japan became a source of sociocultural influences on the entrepreneurial activities of Filipina returnees in the Philippines. Therefore, it builds on Kushminder's model in analyzing the reintegration processes of Filipinas' return to the Philippines. The different reintegration categories served as a point of analysis for understanding their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. Considering that the context of this study is different, the study omits factors such as vernaculizers and social change. The present study focused instead on exploring the entrepreneurial activities of Filipina returnees in the Philippines. Therefore, their

potential to bring social and economic impact was excluded. At the same time, Kushminder's model examined Ethiopia as a country of return and study context. This study, meanwhile, focuses on Japan, and as the country of migration and context of the study. Therefore, Ethiopia's structural and cultural conditions, as a country of return explored in the study of Kushminder, were modified in this study about Japan as the context of analysis of its structural and cultural conditions.

This study focused on the Japan-Philippine migration corridor and the case of Filipina migrant returnees, who are primarily former entertainers in Japan. Figure 5 shows how this study reconfigures the model of Kushminder. It assumes that Japan is the study's starting point, and Japan's cultural and structural conditions are vital to examine how it influences the reintegration process of the Filipina migrant returnees in the Philippines. Compared with Kushminder, it refines the critical topic of transnationalism into transnational mindset and activities. Transnational mindset and activities in this study refer to Filipina migrant returnees' ability to negotiate the Japanese and Filipino mindset in doing business to, thus reflexively, create transnational activities in which Japan and Philippines simultaneously influence their activities. This study focused on the migrants themselves and how these activities they are involved in cross borders.

Figure 5. Dimensions of Reintegration Strategies of Filipina Migrant Returnees in the Philippines



NOTE: Illustration made by the author. Source: Kushminder (2017).

Figure 5 also shows the four reintegration strategies, such as reintegrated, enclavists, traditionalists, and vulnerable, through which former Filipina entertainers were categorized to understand how Japan influences their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines.

Table 9 shows cultural orientation, social networks, self-identification, and access to rights and institutions as dimensions of reintegration of Filipina returnees. The level of preparedness is a dimension for assessing the entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines, not limited to the potential of migrants to become vernaculizers. Social networks pertains to Filipina migrant returnees' access to resources, social capital, and resource mobilization. In this study refers to resource mobilization they acquired in Japan, specifically knowledge and skills, which are regarded as sociocultural influences of Japan on their entrepreneurship in the Philippines. The study excluded the self-identification dimension in Kushminder's model as it does not examine the identity or subjective views of Filipino migrant returnees in relation to Japan.

Table 10. *Reintegration Strategies of Former Filipina Entertainers in the Philippines*

	Reintegrated	Enclavist	Traditionalist	Vulnerable
Level of preparedness	High level of preparedness (ready to return and establish a business in the Philippines)	High level of preparedness (ready to return and establish a business in the Philippines)	Medium preparedness (not ready to return and establish a business in the Philippines)	Low preparedness (forced to return to the Philippines)
Social networks	Vast social network, bridge and bond social capital both in Japan and the Philippines	Vast social network, weak bridging of social capital both in Japan and the Philippines	Networks have limited access to resources, no connections in Japan	Networks only in the Philippines, no access to resources
Knowledge and skills	Has skills and knowledge	Has skills and knowledge	Less skills and knowledge	Low-skilled and no acquired

	from Japan; applied in the Philippines	from Japan; applied in the Philippines	acquired from Japan, not applied in the Philippines	knowledge from Japan; none applied in the Philippines
Cultural maintenance	Adjusted to the culture of the Philippines and applied Japanese culture	Did not adapt to the culture of the Philippines, resulted in cultural clash	Fully adapted to the Philippines, appreciates the culture of Japan	Fully adapted to the Philippines, rejected the culture of Japan
Structural conditions	Legal rights both in Japan and the Philippines	Legal rights in Japan only	Legal rights in the Philippines only	Legal rights in the Philippines only

NOTE: Table made by the author.

Table 10 presents how this study adopts the four reintegration strategies from Kushminder's model while reconfiguring the dimensions of the reintegration process based on the context of the Japan-Philippines migration. It shows the level of preparedness dimension to evaluate their preparedness concerning the business activities they set up in the Philippines. It is also utilized to assess their readiness to return and establish their business in the Philippines.

Moreover, this study used social networks to examine the transnational linkages, social capital, resource mobilization, and access to resources and how it influenced their decision to set up a business in the Philippines. The knowledge and skills which are, regarded as the sociocultural influences of Japan, derived from their work experience in Japan. Knowledge refers to their know-how about business requirements, estimation, capitals, and document-processing in setting up a business in Japan. Meanwhile, skills pertain to their communication skills, management of business,

and customer relationship management. Cultural maintenance focuses on the migrant returnees themselves and how they negotiate the culture of Japan and the Philippines. It refers to the ways they adapt to the significant aspects of Japanese culture in managing their business in the Philippines, such as the the Japanese norms of being 'workaholic' and prioritizing their work over their family influenced the management of their business. Japanese work-related values include adapting a top-down approach to business management wherein respect towards one's superiors and in making business-related decisions. Structural conditions include the migration policy of Japan such as visa status, access to residency, and other rights associated with starting a business in Japan that influence their decisions to return to the Philippines.

Therefore, this study examined how Japan's social and cultural systems influenced their business management style in the Philippines. It also examined how they negotiated their value systems between Japan and the Philippines and in conducting their entrepreneurial activities. In addition, structural conditions, mainly in Japan and the Philippines up to an extent were evaluated. The duration of migration was excluded as a dimension to explore because long duration of migration for Filipina migrant returnees does not guarantee more experiences. The structural conditions of Japan are vital to consider in understanding its influence on becoming entrepreneurs in the Philippines. Therefore, policies and programs in Japan and the Philippines were explored.

B. Research Methodology

This section explains the research design utilized in the study. It discusses the population, the specific criteria for determining the participants, and the sampling technique used in this study. The instruments used in the study are provided under the subsection on research methods.

1. Research Design

This is a qualitative study aimed at coming up with a thick and rich description of the transnational processes that Filipina migrant returnees from Japan mobilize in building a business in the Philippines. Qualitative research aims to understand the meanings and dimensions of people and their social world (Fossey et al., 2002), and this study sought to understand how Filipinas from Japan make meaning of their experiences in Japan. It adopts a phenomenological approach in investigating how people create meanings of their experiences by applying them to their values and cultures (Manen, 1990). Through a phenomenological investigation, this study seeks both the social meaning and personal significance of the participants' lived experiences (Moustakas, 1994).

In light of understanding the participants' lived experiences, this study conducted interviews to gather the lived experiences of the former Filipina entertainers in the Philippines, specifically extracting their socioeconomic and cultural experiences in Japan.

2. Population and Sampling

The population of this study was 20 Filipinas from Japan who returned to the Philippines and were taking the entrepreneurship route therein. They were chosen according to the following criteria:

Filipina migrant returnees who have:

- a. returned permanently or temporarily to the Philippines;
- b. owned any business or had entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines;
- c. had a business in the Philippines for at least 1 year; and
- d. lived or worked in Japan for at least two years.

Based on these criteria, suitable participants were found through convenience sampling, snowball sampling, and the researcher's personal networks from June to December 2021. The researcher relied solely on her personal networks to locate participants to this study. She found Filipina migrant returnees from Japan who owned Japanese groceries and restaurants in Pasay City and Cavite City but they refused. Future researchers should consider building rapport with this kind of respondents first in order to gain their trust and cooperation in the study.

3. Research Methods

Doing interviews was the main research method of this study. One-on-one interviews were conducted with the chosen participants to collect the data needed. As the interviews were conducted from October 2021 to August 2022 during the pandemic, the participants were reluctant to meet the researcher face-to-face, so online interviews

were allowed to protect their health and safety. Some online interviews were held on Zoom, and others were held on Facebook Messenger, depending on the participant's preference. A semi-structured interview format with guide questions was used in order to capture different social and cultural experiences of the participants not listed in the guide questions. All the interviews were recorded with a phone recorder with the participants' done face-to-face, the consent forms was signed with their wet signature while participants who were interviewed through Facebook messenger audio and video call, the consent forms was signed with their electronic signature. At the same time, the recording function was utilized when interviews were in the Zoom platform. Each interview lasted for one to two hours depending on the openness of the respondents.

The interviews focused on the participants' narratives about their socioeconomic background, family background, life and work experiences in Japan, entrepreneurial activities, business methods and practices, and transnational mobility. Each interview lasted one to two hours, depending on the participants' openness to sharing their experiences. The researcher talked with the respondents in mixed English, Filipino, and Japanese.

C. Data Analysis

The study adopted a phenomenological approach as the study design. In organizing and analyzing the data through a phenomenological approach, the process includes 'coding' the statements as data having the same meaning or meaning units and clustered into common themes (Moustakas, 1994). In this study, the researcher coded

the socioeconomic and cultural experiences in Japan and clustered them into themes based on the commonalities and differences in experiences among participants. While these clustered themes and meanings were used in developing the descriptions and analysis of the lived experiences of the participants (Ibid.). The experiences were categorized according to the reintegration strategies model developed for this study.

D. Ethical Considerations

This study considered every ethical issue that could have arisen during the data-gathering process in this study, such as concerning the participants' privacy, safety, and voluntary participation. Therefore, before gathering the data, the researcher secured the participants' written consent, which contained the research objectives, methods, and potential risks. Moreover, the form assured them that their identities and responses would be kept confidential, and that their responses would be used only for this study.

E. Profile of Respondents

The profile of the respondents shows their age and place of residence in the Philippines at the time of their interview; the number of years that they had lived and/or worked in Japan, the area of their residency in Japan, the nature of their work there, their visa type, the total number of years with working visa, the total number of years with a permanent resident visa, the type of migrant they are, the total number of years as immigrant and circular migrants, whether they married a Japanese, the number of

family or children left in the Philippines when they worked in Japan, the number of Japanese children for whom they would return to Japan, the nature of their business in the Philippines, and their type of business whether formal or informal. These sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents are shown to easily describe the factors that may influence the understanding of their datasets. See Appendix A which shows detailed information the sociodemographic profile of the respondents.

Moreover, the results showed the common experiences of the participants in terms of the nature of their work in Japan, how they managed their financial savings, how they applied their experiences to the management of their business, and how social networks and communication gave them an avenue for starting a business. They also had different experiences, such as alterations of their personal choices and life plans due to several circumstances. Other factors influenced their entrepreneurial activities, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, their family ties, and the role of the government.

Table 11 presents the reintegration strategies of the 20 participants in this study. They are categorized based on the four types of reintegration model used in this study. They are referred to in this paper with the codes P1 to P20. The results showed that most of the participants in the study were categorized as reintegrated and enclavists than traditionalists and vulnerables. The table shows that there are six reintegrated and enclavists, five were traditionalists, and three were vulnerables.

Table 11. *Reintegration Strategies of the participants in the study*

Reintegrated (6)	Enclavist (6)	Traditionalist (5)	Vulnerable (3)
P1, P2, P6, P14, P17, P20	P3, P9, P10, P11, P15, P18	P5, P7, P8, P12, P13	P4, P16, P19

NOTE: The number after each four typologies signifies the sum of the respondents categorized in that strategy.

This chapter has explained the theoretical model used in the study. It also discussed how this study built on the theoretical model developed by Kushminder (2017). Moreover, this chapter showed the approaches of the study in data gathering. It elaborated the rationale behind the methods, population, sampling technique, designs, and instruments utilized in the study. It also discussed the methodological limitations of the study such as locating the participants in the study and the small sample size. This chapter has presented the sociodemographic profile of the study participants. The participants in the study were mostly former entertainers in Japan. The next chapter will thoroughly discuss and examine the reintegration strategies of former Filipina entertainers. It assesses the factors such as transnational mindset and activities, social networks, cultural maintenance, as well as cultural and structural conditions of Japan as a basis for categorizing these Filipinas.

