# Between Peru and Japan: Nikkei Motherhood

Senior Honors Thesis in Anthropology
By Erika Inomata Hernandez

Advisor: Zaneta Thayer

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## Abstract

This thesis explores the experiences of Nikkei Peruvian mothers in Peru and Japan. Japanese emigration to Peru began around 1899, prompted by the Meiji government, and while initially, they worked as agricultural workers, they eventually settled in cities such as Lima. Nikkei Peruvians are Peruvians of Japanese ancestry, and today, they form a small but strong community centered in Lima, Peru. In the 1980s and 90s, the Japanese government called for Nikkei people to "return migrate" to Japan on Japanese descent visas to work at usually undesirable factory jobs. This migration path has remained popular to this day. Some of these Nikkei Peruvians choose to remain in Japan, while others "double return migrate" to Peru. Using a mixed methods approach of surveys and Zoom interviews with Nikkei Peruvian women in Peru and Japan, I explore how these experiences of migration, along with culture and national context, and the values and traditions of the Nikkei community impact Nikkei Peruvian experiences of motherhood. I find that Nikkei Peruvian mothers have complex journeys of transmitting Nikkeiness, Japaneseness and Peruvianness to their children, with mother's choices having great potential to impact the child's comfort in their identity as well as their sense of belonging to the Nikkei community, Japanese, society, and Peruvian society. Across all these contexts, mothers desired for their children to value both sides of their ethnocultural heritage. Moreover, I find that the concept of homeland and hostland is quite unstable for Nikkei Peruvians, although the ultimate homeland for mothers does seem to be Peru. Overall, while being "between Peru and Japan" does play a defining role in Nikkei Peruvian mothers' experiences of motherhood and identity, mothers attach great meaning to transmitting their ethnocultural heritage to their children.

# Chapter 1 Introduction

I first heard about Nikkei Peruvians from my mom who grew up in Tokyo, Japan. She had a friend who was Nikkei Peruvian, who had come to Japan to work in a factory and send remittances back to Peru. With that money, his mother was actually able to build a house in Peru. Because of that story, I decided to research more about this population, and as an anthropology major with interests in hybrid ethnocultural identity and diaspora, Nikkei Peruvians' complex history of migration intrigued me, since over the last century and as many as five generations, this population has migrated from Japan to Peru, Peru to Japan, and back to Peru, as will be explored in this thesis. Moreover, being half Japanese and half Mexican myself, the question of "Who am I ethnoculturally?" and "Where do I belong in the world?" are questions that have both personally and academically intrigued me.

*Figure 1 Nikkei Peruvian looking at a photo from their time in Japan (Higa Sakuda 2019)*

Figure 1 depicts a Nikkei Peruvian living in Peru looking at a photo from their time spent living as a dekasegi worker in Japan in the 1990s. Even though I cannot see the individual's face,

the nostalgia and rush of memories from the journey of migration between Peru and Japan is apparent to me. The photo evokes the sense of in-betweenness and the transnational identity that many Nikkei Peruvians experience, and such themes will be explored in this thesis.

**Brief History of the Nikkei Peruvian Community and Its Migration**

The Meiji government prompted Japanese emigration to Peru beginning in around 1899, with emigrants to Peru seeking greater social and economic mobility as opposed to the relatively rigid socioeconomic hierarchy in Japan. Today, Nikkei Peruvians (Peruvians of Japanese ancestry) form a small but strong community centered in Lima, Peru, with strong institutional presence including ethnocultural associations with formal membership, as well as Nikkei schools, clubs, and more. Nikkei have been described as, "Persons of Japanese descent, and their descendants, who emigrated from Japan and who created unique communities and lifestyles within the societies in which they now live" (Hirabayashi, Kikumura-Yano, and Hirabayashi 2002:19). In Peru, Nikkei Peruvian people experienced a great amount of discrimination, especially during World War II, although this has largely subsided due to the economic success of the community. However, many Nikkei Peruvians still experience conflicted feelings surrounding their belonging in Peru due to their diasporic status and hybrid ethnocultural identities, as well as discrimination due to being Asian in Peru.