CHAPTER IV: REINTEGRATION STRATEGIES

This chapter shows how different factors influenced the entrepreneurial activities of former Filipina entertainers from Japan. It is divided into three sections. The first section presents how their transnational mindsets and activities, social networks, and Japan's structural and cultural conditions influenced their reintegration process in the Philippines. These conditions are integral to assessing the levels of their reintegration and understanding their reintegration process. The second section explains how the Filipina migrant returnees' mindsets that are tied to both Japan and the Philippines influenced their entrepreneurial activities. It discusses how their social networks influenced their decision to set up and manage a business. The third section examines how Japan's cultural and structural conditions affect Filipinas' business decisions and life plans.

A. Transnational Mindset and Activities

This section examines how former Filipina entertainers' connections to both Japan and the Philippines influenced their reintegration strategies. First, it explores how the Filipinas' conditions forced them to maintain their connections to their home country, the Philippines. Second, this section examines how their ties to Japan influenced their decisions. The intertwining of the relationship between the Philippines and Japan created a transnational mindset wherein the Filipinas negotiated Japanese values, attitudes, and influence in their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines.

Seventeen of the 20 participants first arrived in Japan as former entertainers, circulating between Japan and the Philippines. All 17 participants stated that they were offered only a six-month-long working visa, after which they had to return to the Philippines. Such visas were actually subject to a six-month extension, though, so they were allowed to stay in Japan for one year at most. In addition, most of these former entertainers had left behind a child or children in the Philippines, which further requires their sustained connection with their home country. All 17 Filipina migrant returnees were motivated to work in Japan as entertainers in the past to financially support their child or children in the Philippines. They sent their remittances to their family for them to take care of their children in the Philippines. The other three participants in this study were not entertainers. One was a skilled trainee in Japan, and the remaining two participants, their Japanese families sponsored to migrate them to Japan.

Therefore, this condition of the Filipina returning migrants points to the need to sustain transnational ties in the Philippines, considering that they had to return for their family and children whom they had left behind. The pattern of migration of these Filipina migrants became circular: they consistently went to Japan to work as entertainers and returned to the Philippines for a month or longer to reapply for a working visa to Japan. This pattern of migration made their mindset transnational.

Furthermore, their ties with their families in the Philippines are essential to their reintegration process. Some of the study participants stated that their family in the Philippines was a crucial factor for their decision to return to the Philippines permanently or temporarily. P1, after 11 years of working and living in Japan and despite having a

permanent Japan resident visa, permanently returned to the Philippines to focus on raising her children. She said, however, that if her business fails to support their family financially, it is still possible for her to return to Japan. It can be seen that their mindset is that Japan is a country for economic development and the Philippines is a country for spending time with their family.

This pattern of migration makes Filipina migrant returnees from Japan different from that of the OFWs who had established new social relationships and ties in Japan. Five of the 20 study participants married a Japanese, one has a Japanese fiancé in Japan, and four have Japanese children in Japan. The participants with a Japanese spouse and Japan-born children had secured their permanent residency in Japan. Thus, they may live and work in Japan longer than the other OFWs who need to return to the Philippines and reapply for a working visa as an entertainer. Their social ties in Japan also influence their decision to live and work either in Japan or the Philippines for the rest of their lives. P18 wants to live in Japan permanently, considering that her husband and child are Japanese and she has no more parents in the Philippines. Although two of her three siblings are in the Philippines (one is living in the Philippines and one is a former entertainer in Japan who has returned to the Philippines permanently, whereas the third is working and staying in Japan), she consistently communicates with her siblings and frequently sponsors their visit to Japan. These show that P18 has more robust connections in Japan than in the Philippines, which is why she has decided not to return to the Philippines permanently. Here, we see that Filipinas' choice of domicile is influenced by where they have more robust social ties

and connections. Still, they return to the Philippines for vacation or family gatherings, which shows how transnational they are, as they sustain their ties both in Japan and the Philippines.

This is also true for former Filipina entertainers in Japan who have returned to the Philippines. P1 did not cut her ties in Japan because her mother is still in Japan and communicates consistently with her. She said this is why she could return to Japan.

While we have seen that the transnational connections of Filipina migrant returnees to Japan and the Philippines influence their reintegration process in the Philippines, these ties may also affect the elements of their doing business in the Philippines. Their interactions in Japan and the Philippines create a transnational mindset that influences their business by negotiating Japanese values and attitudes in the Philippines. Even the nature of the business set up by these Filipina migrant returnees was transnational. The kind of reintegration strategies of these returnees and how Japan influences their entrepreneurial activities will be expounded in the following chapters.

The transnational links and connections of these Filipina migrant returnees also affected where they tried to set up a business and the nature of their business. Most of the study participants set up a business that was also transnational in nature. For example, P1 set up a business that brings local Philippine products to Japan and Japanese products to the Philippines. P11, P13, and P18 sell Japanese products in the Philippines. While P18's husband has a bar (*izakaya*) business in Japan and she co-manages it, she still capitalizes on her network in the Philippines by selling Japanese

goods. P14 decided to open a travel agency in the Philippines due to her Japanese husband's influence and to capitalize on the network she had accumulated as an entertainer in Japan.

Indeed, transnational connections dramatically influence decisions to return to the Philippines and realize business decisions. They influence the OFWs' life plans and their type of return. The ties they establish between the two countries, Japan and the Philippines, create a process of negotiation of their emotional bonds and economic activities in both countries. Their social networks and connections also influence how they reintegrate through their business and how they do business. Hence, to understand the Filipinas' reintegration strategies, not only their transnational mindsets and activities must be examined but also the characteristics of the social networks they have gained during their migration and how those characteristics influence their entrepreneurial activities.

B. Social Networks

This section examines how the former Filipina entertainers' ties from Japan bridge their families and entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. The characteristics of their social networks are analyzed to understand how they positioned themselves upon their return to access resources and mobilize social capital. This section also emphasizes how these social networks influenced how they mobilized their resources and prepared for their return.

1. Access to Resources

The social networks that the study participants acquired upon their migration to Japan affect how they either maintained or gained more resources for setting up a business in the Philippines. Likewise, their access to resources affects their kind of return to the Philippines. Filipinas' migration to Japan opens job opportunities for them as entertainers as well as access to new relationships and connections in both Japan and the Philippines. How these social networks and links influence their business-mindedness, the nature of their business, and their business management skills.

As mentioned, 17 of the 20 study participants started as entertainers in Japan. The nature of their work in Japan guaranteed them not only financial resources but also social resources, as it required them to talk, interact, and engage with their customers, which allowed them to gain social networks. Some of them stated that a number of their Japanese customers had become their friends. P4 said she maintains her connections with her Japanese customers as it guarantees that they will be loyal customers in the bar where she works. She shared that her motivation to do this is the rule in the bar that if a customer of hers returns, the management would give her additional pay. Thus, her link to her Japanese customers gives her more access to financial resources. However, it also helps develop her communication skills and reflects how she treat her customers in the pet business in the Philippines.

Most of the study participants had Japanese spouses. This relationship allowed them to access more resources in Japan. When they migrated to Japan as entertainers,

they could work only as entertainers and only at their assigned bar. Marrying a Japanese made it easier for them to file for a permanent resident visa, which opened up more job opportunities for them, including as a factory worker and a housekeeper. This, in turn, gave them more valuable observations and experiences of the culture of Japan.

For example, after 7 of the 20 participants (i.e., P1, P2, P6, P9, P10, P13, and P14) obtained their permanent resident visa, they worked in a factory in the daytime and remained entertainers at night. Their added job opportunities meant that they could give more considerable financial resources to their families in the Philippines. P18, especially, married a Japanese who owns an *izakaya* restaurant in Japan, so she no longer needs to work and instead, co-manages their restaurant, which has taught her how to manage a business properly.

The acquisition of resources depended on whether the migrants needed to merely maintain their remittances or send more. Migrants with strong ties merely maintained their connections, as they no longer needed to achieve more. In contrast, migrants with weak links tended to cultivate more social relations to access more resources. For example, P14 and P20, who did not marry a Japanese, had no family in Japan, and worked as entertainers, developed more social connections in Japan than the other former entertainers with Japanese spouses. As the business that P14 set up in the Philippines when she returned, a travel agency, is aligned with the nature of her past work as an entertainer in Japan, she maintained her communication with her former boss and clients at the bar where she used to work, and she now has direct business relationships with them. P20's former customer in Japan funded her music bar

in Manila, and he and P20's other former customers in Japan are her music bar's usual customers as well as her clients in her part-time work as a real estate agent when she returned to the Philippines.

These signify that not only the size of the migrant returnees' social networks in Japan is advantageous to them but also the characteristics of those social networks.

2. Social Capital

It is also essential to consider the characteristics of the social networks that the migrants established in Japan, as those could also have positively or negatively influenced them. Their experiences in Japan influenced the type of their return to and their reintegration process in the Philippines. This is evident in the experiences of P7 and P4 with their Filipina coworkers in Japan.

While P7 was working as an entertainer in Japan, her Filipina coworkers asked her to join them in their plan to explore job opportunities in Singapore and Malaysia after their contract ended in Japan. She pushed through with the plan but failed to land a job, so she returned to the Philippines.

P4, on the other hand, returned to the Philippines after a painful experience in Japan due to her acquired social network. Another Filipina entertainer like her reported to the police that she was working illegally. She was jailed and forced to return to the Philippines immediately. She described the experience as "a nightmare"; therefore, the type of her return to the Philippines was not instrumental but expressive in that she returned not because she wanted to but because she was forced to.

While P4 returned to the Philippines because she was reported as illegally working in Japan, P11, who met her Japanese fiancé in Japan, returned to the Philippines for treatment of her physical and mental health problems and to fix all the requirements for her marriage. Thus, her acquired network (i.e., her Japanese fiancé living in Japan) was advantageous for her, as even though she returned to the Philippines, she could return to Japan after marrying her fiancé. Due to her Japanese fiancé, her return to the Philippines became temporary. Similarly, although P1 decided to return to the Philippines permanently, she still has a long-term Japanese resident visa because she married a Japanese; and if her business in the Philippines fails, she will return to Japan to work again. P11's return to the Philippines was initially expressive because it was mainly due to her health, but it became instrumental when she started her online business during the pandemic.

The situations of P10 and P15 were different, as each of them already had an existing social network in Japan—their Japanese family. Thus, their motivation was no longer to acquire but to maintain these social networks. P10 kept this social network by going to Japan to work after she graduated from the Philippines, as she saw Japan as a site of economic resources. However, she later got married and started a business in the Philippines. P15, after experiencing problems with her husband in the Philippines, went to Japan to look for her Japanese father, whom she had never met, in the hope that she could live there permanently. Moreover, her network of Japanese businesspeople in Japan and the Philippines benefited her Japan-made ceramics business in the Philippines.

Likewise, P17's maintained network in Japan influenced how she returned to Japan. Even though she no longer worked as an entertainer in Japan, her sister, P18, who became a co-owner of a *izakaya* restaurant in Japan, sponsored her return to Japan and her work there as a cashier or a helper every now and then.

However, there were also maintained networks that negatively influenced the migrants. For example, P9's apartment and piggery businesses in the Philippines failed because her family in the Philippines mismanaged them. She shared that no matter what kind of business she started or how big her financial resources for funding an enterprise were, they were wasted because of her family. She stressed that her family used the money for their vices, such as gambling or drinking alcohol, but they asked her for more money to sustain her children.

These cases show that the characteristics of the social ties that the migrants either gained or maintained greatly influenced them. Thus, such social ties are important to consider to understand how migrants mobilize their tangible or intangible resources and their readiness to return to their country of origin, and how these, in turn, influence their reintegration strategies. Mobility of resources includes not only tangible resources, such as financial resources, but also intangible resources, such as relationships, skills, and knowledge acquired.

This study examines how Filipina migrants' attitudes and values, observations and experiences in Japan, and contacts acquired in Japan influenced their readiness to return to their home country, and the way in which they reintegrated into the Philippines by doing business.

All 20 participants mobilized their acquired financial resources in Japan. As for the intangible resources, most of the participants developed Japanese values and attitudes and preeminently applied them in setting up their business in the Philippines. Most of the participants in the study said that they set up or started a business in the Philippines because of their observations in Japan. For example, P1 observed her boss (*shachou*) in Japan, who had a lot of financial resources and managed his own time because he was a businessman. Then, she correlated her observation of her boss with how to be a businessman, which influenced her decision to start a business. P2 considered her lifestyle in Japan better than her lifestyle in the Philippines, such that when she returned to the Philippines, she could no longer settle for a less comfortable life, so she set up a business to be able to maintain her lifestyle in Japan.

All 20 study participants were circular migrants. Their temporary migration to Japan as entertainers and their temporary return to the Philippines after their work visa expired allowed them to compare the employment and business opportunities, resources, and housing in Japan with those in the Philippines.

P7 disclosed that her migration to Japan accustomed her to working abroad and to having the better lifestyle she experienced in Japan compared to that in the Philippines. After her contract as an entertainer in Japan, she decided to work in Singapore to earn as much as she did in Japan. Unfortunately, she could not afford to stay in Singapore for more than 10 days and thus, failed to land a similar-paying job. She tried again in Malaysia but failed anew, as the salary difference with Japan was huge.

As most of these Filipinas returned to the Philippines, they constantly compared their lifestyles in Japan and the Philippines. This significantly affected their mindset—whether to find a way to stay in Japan by marrying a Japanese or return to the Philippines and start a business to maintain the quality of life they had in Japan.

Hence, whether they chose to stay in the Philippines or in Japan, their experiences in Japan shaped their mindset and activities in the Philippines. As stated, however, for them to be able to stay in Japan, they had to marry a Japanese, which shows the structural and cultural conditions of Japan that discouraged those who did not want to or failed to do so from staying there.

C. Structural and Cultural Conditions

The participants had mixed outlooks on the structural conditions of Japan pertaining to starting a business in the country. P1 started her business that brings Filipino products to Japan and Japanese products to the Philippines while she was still working in Japan. However, she could not open a Filipino retail store in Japan due to the numerous requirements and taxes. Therefore, she stopped the business, permanently returned to the Philippines, and started her curtain business on Shopee. She has since successfully opened a physical store in Bulacan. She found it easier to set up a business in the Philippines than in Japan due to the fewer requirements and taxes.

P11's experience was different. She returned to the Philippines due to health concerns and was quarantined due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Afterwards, she started a small business selling Japanese products online in the Philippines. However, she found doing business in Japan better than in the Philippines because although there are

many requirements in Japan, rigid policies guaranteed the comparative advantage of her business, unlike in the Philippines, where the absence of policies or guidelines for specific lines of business makes competition too high.

Nevertheless, the participants described the structural conditions of Japan differently according to their needs. For example, as P4 was considered a low-skilled worker because she was an entertainer who worked in Japan only every six months, the Japanese government made her return to the Philippines immediately and no longer encouraged her to return to Japan. This shaped her reintegration into the Philippines as a migrant who had returned permanently and no longer aspired to revisit Japan. Thus, the migrants' experiences in Japan shaped how they perceived Japan as a country and how they returned to the Philippines.

Filipina migrants' experiences in Japan changed depending on what kind of migrant they were there. Their acquisition of a permanent resident visa changed their job opportunities in Japan, as they were no longer tied to being an entertainer. P1 and P2, who married Japanese men, worked as factory workers. Thus, they had more opportunities to interact with other Japanese and to observe Japanese cultures and values. P1 encountered the Japanese value of selfishness (*wagamama*), which she found much deeper than Filipino selfishness. P2's supervisor in the factory where she worked scolded her when she mistakenly overlooked a product, saying that she was not giving her best in her work.

While the cultural conditions of Japan also influenced the Filipina migrants' willingness or readiness to return to the Philippines, they further influenced the migrants'

type of return and their business in the Philippines. For example, P10 started to think of running a business when she was in Japan. Due to the quiet environment of the country, she had the clarity of mind that she needed to plan her business well, which she said she might not have had in the Philippines. When she returned to the Philippines temporarily, she observed that it was too disorderly, especially when she was walking on the streets. P10 kept on comparing the culture she had been accustomed to in Japan with Philippine culture, which made it harder for her to adapt to Philippine culture again.

In contrast, P9 did not like the culture of Japan, as she found the Japanese too obsessed with their work and thus, lonely. Moreover, her neighbors did not know her personally and did not care if she was dead or alive inside her house, unlike Filipinos, who, she said, are typically close to their neighbors. This influenced her decision to live and die in the Philippines after her retirement and to put up a business in the Philippines to sustain her.

P19 commended the culture and lifestyle of Japan but said she could not apply them in the Philippines because of our different culture. However, most of the participants had acquired a social network in Japan; imbibed the skills, values, and attitudes of the Japanese; and applied to their business those that suited the context of the Philippines and could contribute to the success of their business, such as the Japanese business management style, the communication skills they developed in Japan, and especially, the Japanese value for work.

Japan's structural and cultural conditions that the Filipina migrants experienced also shaped their reintegration strategy in the Philippines. For example, P4, who had experienced deportation, no longer associated herself with Japan and no longer wanted to recall her experiences when she worked in Japan. P6 observed that the Japanese were not keen on Philippine products, so she stopped selling them in Japan and just continued to sell Japanese products in the Philippines online. P1's permanent resident visa in Japan allows her to have a backup plan of returning to Japan to work in case her business in the Philippines fails. P10, who also has a resident visa in Japan because of her Japanese kin, returned to the Philippines temporarily for her business but will return to Japan to work and grow her savings. P15 likewise has a resident visa and is mulling whether she should live in Japan permanently.

These migrants were able to maintain their network in Japan because the country of their return, the Philippines, allows dual citizenship. Moreover, their experiences and the social networks that they acquired in Japan influenced them negatively or positively.

As discussed in this chapter, the migrants' transnational mindset and activities, social networks, and cultural and structural conditions dramatically influenced their decisions, especially in setting up their business, and their reintegration strategies. Each of these factors is important to understand so that they can be categorized into four types of reintegration strategies. Moreover, as these Filipina migrant returnees maintained transnational networks, these networks created social fields where the migrants' sociocultural experiences in Japan, particularly, the values, attitudes, and

lifestyle of the Japanese, are negotiated in Philippine culture and deals to a certain extent. These negotiations are examined in the next chapter on how Filipina migrant returnees apply these Japanese values and attitudes in managing and setting up their business in the Philippines.

The chapter assumes that Japan's structural and cultural conditions discouraged these Filipina migrant returnees from setting up their business in Japan. Hence, the influence of Japan shaped and continuously reshapes how the migrants reintegrate into their country of origin, the Philippines. These fundamental factors and their interplay are analyzed to further determine their role in the reintegration strategies of these Filipina migrant returnees. Moreover, the following chapters explore these factors that turned the 20 Filipina migrant returnees in this study into reintegrated, enclavist, traditionalist, or vulnerable returnees.

Moreover, in the next chapters, the Filipina migrant returnees' level of preparedness to return to the Philippines, their links to their social network in Japan, and their cultural maintenance are further explored. Their social networks are also examined to see if they are more oriented toward the Philippines or Japan. Moreover, their capitalization on their knowledge, skills, and resources in their entrepreneurial activities is investigated. Their maintenance of the Japanese and Philippine cultures is also further discussed to assess how it influences their business-mindedness and business management skills. In addition, the structural conditions of Japan and the Philippines (to a certain extent) are analyzed. Combined, these factors determine Filipina returnees' reintegration strategies.

CHAPTER V: REINTEGRATED AND ENCLAVIST RETURNEES

This chapter describes former Filipina entertainers as either reintegrated or enclavist returnees based on their level of preparedness to return to their country of origin, the Philippines; their social networks, knowledge and skills, cultural maintenance; and the structural conditions of their country of migration, Japan.

A. Reintegrated Returnees

Six of the 20 participants in this study (P1, P2, P6, P14, P17, and P20) are categorized as reintegrated, considering their high level of preparedness to return to the Philippines. Table 12 shows their level of preparedness, social connections, cultural maintenance, and degree of business success. Most of them decided to return to the Philippines permanently, but they still maintained their ties to the country of migration, Japan. In addition, they acquired knowledge, skills, and resources that they applied in setting up and managing their business in the Philippines. Moreover, they are transnational because they adapted to the Philippines' local culture while maintaining their social networks in Japan. To categorize them accurately, factors such as their social networks and cultural maintenance, as well as Japan's structural conditions, are considered. Two of these six participants started as reintegrated returnees and became enclavist returnees due to the Philippines' structural conditions, which will be discussed further in this chapter.

Table 12. Reintegrated Filipinas

Level of preparedness	Prepared their business before returning to the Philippines
Social networks	Successfully capitalized on their social connections to Japan and bridged them to their social ties in the Philippines
Cultural maintenance	Used their Japanese values and culture in managing their business and household
Degree of business success	Started their business before returning to the Philippines and successfully established it

NOTE: Table made by the author.

1. Level of Preparedness

Five reintegrated Filipinas had migrated to Japan in early 1990s to work as entertainers (P1, P2, P14, P17, and P20) for six months to one year, after which they were supposed to return to the Philippines only temporarily to renew their contracts. However, four of them (P1, P2, P14, and P20) returned to the Philippines permanently for economic reasons in around 1990s to early 2000s, unlike most entertainers, who return to the Philippines permanently due to the end of their working arrangements or because of new policies in Japan and the Philippines that made it stricter to renew their contracts. P1 decided to return to the Philippines to base her business in the country. Prior to that, however, in 2011, she started her business when she was still in Japan, selling Philippine products to other Filipinos whom she knew there. Then, when she visited her children in the Philippines, she brought Japanese products to sell online. This business lasted almost three years until she decided to base it in the Philippines,

as it was hard to maintain it in Japan. Even before 2011, however, from 2005 to 2010, she had gradually prepared for her return to the Philippines. Each time she visited the Philippines, she gradually brought some of her things from Japan. Moreover, when she was still in Japan, she bought a house in the Philippines where she could stay when she returned permanently. While moving to the Philippines, she also gradually changed the products she sold from Japanese to local Filipino products, such as slippers and shoes made in Laguna. She sold them online via Facebook or Instagram. She also gradually stopped her business in Japan and instead, since her mother was still living and working in Japan, she sent her local products to her mother, who supplied them to Filipinos who ordered them in Japan. P1 expanded her business by adding curtains, pillowcases, and bedsheets that she herself sewed. Years later, she successfully brought her business to online selling websites such as Shopee and Lazada. This was when she successfully opened a physical store in Bulacan that sells curtains, pillowcases, bedsheets, shoes, and slippers from Laguna.

P1's preparation was almost the same as that of P2 when she decided to return to the Philippines in 2015. She had a house in Manila, where her family lived; and when she was in Japan, she used her savings to start her Pisonet (computer rental) business. When she divorced her Japanese spouse and found a new partner in the Philippines, she decided to return permanently. While she was running her computer rental business, she still had capital for other businesses, so she started a money lending business. Due to the pandemic, however, she paused her money lending business and

computer rental business, and launched an online selling business, which was the leading business in the Philippines during the pandemic.

The preparations of P1 and P2 differed significantly from those of P14 and P20. Although all four of them started as entertainers in Japan, P1 and P2 each married a Japanese, whereas P14 and P20 did not. Nevertheless, P14 and P20 capitalized on their experiences as entertainers in Japan to start a business in the Philippines in the early 2000s.

P14 was influenced by her husband to start a travel agency in the Philippines in 1998, while she was still working in Japan. She stopped working as an entertainer in Japan to prepare for the business. From 1998 to 2005, she successfully ran her travel agency in Cavite and expanded it to Manila. P20, on the other hand, was influenced by her Japanese customer to open a music bar in Manila using her savings from her work in Japan and additional capital from her customer. She ran the music bar from 1990 to 2012.

P17 did not return to the Philippines for economic reasons but due to the end of her contract as an entertainer. However, she had prepared for her return while she was still an entertainer. During her temporary return to the Philippines after her contract, she saw the potential of starting a business as her brother did, as she acknowledged that she could not depend on her work as an entertainer forever, so she observed how her brother managed his junk shop business. When her contract ended in Japan, she immediately used her savings to start her own junk shop. While she was managing her

business, her sister who owned a bar in Japan hired her as a cashier every now and then.