About a century after this initial migration, in the 1980s and 90s, the Japanese government called for Nikkei people to "return" to Japan and work on Japanese descent visas at usually undesirable "3D" (dangerous, demeaning, dirty) jobs that native Japanese did not want to work. This migration path has remained popular to this day. These people are called dekasegi workers, who migrate to Japan to take advantage of Japanese citizenship or descendant visas and

immigration laws to work short-term in Japan and send remittances to family in Peru. While many dekasegi workers intended to only stay in Japan for a short time, many ended up staying in Japan due to the socioeconomic stability it offers, especially for those with families. In Japan, Nikkei Peruvians experience discrimination due to xenophobia; they also have trouble with assimilation due to the complexity of the Japanese language and long working hours at factories (Takenaka 2009). This has negatively impacted Nikkei Peruvians as well as their children; for instance, parental involvement is important to educational success in Japan, and many institutions including the educational system are quite inhospitable to immigrants. This is especially relevant for mothers, who tend to be the parents that oversee such key activities for children such as school and health care. While there are certain negative aspects to the migration including discrimination and xenophobia, many Nikkei Peruvians appreciate the socioeconomic stability and safety that Japan offers when compared with Peru.

Some Nikkei Peruvians do decide to move back to Peru in a process called double return migration. For those who have children born and raised in Japan, their children often experience difficulty with assimilating to Peru, since their Japaneseness clashes with the Nikkeiness of the Peruvian Nikkei institutions (Sueyoshi 2017). Because of these processes of return migration and double return migration, Nikkeis are increasingly aware of how Nikkei is a transnational identity that is neither wholly Japanese nor Peruvian, and there is growing Nikkei pride and optimism about the future of the community in Peru. In essence, it is clear that migration is an ever-present aspect of the Nikkei Peruvian community's lives and consciousness, shaped by government policies, a sense of diasporic orientation towards Japan, and personal choice, which push and pull people between Peru and Japan.

**Research Aims**

My research aims to explore the experiences of Nikkei Peruvian mothers in both Peru and Japan, drawing on their experiences of diaspora, migration, and experiences in the "imagined community" (Anderson 1983) of Nikkeis. Evelyn Nakano Glenn notes how "Groups develop ideologies which are distillations of experience, and because their experiences differ, so do their ideologies" (1994: 9). While such ideologies within the "imagined community" formed by the shared and distilled experiences of Nikkeis throughout history shape their identities and perspectives as mothers, the mixed cultural and national contexts within which Nikkei women live and mother also impact their maternal identities.

There are Nikkei individuals who are part of different generations with varying degrees of connection to the imagined community of Nikkeis and the "homeland" of Japan. Nikkei Peruvians instrumentally and flexibly alter their identities to include Japaneseness, Nikkeiness, and Peruvianness to varying degrees. Thus, I explore how such hybrid and flexible cultural identities formed through diaspora and return migration shape experiences of motherhood, and in turn, how motherhood shapes participation in the imagined community of Nikkeis and their lives in Peru and Japan.

I aim to explore the experiences of Nikkei mothers who live between nations and cultures, as well as between the memories of the past of the imagined community of Nikkeis, their present lives in Peru and Japan, and their hopes and expectations for their children's futures. I also explore how mothers negotiate preparing their children to fit into yet resist systems that consider them minorities and aim to oppress or assimilate them to the dominant cultures of Peru and Japan. Further, I detail experiences of motherhood of Nikkei in the very different cultural

contexts of Peru and Japan, exploring how approaches towards motherhood change with diaspora and return migration.

In terms of the broader impacts of this research project, this thesis adds to the historical documentation of the Nikkei Peruvian community in the social sciences over time. While literature does exist about Nikkei Peruvians in both Peru and Japan, there is a limited exploration of their experiences of motherhood, including works that relate such maternal identities with their experiences of diaspora, return migration, and double return migration. Thus, this thesis puts such themes in conversation with one other, considering how these mothers' and families' back-and-forth migration and in-betweenness influence mothering styles, identities, and the larger community of Nikkei Peruvians. Moreover, I believe that my prediction of the future of the community in both Peru and Japan will be interesting for community members and scholars to reflect on in the present as well as the future.