These narratives differ from that of P6. She did not return permanently to the Philippines but returned only to visit her family and manage her business. She was not a former entertainer like the other reintegrated Filipinas but a skilled trainee worker in Japan who married a Japanese and was a factory worker. Even before her marriage, however, she was already selling Japanese products in the Philippines through her nieces. This was why she returned to the Philippines. Although her immediate family—that is, her husband and children—were in Japan, therefore, she lived in Japan permanently.

2. Social Networks

The reintegrated migrants maintained their networks with locals in the Philippines and their cross-border ties in Japan. Generally, these links helped or influenced them with their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. P1's boss (*shachou*) in Japan was the one who heavily influenced her to become an entrepreneur, as she wanted to be as successful as he was; and her relatives in the Philippines helped her stabilize her business in the Philippines. Although she started her business while she was still in Japan, her new partner in the Philippines helped her to locate local products to sell online, such as shoes and slippers made in Laguna. Even when she had permanently returned to the Philippines, she still sold Philippine products in Japan through her mother, who was still living in Japan.

Moreover, when P1 started selling curtains and pillowcases as well in Bulacan and Shopee, her new partner in the Philippines was the one who delivered the orders and provided customers for her online business. Up to the time of her interview, her partner had been assisting her in her retail curtain shop. Thus, her ties both in Japan and the Philippines had contributed to the success of her business. She also capitalized on her links to her Filipina friends in Japan in that if they wanted any Philippine products, she bought those for them.

Although P2 had divorced her Japanese spouse, she could live and work in Japan anytime she wanted to because she had a Japanese child. Under the Japanese visa scheme, she can have a permanent resident visa in Japan on a Japanese-blood basis. However, as in the case of P1, she decided to return to the Philippines permanently as she had found a new partner back home who had a decent job that could sustain a family and because she had enough financial resources to set up a business.

P1 and P2 were heavily influenced by their stronger ties in the Philippines due to their new partner, whereas P6 did not return to the Philippines permanently because her Japanese spouse lived and worked in Japan, and instead, she opted to live and work in Japan permanently and return to the Philippines temporarily for the sake of her business and her relatives. Accordingly, P1, P2, and P6 based their decisions on whether to return permanently or temporarily on where their ties were more vital. Thus, they still maintained their relations with Japan and the Philippines. Even P17, who was forced to leave Japan due to the end of her work contract, kept her connection with

Japan by working as a cashier for her sister's restaurant in Japan now and then, while her brother, who had a junk shop business in the Philippines, influenced and helped her set up her own business in Valenzuela. This shows that her ties in the Philippines and Japan both provided economic opportunities for her, on which she capitalized.

P14 and P20 also successfully bridged their social links to foster their business. P14's ex-husband in the Philippines influenced her to stop working in Japan and start a travel agency business with him in the Philippines. He was confident that he could run it after working as a liaison in the travel agency where P14 had worked as an entertainer in Japan, while they capitalized on P14's accumulated social networks there . After numerous working contracts as an entertainer in Japan, P14 accepted his ex-husband's business proposal but maintained her ties with her former customers and bosses at her former bar in Japan. As for P20, it was her former customers in Japan who influenced her and helped her financially to open a music bar in the Philippines. She maintained her ties with them and urged them to visit the Philippines, specifically, her music bar. Her former customers in Japan also became her client when she became a part-time real estate agent.

3. Knowledge and Skills

These reintegrated Filipinas considered wealth accumulation their goal and motivation for migrating and working in Japan as well as for setting up a business in the Philippines, as capital is the most essential factor for starting a business. They used their financial savings in Japan as capital for their business, so they cited financial

savings as a requirement for setting up their business. P17 said her financial savings influenced her business-mindedness: “The most important thing is financial, isn’t it? If you already have the capital, you just have to think of what business you want to put up.” Likewise, P6 said, “Capital is really important so that you can provide what the customer wants and thus, increase your income.”

To manage their business in the Philippines, they used the knowledge and skills they gained from their experiences and observations in Japan. Of the six reintegrated migrants, two (P14 and P20) heavily capitalized on their experiences based on the nature of their work in Japan in running or managing their business in the Philippines, and the remaining four did not do so but instead, used the skills they developed in Japan in managing their time, notably multitasking and communicating with other people to manage their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines.

For example, before P2 worked in Japan, she had to learn much, especially about working. Then, when she was working in Japan, she had to multitask and balancing her time across work, household chores, and taking care of her child. As she admired the Japanese style of hard work or being a workaholic, she applied them when she returned to the Philippines. She opened three businesses—in computer rental, money lending, and online retail selling—and she managed them while caring for her children and doing household chores.

The experiences of P1, P14, and P20 in Japan contributed to their knowledge and skills, specifically, in handling their business in the Philippines. P1 learned in Japan how to start a business by observing how her *shachou* managed his business. From

there, she realized that one of the keys to the success of a business is guiding and fostering employees or staff. She pointed out the importance of handling her team well and counting them among her business stakeholders. P14 developed her communication skills, especially her ability to communicate as well as actively listen and negotiate using the Japanese language (Nihongo), while she was running her travel agency business in Japan and establishing contact with bars there. P20 developed her customer service skills while working as an entertainer in Japan and applied them to her customers in her music bar and lounge business. Notably, she attributed the success of the 22-year business to her Japanese style of management, most especially, to how the Japanese handle their customers by giving them premium services:

Their customers are very precious to them because their customers give them their living.... That's why they treat their guests as very special.... I run my business like that, so many Japanese customers keep coming back. I also apply what I learned in my work in a bar in Japan to my bar now.

However, the nature of these reintegrated migrants' work in Japan was not significantly related to the nature of their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. Even if they had multiple jobs in Japan, they did not necessarily apply the knowledge they accumulated in those jobs to their business. Hence, their observations and experiences of working and living in Japan developed their skills mainly in managing their businesses. Moreover, the values, attitudes, and lifestyles in Japanese culture and society played a significant role in the reintegration process of these Filipinas , in the Philippines . Therefore, it is essential to consider how these migrants maintained the culture learned in Japan while living in the Philippines.

4. Cultural Maintenance

This section examines how the former Filipina entertainers in Japan applied in the Philippines the Japanese culture and values that they observed and experienced there.

All the reintegrated participants had adjusted to the work culture in Japan. They admired how serious, meticulous, and consistent the Japanese were at work. “Their work is so important to them. They rest awhile, smoke, have coffee, and then, work again” (P1). Both P1 and P2 consistently readjusted their values and culture while working in Japan, which made their outlook on life and work like that of the Japanese.

P2 was influenced by the ‘workaholic’ attitude of the Japanese: “Their work is number one for them, and it’s as if their family is only number two. Because they love their work, when they work, they really work.” However, she was also influenced by their outlook on life. She disclosed that when she was pregnant, she thought, “If I won’t do anything, how will I survive? When I was living and working in Japan, two months after giving birth, I had already returned to work.”

They had more to say about the Japanese in this regard.

“The motivation of the Japanese to work is mainly so that their family can buy whatever they want. I adapt to that mindset” (P6).

“I see Japan as a very developed country, so I observe how to properly interact with others and properly manage a business so that I can be as successful as the Japanese” (P14).

“You will be ashamed if you are not as disciplined and serious as they are when it comes to work, so I adjusted and copied how they work” (P17).

The lifestyle they experienced in Japan reshaped their lifestyle even when they returned to the Philippines. P14 was not strict before she migrated to Japan, but she later applied the strictness of the Japanese that she experienced in Japan to the management of her household:

Like the Japanese, I am becoming stricter, even in the house. I am more organized now; I have adopted the trait of wanting to see things in their proper places. Also, having seen how clean the Japanese are, I want my house to be just as clean. I find myself applying these traits in my daily life.

As P2 has imbibed these traits of the Japanese, she found living in the Philippines almost the same as living in Japan. She regarded even their costs of living as similarly high, considering apartment rent and taxes. However, she, as well as P6, saw a massive difference between Japan and the Philippines in the educational requirement for job opportunities. They both said they could work in Japan with decent pay even without a high educational attainment, unlike in the Philippines, where a bachelor's degree is the minimum requirement for a decent job that can sustain a family. "There are more opportunities offered in Japan than in the Philippines, considering that educational attainment is not a considerable requirement to get a job" (P6). This is why P6 decided to live in Japan permanently and just visit the Philippines. "Putting aside the wage differentials between Japan and the Philippines, I choose Japan because of the more lenient job qualifications."

Just as the lifestyle that the participants experienced in Japan reshaped their outlook in life and how they managed their household, their experience in Japan also influenced how they managed their business in the Philippines. The reintegrated participants applied how they managed and balanced their work and family life in Japan

to their business in the Philippines. P1's ways of using time and money and interacting with others were based on what she experienced in Japan. Likewise, P2 acquired her multitasking skill from her migrant experience in Japan, where she had to balance her work and family life.

P1 primarily attributed the excellent customer service of her business to what she had observed and experienced in Japan: "In Japan, customers are informed about product details; so here in the Philippines, I inform my customers too about the details of my products. I do not do anything to break their trust."

P20 added, "I experienced how accommodating and generous they are regarding gift giving. Therefore, I am also accommodating and generous to my customers when handling my business."

P6 also cited her experience of Japanese customer service: "Because the Japanese are so honest, if, for example, the product they're selling has a damage, like a scratch or a stain, they declare that. As a seller, I'm honest too." P14, who became one of the owners of a travel agency that sent female OFWs to Japan, communicates directly with bar owners in Japan, who teach her 'talents' how to properly communicate with the Japanese, considering the Japanese values and traditions. She considers these lessons among the reasons for the high demand of bar owners in Japan for her talents, as they are already accustomed to Japan's culture.

Among all the reintegrated participants, there was no sign of conflict of Japanese culture with Philippine culture. Accordingly, they applied Japanese values and culture to develop their skills and reshape their life plans and goals. Those who permanently

returned to the Philippines still maintained the culture and values they experienced and observed in Japan by applying them to their management of their business.

Even though P6 decided to live and work in Japan permanently, she adapted to the culture of the Philippines by setting up her business in the Philippines rather than in Japan. She made this decision mainly after considering the cultural differences between the Japanese and Filipinos: “Online selling is not a culture of Japan, and Japanese do not like cheap goods, since they can afford to buy more expensive ones. On the other hand, most Filipinos want imported goods.” This shows that these reintegrated migrants’ maintenance of culture could be seen not only in their country of return or whether they returned to the Philippines permanently, but also in their maintenance of both the culture of Japan and the Philippines in the mantle of their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. In the migrants’ maintenance of the culture of their country of migration, how the country’s structural conditions influence the migrants’ decisions and life plans is also essential to consider.

5. Structural Conditions

Structural conditions in Japan also influenced the participants’ reintegration into the Philippines. As P1 and P2 had a Japan-born child each, they were able to secure permanent resident visas in Japan, which allowed them to return to Japan and work there again in case their business in the Philippines fails. Thus, their attitude toward setting up a business was influenced by their having a backup plan when all else failed.

On the other hand, P6 did not set up a business in Japan due to the many requirements and the high taxes that had to be paid before the business could be started. Instead, she established her business in the Philippines with the help of her sister and other relatives.

Moreover, P14 unwillingly closed her travel agency in the Philippines because Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo acted in accordance to Japan's Ministerial Ordinance, Immigration, and Recognition Law No. 7, Article 1 Section 2, effective on March 15, 2005 (Department of Labor and Employment, 2005). In the given policy, it became difficult for Filipinas to work as entertainers in Japan. And this was the case for P14 considering that her travel agency mainly accommodates Filipinas who wanted to work as entertainers in Japan. However, it did not stop her from aspiring to work in Japan due to higher salary and the fact that she was accustomed to the lifestyle and culture of Japan. At the time of this interview, she was securing all the requirements for her application as a housekeeper in Japan. P20 closed her music bar in Manila due to the restrictive policies of the Philippine government in the early 2000s. These cases show that the structural conditions of the Philippines also played a major role in the business of these reintegrated migrants. Although P20's music bar was closed due to structural conditions in the Philippines, it nevertheless reflected how she used her experiences in Japan to develop management skills and to succeed in business.

Hence, the decisions of these reintegrated migrants were not fixed. The structural conditions of their country of migration also contributed to the changes in their reintegration strategies. The closure of P14's business in the Philippines created a route

for her to work again in Japan and continue accumulating experiences and observations there, which again opened up new business opportunities for her in the Philippines.

Although during this study, P14 and P20 were categorized as reintegrated as they were setting up their business, when they closed their business and no longer had social ties and networks nor legal rights in Japan, they became enclavists. Thus, considering P14's aspiration to work in Japan, she could return to the Philippines to become a reintegrated migrant. Such circumstance demonstrated the flexibility of the reintegration strategies, essentially of the enclavists. The enclavists had the same framework as reintegrated returnees. The next section examines in detail the differences between the social networks of the reintegrated and enclavist returnees and the cultural clash between the Philippines and Japan.

B. Enclavists

Table 13. *Enclavists*

Level of preparedness	Prepared for their business upon their return
Social networks	Successfully capitalized on their social connections to Japan and bridged them to their social ties in the Philippines
Cultural maintenance	Utilized Japanese culture and values in managing their business; faced cultural conflict in the household
Degree of business success	Successfully started their business upon their return

NOTE: Table made by the author.

As mentioned in the previous subsection, the enclavists were very similar to the reintegrated returnees in that they also had a high level of preparedness to return and vast social networks but limited access to local ties to the Philippines. Moreover, they maintained more of the Japanese culture upon return, which cause them to face a cultural clash. This led to cultural conflict when they returned to the Philippines. In addition, the enclavists did not want to give up their legal rights in their country of migration. They were tied more to Japan than to the Philippines.

In this section, P3, P9, P10, P11, P15, and P18 are categorized as enclavist returnees. This is mainly because of their lack of social network, their cultural clash, and their ties to Japan. These migrants returned to the Philippines not mainly of their own volition but because Japan's visa schemes are rigid and complicated.

1. Level of Preparedness

The six enclavists in this study had a high level of preparedness to return to the Philippines, as they had enough savings from their work in Japan to start a business in the Philippines.

However, unlike the reintegrated returnees, most of whom returned to the Philippines permanently, the enclavists were tied more to Japan, so they returned to the Philippines only temporarily and merely to maintain their business. Their preparedness level was tied to their life plan, whether it involved the Philippines as a field of business or a place for their retirement. These enclavists saw the Philippines only as a field of opportunity to start their business rather than a place where they could settle, because

they considered their networks in Japan more vital than in the Philippines and preferred their lifestyle in Japan than to that in the Philippines.

For example, P9 attempted to run various businesses in the Philippines. In fact, she planned to set up a business in the Philippines as soon as she started saving money in Japan, as did P3, who thought of a business that would fit modern consumer culture. On the other hand, P10 planned for a laundry business in the Philippines while working in Japan. These enclavists mobilized their financial resources to establish a business in the Philippines. As mentioned, however, they were very similar to the reintegrated returnees in that they both capitalized not only on their financial resources but also on their social resources, although the enclavists' social ties were more robust in Japan than in the Philippines.

2. Social Networks

Five of the six enclavists had an immediate family in Japan. For example, P9 had a Japanese child living with her in Japan. P10 and P15 had the opportunity to live and work in Japan due to their Japanese parents—P10's grandmother was Japanese, which meant she was a third-generation descendant of their Japanese family, and P15 had gone to Japan for the first time to meet her Japanese father. P18 had a Japanese spouse and a Japanese child in Japan. P11 was engaged to a Japanese whom she met when she was working and living in Japan.

These enclavists' social networks in Japan can be considered positive, as they secured the migrants' residency in Japan. P9 and P18 gained their residency in Japan

through their Japanese spouses, who allowed them to work and stay in Japan. P11 also expects to acquire residency in Japan after marrying her Japanese fiancé. P10 and P15 can choose to live and work in Japan due to their Japanese blood. However, P3 does not have this opportunity, as she did not have any strong ties in Japan, such as a Japanese spouse.

Aside from the characteristics of the enclavists' social ties in Japan, the characteristics of their social ties in the Philippines are also important to consider to understand why they were more connected to Japan than to the Philippines. Their ties in the Philippines were weak and had negative aspects such as their family using the business capital for vices that dissuaded them from returning. They observed that their family left in the Philippines were not self-reliant. P9 was dismayed with her family as she supported her children, her mother, and her sibling's family. She bought a house for them, but her mother sold it. She bought a boat to provide a job for her sibling, but a month passed by and it did not succeed. Then, she bought a tricycle to provide a job for her family again, but it failed again. When she returned to the Philippines for a vacation, she met a new partner, and she left her children with him due to her dismay with her family. She gave him a monthly allowance and entrusted him with her savings. After some time, however, he cheated on her and took her savings. She met another partner and gave him and her children a monthly allowance besides opening a piggery business and a small barbecue store in front of their house, which had been running longer than her earlier businesses.

P15 had an excellent job that could maintain a reasonable lifestyle and a business in the Philippines. However, she planned to live in Japan permanently due to her issues with her ex-Filipino husband. She said he persistently created trouble with her children, so she wanted to bring her children to Japan.

Although P9 and P15 had immediate family in the Philippines, their social ties in Japan were more favorable. P9 wanted to live in the Philippines but could not do so because she had a child in Japan, and she needed a job that could sustain her children, her mother, and her sibling's family. P15 decided to bring her children to Japan due to her conflict with her ex-husband.

On the other hand, P10 lived and worked in Japan because her work there enabled her to have a sustainable lifestyle and because she had no immediate family to support in the Philippines. Her husband worked in Qatar, but she emphasized that they could not live separately their whole lives, so they had to plan for the future. Her parents lived in Japan with her, and her siblings had businesses in different areas in the Philippines. However, when she, her husband, and her parents visited her siblings in the Philippines before the pandemic, she saw business opportunities as additional sources of income.

P11 had alopecia in Japan due to stress, so she decided to rest for a while in the Philippines. However, she had planned to marry her Japanese fiancé in the Philippines and migrate to Japan permanently in 2020. She had no child left in her home country/ She and her fiancé had been arranging their papers for marriage and for opening a

business in Japan upon their return there when the pandemic struck and barred her from traveling back to Japan.

As P18's spouse and children are in Japan, she sees the Philippines as a place for vacation and not for settlement. Because both her siblings in the Philippines had successful junk shop businesses, she did not have to support them, so she just invited them and their children to visit Japan. If given a chance, however, she wanted to retire in the Philippines with her Japanese spouse and run a small restaurant to sustain them.

As already stated, these cases revealed that the enclavists were more tied to Japan due to their social ties and the characteristics of those, which influenced how they returned to the Philippines. Hence, the reintegration strategies of these migrants were not static and were evident in their life plans. The characteristics of their social connections determined whether such connections would facilitate their access to tangible and intangible resources. During these interviews, they stayed and worked in Japan considerably because their ties there were more substantial than in the Philippines. Hence, they had a life plan of retiring in the Philippines that could change their reintegration strategies so that they would no longer be enclavists. For example, P9 planned to return to the Philippines permanently after her child in Japan settles down with his own family and her children in the Philippines become financially stable.

In the meantime, all but one of these enclavists lived in Japan and ran a business in the Philippines. They returned to the Philippines only occasionally to spend time with their family and to check on their business. Therefore, their living and working in Japan

most of the time enabled them to develop their knowledge, skills, and resources, which they used to manage their businesses in the Philippines.

3. Knowledge and Skills

The enclavists used their savings in Japan as capital for their business in the Philippines. In addition, all of them found their experiences in Japan essential in their establishment and management of their business in the Philippines.

According to P10, the quiet environment of Japan—which she found so unlike that in the Philippines with its many distractions and where just crossing the streets was problematic—enabled her to develop the business she wanted to set up in the Philippines. She said this seemingly little thing contributed to her welfare and gave her the clarity of mind needed to decide on what kind of business should be set up.

Even as a child, P15 already knew how to save money by not splurging on things she did not need. When her relatives gave her money to spend, she used it to start a small business, such as selling stickers, pencils, and other school supplies to her classmates. During summertime, she also used her money to sell fish balls in their neighborhood. Thus, she believed that her Japanese blood, and not only what she experienced in Japan, gave her skills in handling money that made her pursue a business.

P18, who owned and managed a restaurant in Japan with her Japanese spouse, applied her business management skills—especially in providing excellent service to

customers to yield strong word-of-mouth advertising—to her online business in the Philippines.

While these enclavist returnees applied the knowledge and skills they developed in Japan to setting up their business in the Philippines, they faced conflict with the Philippines' culture, since they identified more with Japanese culture. Unlike the reintegrated returnees, who adjusted and negotiated the culture of Japan in the context of the Philippines, the enclavists were reluctant to do so.

4. Cultural Maintenance

Even though most of these enclavists lived and worked in Japan, they still experienced cultural conflict with the Philippines. For example, after P3's work contract in Japan ended, she continued her studies in the Philippines in the hope of landing a more decent job. However, even after she earned a college degree, the job she landed was that of a cashier, which paid only the minimum wage, unlike what she earned in Japan even without a high educational attainment. Moreover, in Japan, even very old people could still work and earn much. As she could not depend on job opportunities in the Philippines, she had to start a business in the Philippines to be able to live a comfortable life, as she did in Japan. This was mainly why she wanted to go back to Japan.

P9 was having difficulty managing her children in the Philippines. Especially when she visited one time, she was stressed about some aspects of the Filipino culture that she could no longer adapt. For example, her son in the Philippines still asked her

for money for all of his child's needs: "My child calls me each time he has a problem. He always says, 'Ma, I need money. Ma, I need money for my gas. Ma, I need money.'" She contrasted this with Japan's culture in which at 18, children can already buy their own house and live independently. She often scolded her child in the Philippines because she kept comparing her child's lifestyle to what she observed in Japan. Moreover, when she went on vacation in the Philippines, she was stressed by "Filipino time," which was often late and which she always experienced with her family. She insisted that Japan's way of life was far different from that in the Philippines.

P3 had the same sentiments as P9 and kept comparing the lifestyle of Filipinos with that of the Japanese. She hoped that the Philippines would imitate the Japanese so that the Philippines would develop as much as Japan. Moreover, similar again to P9, P3's parenting style developed from what she observed in Japan. Likewise, her values toward work changed because of what she experienced there. She kept reminding her children to study hard so that they would not do the same work she did as an entertainer, and to work hard to succeed.

These enclavist returnees compared the Japanese way of life with Filipino culture and expressed dissatisfaction with the latter. They could not adapt to Filipino culture, unlike the reintegrated migrants. In their narratives, they did not identify with Filipino culture.

P10, P11, and P15 identified their business management style mainly from the cultural differences between the Philippines and Japan. P10 found many distractions in Philippine culture, such as friends and family being invited for any occasion, unlike in

Japan, where the very quiet environment enables her to focus on her business. P15 attributed her business success to her practicality and frugality due to her Japanese blood. P11 considered the business culture in the Philippines more challenging than in Japan because of the difference between the structural conditions of Japan and the Philippines. It is important to note that although the migrants did not choose these external environment conditions, such conditions played a huge role in the migrants' reintegration strategies.

5. Structural Conditions

In this section, the structures of the country of migration, in this case Japan, are examined to understand how they contributed to the reintegration strategies of the migrant returnees. As stated, unlike the reintegrated migrants, the enclavist returnees were more tied to Japan than to the Philippines. Therefore, the enclavists had limited access to and only capitalized on their social networks in the Philippines. Hence, it is essential to consider the structural conditions that contributed to their being enclavist.

Most of the reintegrated Filipinas returned to the Philippines permanently while maintaining their ties in Japan, but the enclavists returned to the Philippines only temporarily, and lived and worked in Japan permanently. These reintegrated and enclavist returnees had essentially different reasons for returning, which, for the enclavists, included Japan's socioeconomic and political conditions. For example, despite P3's preference to stay in Japan and preference for the culture of Japan, she could not live and work in Japan because she could only acquire residency if she

married a Japanese or bore a Japanese child, which contradicted her values. “I cannot fool a Japanese into marrying me just to become a legal resident in Japan” (P3). This highlights that even though P3 wanted to stay in Japan and had a choice to marry a Japanese to get a resident visa, she chose not to.

P11 was dismayed with the business culture in the Philippines and believed that the business that she and her Japanese fiancé in Japan would put up would be more successful than her business in the Philippines:

There are many requirements before starting a business in Japan. Therefore, it guarantees that your business will be unique and that no one can imitate it, unlike in the Philippines, where there are no policies to govern this kind of challenge.

P11 wanted to set up a business in Japan rather than in the Philippines.

The enclavists might have successfully set up a business in the Philippines as their reintegration strategy, in which case their reintegration in the Philippines could be said to have been successful economically, but their social networks in the Philippines were still essential to consider because they could have influenced the enclavists' decision to value Japan more than the Philippines. Thus, enclavists could not be categorized as fully reintegrated in the Philippines, as they faced several challenges related to the Filipino culture highlighted that they identified more with Japan than with the Philippines. They valued not only the business management styles they learned from their work experiences in Japan but even how they managed their households, showing how they rejected Filipino culture and focused more on applying Japanese culture in the Philippine context.

This chapter identified the former Filipina entertainers categorized as reintegrated and enclavist returnees. The next chapter discusses former Filipina entertainers categorized as traditionalist and vulnerable returnees.

CHAPTER VI: TRADITIONALIST AND VULNERABLE RETURNEES

This chapter is concerned with the entrepreneurial activities of former Filipina entertainers who are traditionalist and vulnerable returnees. It is divided into two sections to describe each of the two categories. It also discusses the dimensions of reintegration namely, the level of preparedness, social networks, knowledge and skills, cultural maintenance, and structural conditions.

A. Traditionalists

Table 14. *Traditionalists*

Level of preparedness	Did not prepare for their return and business
Social networks	Tried to capitalize on their social connections in Japan but failed to bridge them to their social ties in the Philippines
Cultural maintenance	Valued Japanese culture and values but did not apply them to managing their business in the Philippines
Degree of business success	Tried to set up a business multiple times

NOTE: Table made by the author.

The five Filipina migrants (P5, P7, P8, P12, and P13) in this category had a medium level of preparedness, and their social networks did not have access to resources. These traditionalists maintained the culture of the Philippines more than that of Japan. With this, they had no political rights in Japan but only in the Philippines.

1. Level of Preparedness

Of the five aforementioned participants in this study categorized as traditionalists, three (P5, P7, and P8) were driven to return to the Philippines due to the end of their work contracts. They were former entertainers who failed to secure social networks in Japan that could have guaranteed them a longer stay. They were driven to return to the Philippines after years of working from three to six months as entertainers in Japan. They had no work experience in the Philippines before migrating to Japan as entertainers. They started as entertainers and had no concrete plans upon returning to the Philippines. Unlike the reintegrated and enclavist returnees, these traditionalists' return to the Philippines was economically or socially motivated. On the other hand, they returned to the Philippines carrying little to no sociocultural experiences that they could have used as leverage in setting up their businesses.

Their decision to set up a business was not merely for economic advancement, such as by providing another source of income, but also to support their family and household in the Philippines. Considering that they had been entertainers for more than five years, their age upon permanently returning to the Philippines was a massive factor in their employment qualifications. They were considered old in the Philippines without any relevant experience in most of the jobs offered. This is one of the significant reasons why these traditionalists were driven to set up their businesses.

P13 was an entertainer at night and a factory worker during the day in Japan before the pandemic, but she could not work in Japan during the pandemic, so she started her business instead.

P12 was an entertainer in Japan but stopped working in 2000 upon her husband's request.

These traditionalists had no plans to start a business in the Philippines before their return but decided to do so when they were already in the Philippines. Five of them returned due to the end of their work contracts and the implementation of stricter visa policies for migrant entertainers in Japan. Therefore, most of them had only a medium level of preparedness to return to the Philippines.

P7 said: "I had a request from my bar in Japan; however, during the Arroyo administration, they became stricter with the documents of entertainers. I think only 10 percent of all the entertainers successfully returned to Japan."

Similar to P7, P8 could not have her contract as an entertainer in Japan renewed even after 13 attempts, as many travel agencies had closed during the administration of former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo mainly because of the Japan's Parliament enforcement of Ministerial Ordinance, Immigration, and Recognition Law No. 7, Article 1, Section 2 (Department of Labor and Employment, 2005). The revised law made it harder for low-skilled migrant workers to obtain a visa, and contributed to the decrease in the inflow of migrant workers in Japan.

All of these former entertainers identified as traditionalists had worked in Japan for at least three years. Hence, their tenure did not guarantee them a secure social network in Japan, which heavily influenced their return to the Philippines.

2. Social Networks

The traditionalists failed to secure social ties in Japan. Therefore, they were not transnational, unlike the reintegrated and enclavist returnees. They had neither Japanese friends nor spouses with whom they maintained their ties, unlike the reintegrated and enclavist returnees who maintained their social networks in Japan even when they returned to the Philippines, whether permanently or temporarily. The traditionalists' lack of social networks in Japan explained their lack of access or inability to return to Japan, because as mentioned in the previous chapters, marrying a Japanese and having a Japan-born child were the only ways for entertainers to acquire a resident visa in Japan. Thus, when the traditionalists returned to the Philippines, their only social ties were with their families left in the Philippines.

On the other hand, P8 had returned to Japan 13 times as an entertainer and had developed the skill of making friends with her coworkers, who were also Filipinas. However, she was disappointed with her Filipino friends whom she worked with in Japan because when she returned to the Philippines, a Japanese customer of hers consistently called her and sent her money but suddenly stopped. She discovered that her Filipino friend deceived her by saying bad things about her to her former Japanese customer.

When all the traditionalists went to Japan to work as entertainers, they left their families in the Philippines. P5 left her children with her husband, and P7 and P8 left their children with their parents. P12 had no child in the Philippines but left behind her husband, whom she had met when she temporarily returned to the Philippines. P12 had

no social network in Japan, but her ties in the Philippines were robust, as her husband influenced her decision to stop working in Japan.

Considering that these traditionalists had more social ties in the Philippines than in Japan, they lacked access to resources and information, which influenced how they set up their business in the Philippines. Although most of them had lived and worked in Japan for a long time, it did not guarantee the success of their business in the Philippines. The traditionalists' unsuccessful assimilation of transnational networks and their characteristics heavily influenced the success of their business.

Unlike the traditionalists, the reintegrated and enclavist returnees capitalized on their social networks in Japan and the Philippines in setting up and managing their business in the Philippines. Most of them successfully ran their businesses for more years than the traditionalists' businesses. Moreover, most of the reintegrated and enclavist returnees explored one to two businesses when they returned to the Philippines and successfully managed them, unlike the traditionalists, who explored various businesses and failed numerous times since they did not have a high level of preparedness to return. For example, P5 opened an informal grocery store in front of their house called a "*sari-sari* store," but it failed. When she separated from her Filipino husband, she restarted the business but sold local goods from Laguna instead while developing other retail goods and posting them online to sell.

P7 opened a salon where she lived in Pulilan, Bulacan, but it failed. P8 tried money lending and a small breakfast diner, but they also failed. P12's *sari-sari* store in Manila likewise failed.

These traditionalists, upon their return to the Philippines, did not bring any social capital that could have given them significant opportunities to establish their businesses. This shows that social networks in Japan can considerably influence business establishment in the Philippines by providing access to information and knowledge that can create opportunities for such businesses. Moreover, although these traditionalists had only a medium level of preparedness to return, they decided to start a business before their return, which could have been one reason for their business failures. Another reason could have been their launch of multiple businesses before they had a stable business. However, even though they did not establish social networks in Japan, they nevertheless saw their work in Japan in a positive light.

3. Knowledge and Skills

These traditionalists, similar to the reintegrated returnees and enclavists, credited their economic development to their work in Japan. They recognized that their migration to Japan gave them an excellent opportunity to improve their quality of life by providing economic resources that allowed for savings, which became their capital for setting up their business. Consequently, since they experienced a better lifestyle in Japan, they became used to it, and it influenced the level of their quality of life: “Of course, I experienced a good life when I was an entertainer; I was used to that kind of life, and I want to maintain it” (P7). P7 added that her migration to Japan made her recognize the value of money and how people work for it. This shows that economic development in Japan offers opportunities to change life plans and decisions. This can also be why

these traditionalists, despite their medium level of preparedness, set up businesses when they returned to the Philippines—to maintain their lifestyle or the quality of life that they had experienced and had become used to in Japan.

The traditionalists' limited opportunities to connect and reconnect with social networks in Japan also resulted in limited opportunities to gain knowledge or skills in Japan. Moreover, all of them did not have opportunities to explore other jobs besides that of an entertainer throughout their work and stay in Japan. Thus, they had minimal to no acquired knowledge and skills from their migration to Japan. Neither did they associate their business-mindedness nor their business management skills with their work or life experiences in Japan, unlike the reintegrated and enclavist returnees, who regarded their migration to Japan as integral to the development of their business management skills.

P8 and P12 saw their migration to Japan as having offered them only a more considerable pay than in the Philippines. P5 capitalized on her late work shift in Japan when she started her sari-sari store business in front of her house: "I was used to working late at night in Japan, so when I started my store here, it was open until midnight, and I was the only store open within the vicinity." Other than that, they did not feel that their migration to Japan influenced their lives in any way other than financially.

Although all the traditionalists started their businesses upon returning to the Philippines, they lacked knowledge and skills from Japan to capitalize on as comparative advantages for their businesses in the Philippines. As already stated, this

could also have been a primary reason for their medium level of preparedness upon their return and for the failure of most of their businesses.

4. Cultural Maintenance

These traditionalists regarded themselves as unable to apply Japanese culture or values. They saw their migration to Japan only as a route towards economic development, and not towards social and cultural development. Moreover, they were categorized as traditionalists because they felt that their migration to Japan did not influence or change their behavior or views, and did not influence how they managed their business.

These traditionalists observed and practiced Japanese culture only when they were in Japan and not when they returned to the Philippines. When they were in Japan, all of them had the same sentiments about the Japanese work culture. They said that the Japanese were too severe regarding work: “Work is work there. You have to work hard.” Moreover, they said that they worked hard in Japan because of the additional pay or incentives that they received when they made their customers order more.

The long duration of their work and stay in Japan did not guarantee their adaptation to Japanese culture. Factors such as the nature of their work must be considered, as they were exposed only to the environment of the bar they were working in. All of them were entertainers in Japan and were not exposed to other job opportunities (P5, P7, P8, and P12).

These traditionalists were more strongly oriented toward the Philippines’ culture than to that of Japan. Since most of them were driven back to the Philippines, they

struggled to find jobs, considering their age upon returning to the Philippines. They were unemployed, and setting up a business was their only way to improve their situation. Moreover, considering that they lacked social networks and were not prepared upon their return, they had to undertake several trials to secure a stable business. Thus, it can be hypothesized that a longer migration duration does not guarantee better reintegration. The nature of the work that they were exposed to was shown to have predominantly influenced how they maintained the culture of migration. Moreover, the characteristics of their social networks are essential in assessing their access to resources and information that would help or assist them in their entrepreneurial activities.

5. Structural Conditions

Three traditionalists (P5, P7, and P8) disclosed that they returned to the Philippines because they were given only three to six months to work as entertainers in Japan, after which they had no choice but to return to the Philippines and wait for their contract to be renewed. This meant that despite their willingness to work in Japan, they were limited due to the structural conditions of Japan and the Philippines. In fact, the Philippine government was blamed for Japan's stricter visa policy. To secure long-term or permanent residency, the migrants could only marry a Japanese spouse or have a Japanese child.

These conditions contributed to the traditionalists' medium to low preparedness for their return. Their reintegration into the Philippines reflected how their migration to

Japan contributed to their business setup. Their business and how they managed it reflected how they lacked social connections in Japan and how they did not adapt to the culture of Japan.

B. Vulnerables

Table 15. *Vulnerables*

Level of preparedness	Did not prepare for their return and business
Social networks	Did not have social connections to Japan and the Philippines that they could capitalize on
Cultural maintenance	Did not value and apply Japanese culture in managing their business
Degree of business success	Tried setting up a business multiple times

NOTE: Table made by the author.

Three of the 20 participants (P4, P16, and P19) are categorized as vulnerable. Their socioeconomic situation was not improved by their migration to Japan. Their migration goals were not achieved due to several circumstances and factors. Unlike the participants in the other categories, they were dependent on their family economically because they had a low level of preparedness to return to the Philippines.

1. Level of Preparedness

Two of the three vulnerable migrants (P16 and P19) returned to the Philippines because of the urging of their husbands or partners at the time. Although they decided to return

to the Philippines, they had no plans upon their return, unlike the participants in the other categories, who returned to set up a business, settle down with their family, and other reasons. These vulnerable migrants also had no children yet when they worked in Japan, so they had no social connection that tied them to the Philippines aside from their spouse, similar to some participants in the other categories.

The case of P4 is far different from these two cases. P4 was a deportee. After Japanese authorities identified her as an illegal migrant in Japan, she was jailed, and she felt utter embarrassment for being treated like a criminal for a heinous crime. After that, she was immediately escorted to the airport empty-handed, without her savings and other belongings, and was forced to return to the Philippines. For this reason, she had no preparation before her return to the Philippines. She did not even have that much savings, as she sent remittances to her family immediately after each payday. Moreover, when she returned to the Philippines in the middle of her contract as an entertainer, she often gambled. She expected to earn the money back when she returned to work in Japan.

All these vulnerable people were not prepared upon their return to the Philippines, considering that they were either forced to return or had no plan upon their return. The business they set up in the Philippines was not established immediately after their return. It was meant to be either another source of income or a circumstantial source of funds. P4 had a pet business during this study, but she said it was unplanned. Her new partner merely thought of it, and they started it together. P16 had a sari-sari store, the capital for which was provided by her husband's relatives to sustain their

family, but she said she could not fully sustain the business. Recently, her daughter gave her another business that involved retailing alcohol. P19 is managing her husband's apartment.

These vulnerable returnees' social networks in the Philippines heavily influenced the nature of the business they set up. Moreover, almost the same social networks influenced their decision to return to the Philippines and how they returned and reintegrated.

2. Social Networks

As mentioned in the previous subsection, the husbands of P16 and P19 were the primary reasons for their return to the Philippines. While they were working in Japan, they sent their money to their partner and family to support their livelihood in the Philippines. P16 sent her savings to her husband to buy a jeepney and to support him in becoming a jeepney driver in the hope that it would support their family financially. P19 was still single, but she used her savings to buy a taxicab for her father. When P16 and P19 were working in Japan, they assumed full responsibility for financially supporting their family. They sent remittances to sustain all of their family's bills and to give them a more comfortable life. P4 sent remittances to her mother to support her child's care.

Thus, these vulnerable people had the same goals for their migration to Japan: to finance their family and give them a better life. As for these vulnerable migrants' social networks in Japan, P4, P16, and P19 had Filipina friends with whom they worked. However, P4 expressed dismay and disappointment with her Filipina coworkers in

Japan, whom she said gave her information about other job opportunities in Japan but reported her to the police. Thus, it is not sufficient to have many social ties; the characteristics of such social networks are also essential to consider.

3. Knowledge and Skills

The three aforementioned migrants were also categorized as vulnerable because they did not acquire any knowledge and skills during their work in Japan that they could have applied in their lives or in managing their business. They migrated to Japan solely to earn more money in order to live more comfortably. They recognized that their migration to Japan enabled them to buy appliances for their family in the Philippines: “Because of Japan, I bought our refrigerator and the jeepney of [Amper (pseudonym for her husband)].”

“I gave [my family] a more comfortable life” (P19).

Thus, despite these Filipinas’ low preparedness for return, their migration to Japan enabled them to successfully support their family financially. Their migration goals were still successful, but only while they were working in Japan.

4. Cultural Maintenance

These vulnerable returnees minimally applied Japanese culture to their lives or business. P19 admired the hard work of the Japanese and how disciplined and well-mannered they are, but she did not apply these qualities in real life. When P16 was in Japan, she adjusted to the norms and values of Japan, especially to the time

discipline and manners of greeting other people. She even observed: “Here in the Philippines, I am not well mannered; I am rude when it comes to my customers [referring to her customers in her sari-sari store].” She explained the discrepancy by saying that the Philippines and Japan are very different, especially their people.

Both P16 and P19 did not attribute their business management skills or business-mindedness to their migration to Japan, unlike P4, who said her communication skills or her way of communicating with her customers was developed from her experience in Japan. She then compared how she talked with her Japanese customers when she was a bar hostess with how she talked with her customers in her pet business. She added that when she recalls her experiences in Japan, she considers them the worst nightmare of her life. She even said that upon returning to the Philippines, she continued gambling and lost all her money mainly because of her despair over her experiences in Japan. Her negative experiences in Japan also influenced her reintegration into the Philippines, especially her situation upon her return.

5. Structural Conditions

Due to the strict visa requirements of Japan and the limited rights given to entertainers with only short-term working contracts, vulnerable Filipinas faced difficulties staying for a longer period in Japan. For instance, because P4 had wanted to extend her stay in Japan but was unable to marry a Japanese spouse and to bear a Japan-born child, she chose to become an irregular migrant. She unfortunately was caught, and was deported to the Philippines.

This study aimed to understand how the sociocultural experiences of Filipina migrants in Japan influenced their entrepreneurial activities. By categorizing these Filipina migrants based on an assessment, this study demonstrated that their businesses and business-mindedness depended on their reintegration strategies. Then, the effects of the factors discussed in the previous chapters on the reintegration of these Filipina migrants and on their businesses are examined.

However, in this study, most of the Filipina migrants have stayed and worked in Japan for more than five years, but the total number of years of their migration to Japan did not guarantee them citizenship and did not emerge as an essential factor to consider in categorizing them.

The social ties that the Filipina migrants acquired or established in Japan were integral, however, considering Japan's political and structural policies. It is also essential to consider that almost all Filipina migrant returnees to the Philippines do not enter the labor force but engage in usually informal entrepreneurial activities. This shows that the structural and political conditions of the Philippines were also important to consider in this study. The COVID-19 pandemic likewise influenced the setting up of businesses in the Philippines in recent years.

This chapter categorized the Filipina migrants into traditionalist and vulnerable returnees. So far, this study has examined the reintegration strategies of former Filipina entertainers and presented how these reintegration strategies are essential in understanding their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. The next chapter

summarizes the findings of this study and addresses the research questions. Finally, it presents recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER VII: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section summarizes the results of this study. Second, it highlights the major points of the data gathered to address the main and supporting research questions. The third and last section discusses recommendations for future studies.

A. Summary

This study has explored how Filipina migrant returnees from Japan become entrepreneurs upon their return to the Philippines. Previous studies and multimedia sources were reviewed, and sociocultural experiences of Filipina migrant returnees from Japan were interpreted and analyzed through qualitative phenomenological research design.

Twenty Filipina migrant returnees from Japan were utilized as the population set of this study. The researcher exhausted her network to locate suitable respondents. The data were collected from October 2021 to August 2022. Majority of the participants in the study were former Filipina entertainers who worked in Japan in the 1990s. Furthermore, this study utilized the model of Kushminder (2017) as the theoretical foundation for analyzing the reintegration process that Filipinas went through in order to engage in entrepreneurial activities upon return to the Philippines. This study's conceptual model focused mainly on the context of Japan and the Philippines to a certain extent, examining Filipina migrant returnees' level of preparedness, social networks, knowledge and skills, cultural maintenance, and structural conditions.

B. Conclusion

This study's main problem is whether former Filipina entertainers are socioculturally influenced by Japan to become entrepreneurs upon return to the Philippines. The data gathered affirmed that the migration of Filipinas to Japan variedly influenced them to become entrepreneurs in the Philippines. In the case of the reintegrated and enclavist Filipinas, their experience of having the capacity to live their desired lifestyle in Japan drove them to find ways to maintain or achieve it upon returning to the Philippines. In the case of the traditionalist and vulnerable Filipinas, the struggle they experienced in Japan forced them to re-establish themselves in the Philippines as entrepreneurs to regain their lost status and support their families. Although most of these Filipina migrant returnees were former entertainers, their different sociocultural experiences in Japan had led them to adopt varied reintegration strategies in establishing and managing their businesses in the Philippines.

The secondary research questions are presented and answered as follows:

1. How do former Filipina entertainers' life experiences in Japan impact their entrepreneurial activities upon their return?

This study revealed that the Filipina migrants from Japan utilized their life experiences there to engage in entrepreneurial activities upon their return to the Philippines. Their life experiences in Japan, both positive and negative ones, differentially influenced their life plans and goals due to the relatively better and more comfortable economic life they

experienced in the country. Their work experience in Japan became their source of social connections and of knowledge on Japanese culture and values. The reintegrated and enclavist returnees capitalized on positive exposure to Japanese culture and values in managing their business and utilized their social connections to Japan to set up their business. In comparison, traditionalist and vulnerable returnees, owing to more negative experiences living and working in Japan, did not capitalize on Japanese culture and values in managing their business and did not utilize social connections obtained in Japan in setting up their business.

Moreover, the more the Filipina migrants achieved their socio-economic goals in Japan, the more ready they were to return to the Philippines. Their readiness was evident in their level of preparedness to set up a business upon their return. Their establishment of their entrepreneurial activities became their means of maintaining the life they had experienced in Japan upon their return to the Philippines. Moreover, through their migration experience in Japan, they developed different social relationships that facilitated their successful reintegration in the Philippines. The strong transnational links that they acquired when they migrated to Japan provided the tangible and intangible resources that they strategically capitalized on to succeed in their business.

This study also presented the direct implications of the different factors on the reintegration strategies of the Filipina migrant returnees to the Philippines. First, the social ties that they developed in Japan and the Philippines became instrumental to their entrepreneurial activities and, thus, the understand their high value between these two countries. More so, the social networks that they acquired and/ or maintained

in Japan greatly influenced, whether positively or negatively, the nature of the business they set up and their business management style. Such social networks developed a transnational mindset among the Filipina migrant returnees engaged in transnational entrepreneurial activities. The reintegration strategies model built in this study provides a broader understanding of how Filipina migrant returnees differ in the field of business. This model showed that the Filipina migrant returnees' maintenance of their social networks in Japan determines the level of their preparedness to set up their business in the Philippines. In the context of this study, the reconfigured reintegration model further showed that the Filipina migrants' acquired social networks and ties in Japan guarantee them a more prepared business in the Philippines. Evidence shows that Filipina migrant returnees' transnational connections were vital to assisting or supporting their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. Moreover, these maintained social networks provide access to tangible resources such as finances, and to intangible resources such as knowledge and skills, for establishing their businesses. This study showed how the returnees applied their communication skills and their ability to bridge the social networks they developed while working in Japan as entertainers to how they value and treat their customers. Given the foregoing, this study showed how Filipina migrants' social networks in Japan played a crucial role in their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines regardless of whether they had permanently returned or not.

The transnational connections of these Filipina migrant returnees also influenced their life experiences in Japan which, in turn, became opportunities for their entrepreneurial activities in the Philippines. The networks they had established in Japan

secure their residency and other job opportunities. This study revealed that these migrant returnees mobilize their social networks in multiple ways, such as for business, for gaining knowledge and skills, and as a source of sociocultural experiences.

Furthermore, the culture that the Filipina migrant returnees brought to the Philippines is another dimension that influenced their business management and perspectives. To illustrate, the reintegrated and enclavist returnees valued Japan's culture significantly more than did the traditionalist and vulnerable returnees and thus, had a higher propensity to incorporate elements of Japan's culture to the context of the Philippines. This is reflected in how the nature of the business and the business management style of the reintegrated and enclavist Filipinas were influenced by Japanese values, attitudes, practices, and outlooks. In contrast, the traditionalist and vulnerable Filipinas' application of elements of Japan's culture to the Philippines through the prism of their entrepreneurial activities was limited. The inability of the traditionalists and the vulnerables to bring those elements into their business management does not imply their lack of potential to become entrepreneurs in the Philippines. It should be considered that despite variations in the Filipina migrant returnees' reintegration strategies, all of them became entrepreneurs with the same vision of improving their lives economically.

2. How do their socioeconomic and cultural experiences in Japan shape their business outlook and goals?

The Japanese work culture that the Filipina migrants observed and experienced in

Japan became their ideal way of managing their business. The way their former boss treated them became their guide to becoming a good and successful entrepreneur in the Philippines. For the reintegrated and enclavist returnees, being a successful entrepreneur in the Philippines entails mirroring or looking up to Japanese workers as role models. The migrants applied their observed Japanese style of managing their staff and customers to their own business' customer service. Some Filipina returnees who had acquired positive socioeconomic and cultural experiences in Japan had a more optimistic business outlook, such as the reintegrated and enclavist returnees. Migrants who had negative experiences in Japan, such as the traditionalists and vulnerables, were less likely to be impacted by Japan in setting up their business in the Philippines, and the nature of their business could be expected to be more oriented toward Filipino consumer needs.

This study argues that some (i.e. reintegrated and enclavist) Filipinas started their entrepreneurial activities because they wanted to maintain the same or even better lifestyle acquired in Japan to the Philippines. Therefore, this could show how their observations and experiences of Japan's lifestyle impacted their decision to become entrepreneurs in the Philippines.

The reintegration strategies of Filipina migrant returnees involve adapting and negotiating the values and attitudes learned in Japan in shaping their business outlook in the Philippines. Their implementation of Japanese practices, values, and ideals in their business was mainly due to their socio-cultural experiences in Japan. The Japanese work culture that they observed and experienced in Japan became their ideal

way of working and managing their business. The way they balanced their time between their business and their family was associated with what they observed from their former Japanese customers, bosses, and friends. They attributed the success of their business to their migration to Japan. They also account the success of Japanese businesses to how the Japanese treated their customers and staff, and emulating this Japanese style of managing people which they perceived to be a key factor to a successful business. The reintegration strategies uncover the extent to which these migrant returnees negotiate the Japanese values and attitudes in the Philippine context, and adapt the business management style and strategies that they observed in Japan that are useful for their own business.

3. How do they negotiate Japanese and Filipino values and attitudes toward doing business?

The reintegrated and enclavist Filipina returnees developed a transnational mindset in applying Japanese practices, values, and attitudes to the management of their business in the context of the Philippines. The nature of their entrepreneurial activities was transnational as well. On the other hand, the entrepreneurial activities of the traditionalist and vulnerable Filipina migrants were influenced more by Filipino consumer demands.

Thus, the Filipina migrants' adaptation of Japanese culture and values in the Philippine context is a process of negotiation between Japanese and Filipino cultures relative to the nature of the Filipina returnees' business. For example, the nature of the

work that they experienced in Japan was not applied to the nature of their business in the Philippines. Even the knowledge and skills that they acquired when they worked in Japan were not applied in the Philippines. Only two of the 20 participants in this study applied the nature of their work in Japan to their business. For the others, however, the nature of their work in Japan and the nature of their business in the Philippines were not associated in any way. The Japanese style of managing their staff and customers observed by the Filipina migrant returnees was emulated in their treatment of their own staff and customers in their business. Their work experience with their *shachou* in Japan shaped their identity as an entrepreneur. How their former boss treated them became their guide to becoming a good and successful entrepreneur.

The Japanese culture and values were incorporated into the context of the Philippines. The networks that the Filipina migrants acquired and maintained in Japan influenced their experiences in Japan and consequently their business establishment in the Philippines. However, applying these Japanese values to their entrepreneurial activities should not be anticipated, considering that it depends on their specific socioeconomic and cultural experiences in Japan. Moreover, the extent of their negotiation of these Japanese values and attitudes in their entrepreneurial activities was also influenced by the adaptation of these by Filipina migrant returnees to the local context of the Philippines. Likewise, the local context and policies of the Philippines played a vital role in the reintegration strategies and entrepreneurial activities of these Filipina migrant returnees.

This study confirmed that there are more reintegrated and enclavist than traditionalist and vulnerable Filipina migrants from Japan in the Philippine, suggesting that there are more Filipinas that are influenced by Japan. As the sampling size of this research is small, the results of this study cannot be generalized to other migrant groups in Japan nor to Filipina migrant returnees from other host countries. Moreover, this study did not fully explain the impact of Japan on the business outlooks and goals of the Filipina returnees, considering that most of their businesses were in the informal sector.

C. Recommendations

This study suggests that return migration be further studied. Several areas must be studied in the era of globalization, the complexity of the migration and reintegration processes. Therefore, the following points are suggested for further research:

1. Quantitative and longitudinal study – Future studies may employ different methodologies to validate what was explored in this study, considering the limited number of participants in this study that prevents generalization of its results. Moreover, it is recommended that longitudinal studies on return migration be conducted, considering that the process and cycle of different migrants' reintegration change over time. Both approaches may employ a deeper understanding of the strategies of migrants' return and reintegration .
2. Population set – The participants in this study were primarily former entertainers, but other groups of migrants may have had different occupational experiences.

Likewise, this study included only Filipinas in its population set, but other genders may also influence the empirical data and may arrive at a different understanding. Moreover, a bigger sampling size may yield a more generalizable study result.

3. Application of concept model – Future studies on return migration may explore testing the applicability of the remodeled theory of reintegration to further evaluate its explanatory power to the varying return and reintegration strategies of migrants.
4. Other dimensions – This study highlighted the need to include other dimensions, such as the cultural context of the country of return, which has a wider implication on the reintegration process of migrant returnees. Moreover, this study revealed that other dimensions, such as Japan's and the Philippines' structural conditions, influence migrant returnees' entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, further studies on other factors or dimensions may suggest new observations and understandings.
5. Policy recommendations – As seen in Chapter II, the *Balik Pinay! Balik Hanapbuhay* program, Women REACH! program, and *Tulong-PUSO* program are OWWA's livelihood programs and trainings focused on financial assistance for the reintegration of migrant returnees. This study recommends considering the migration experiences, such as their acquired knowledge and skills, of former Filipina entertainers in Japan in setting up a business or re-entering the labor force. Moreover, Japan METI's national visa scheme for startups and business manager visa for migrant entrepreneurs are too rigid and complicated, so this study recommends loosening them to prevent foreign entrepreneurs from being driven back to their home country. Moreover, the available documents and requirements

must be made available multilingually. This study also recommends that Batis AWARE consider the migration experiences of former Filipina entertainers, such as their working experiences in Japan, in assisting and providing economic and social reintegration for these women.

This research highlights the need to expand academic studies on return migration. Various dimensions and dynamics that demonstrate the complexity of migration can be specifically studied. Future researchers must increasingly seek to produce knowledge and understand what underlies the process of the return and reintegration of migrants.

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APPENDIX A

Table 16. Sociodemographic Profile of the Respondents

Participants	Place of domicile/residency in the Philippines	Area of domicile/residency in Japan	Nature of work in Japan	Visa Type	Total number of years with Working visa	Total number of years with permanent resident visa	Type of migrant (circular or immigrant)	Total number of years as immigrant	Total number of years as circular migrant	Current age	Years living or working in Japan	Total number of years staying in the Philippines (after return)	Married a Japanese	Number of children left in the Philippines	Number of Japanese children	Type of Business	Total number of years of their business	Category of Business (Formal or informal sector)
P1	Pulilan, Bulacan	Ibaraki	Entertainer, light industry and car parts factory worker	Working visa – permanent resident	na	10 years - Marriage visa	Circular	na	10	43	10–11	12 years	Yes	2	1	Curtain business in shoppee and in Bulacan	8	Formal
P2	Tondo, Manila	Kikugawa	Entertainer; food and car parts factory worker; construction worker (Mikuni Kojo)	Working visa – permanent resident	6	6	Circular		6	46	10–15	12 years	Yes, but separated and has a Filipino partner in the Philippines	2	1	Money lending, piso net or computer shop, and online selling in Facebook	12	Informal
P3	Dasmariñas, Cavite	Tokyo, Yamanashi, Kyushu	Entertainer	Working visa	6	na	circular	na	6	50	6–10	15-20 years	No	1	0	Facebook online selling	1	Informal
P4	Tondo, Manila	Tokyo	Entertainer	Working visa	10	0	circular	na	10	50	10–11	20 years	No	1	0	Pet business	5	Informal
P5	Tondo, Manila	Tokyo	Entertainer	Working visa	11	0	circular	na	11	50	11–15	20	No	1	0	Online selling in Facebook	3	Informal
P6	Imus, Cavite	Mieken	Electronics and car parts factory worker	Trainee-skilled worker, permanent resident	3	18	circular	18	18	41	21	3-4 times a year	Yes	None	None	Online selling; Japanese goods in the Philippines	15	Informal
P7	Pulilan, Bulacan	Chiba	Entertainer	Working visa	3	0	Circular	na	3	49	3	15	No	1	0	Jewelry	5	Informal
P8	Tondo, Manila	Tokyo	Entertainer	Working visa	13	0	circular	na	13	50	10–13	17 years	No	1	0	Breakfast eatery; Money lending	5	Informal
P9	Sorsogon	Yokohama	Entertainer, car parts factory worker, caregiver	Permanent resident	4	17	Circular	17	15	41	20–25	2-3 times a year	Yes	4	1	Apartment; piggery business;	2	Informal
P10	Paco, Manila	Nagano	Factory worker	Niyakijin – family visa	na	8	circular	8	8	28	6–8	1	No	0	0	Laundry business Online	5	Formal

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P11	Bataan	Tokyo	Entertainer, factory worker	Working visa	13	na	Circular	na	13	52	12-14	3	Yes, fiancé	4	0	Online selling; Japanese goods in the	3	Informal
P12	Cavite	Yokohama	Entertainer	Working visa	4	na	Circular	na	na	48	4-5	29	No	0	0	Sari sari store	2	Informal
P13	Yuseco, Manila	Tokyo	Entertainer, car parts factory worker	Working visa, marriage visa	2	8	circular	8	8	40	10	9	Yes	3	0	Online selling; Japanese goods in the	2	Informal
P14	Lucena	Tokyo, Yokohama	Entertainer, housekeeper	Working visa	23	na	Circular	na	na	49	23	9	No	0	0	Travel agency	7	Formal
P15	Pasig	Kansai	Business-person	Koseki-blood relation	na	6	circular	na	3	34	2-3	3	No	0	0	Car ceramic coating	1	Formal
P16	Santa Cruz, Manila	Tochigi	Entertainer	Working visa	3	na	Circular	na	na	48	3-4	26	No	3	0	Jeepney; Sari sari store	10	Informal
P17	Valenzuela	Toyama, Ibaraki, Tokyo, Yukosuka	Entertainer, restaurant cashier	Working visa	14	na	Circular	na	14	53	10-15	8	No	Yes		Junkshop	10	Formal
P18	Bulacan	Otemachi	Entertainer	Working visa, permanent resident	6	24	Circular	24	30	50	22>	2-3 times a year	Yes	0	1	restaurant; Japanese goods in the Philippines	20	Formal and informal
P19	Tondo, Manila	Tokyo	Entertainer	Working visa	8	na	circular	na	na	48	8-9	23	No	0	0	Taxi; sari sari store; apartment	23	Informal
P20	Parañaque	Tokyo	Entertainer	Working visa	6	na	circular	na	na	58	6-7	33	No	0	0	Music bar	22	Formal

NOTE: NA means *not applicable*.