I choose to focus on mothers since mothers tend to manage and accompany children to activities that have great impacts on children's identities or well-being, including parent-teacher meetings, health-related appointments, clubs, leisure, and more. Mothers play a crucial role in maintaining the imagined community of Nikkei Peruvians, due to their profound impact on their children's lives and identities, thus, shaping the next generation of the Nikkei Peruvian imagined community. Although fathers do play a very important role in their children's lives, mothers in both Peru and Japan tend to be the primary caregivers. Thus, by asking about mother's own identities and what aspects of culture they want to transmit to the next generation, this gives an idea of what mothers value about their Nikkei identities and community and how the future of the community may look. In essence, I aim to explore how these mothers create spaces of

belonging and a sense of home for themselves and their children, even as they may feel displaced or caught between the two worlds of Peru and Japan.

Overall, my aim for this thesis is to take the reader through the transnational journeys of Nikkei Peruvian women, exploring their different roles as diasporic mothers, immigrant mothers, and double return migrant mothers. Robin Cohen notes how "The tension between an ethnic, a national and a transnational identity is often a creative, enriching one" (Cohen 1997:24). Building on this idea, I hope to draw attention to the meaningful nature of these mothers' hybrid, sometimes conflicting identities, and how these identities shape their mothering styles.

**Research Questions and Motivations**

Conceptualizing motherhood, Glenn proposes, "Mothering occurs within specific social contexts that vary in terms of material and cultural resources and constraints. How mothering is conceived, organized, and carried out is not simply determined by these conditions, however. Mothering is constructed through men's and women's actions within specific historical circumstances" (Glenn 1994: 3). Based on this conception of motherhood, I divided my exploration of Nikkei into three groups navigating different social contexts: (1) diasporic mothers—Nikkei Peruvian mothers who have lived their entire lives in Peru, (2) return migrant immigrant mothers—Nikkei Peruvian mothers who have return migrated to Japan (taking special account of those who plan to stay permanently), and (3) double return migrant mothers—Nikkei Peruvian mothers who have lived in Japan before but have double returned to live in Peru.

Within the first group, I explored the following questions: How do ideologies and cultural norms within the "imagined community" of Nikkeis in Peru influence how they approach motherhood, and what aspects of Nikkeiness and Japaneseness do they wish to transmit to their

children? What aspects of how they were raised by their mothers do they want to emulate in raising their own children, and what aspects do they not want to emulate? In addition, how does the social context of Peru shape their approach to mothering?

Within the second group, I explored the following questions: What are the opportunities and hardships of mothering for Nikkei Peruvians in the Japanese context? How do mothers support the transition of their children in this new country while simultaneously dealing with their own transition? How do their children affect their sociocultural adjustment to Japanese society? Moreover, how does their new awareness of the significant difference between Nikkeiness and Japaneseness, in turn, impact mothers' desire to transmit Peruvianness and values of the imagined community of Nikkeis to their children? Why did they decide to migrate to Japan, and if relevant, why did they choose to stay long-term in Japan?

Within the third group, I explored the following questions: What aspects of their experience in Japan, if any, impacted their approach to mothering in Peru? How do they plan to maintain aspects of their children's Japaneseness, if any, while helping them adjust to Peruvian society and further integrate Peruvianness and Nikkeiness into their mothering? Moreover, why did they return to Peru? Has their or their children's perception of the Nikkei community in Peru changed because of their experiences in Japan?

Across all these groups, I sought to understand how culture and national context, along with the values and traditions of the Nikkei imagined community, impacted their identities and experiences as mothers. Based on these observations, I also aim to predict and imagine what the future of the community may look like in both Peru and Japan.

**Chapter Outline**

My thesis is divided into six chapters, with Chapter 1 being this introduction. Chapter 2 discusses my theoretical framework and summarizes my methodology, consisting of a mixed methods approach of semi-structured interviews and surveys. Chapter 3 explores diasporic motherhood in Peru, looking at how the context of Peru and the Nikkei Peruvian community as structured through ethnocultural institutions shapes mothering and identities. Chapter 4 details Nikkei Peruvian immigrant motherhood in Japan, looking at mothers' and children's adjustment to Japanese society and their negotiation of their ethnocultural identities. Chapter 5 looks at double return migrant motherhood in Peru, exploring mothers' and children's perspectives towards belonging in Peru and in the institutional community of Nikkei Peruvians. The chapter also describes and imagines what the community of Nikkei Peruvians may look like in the future in Peru and Japan. Chapter 6 concludes this thesis, describing commonalities and differences across these groups of mothers as well as recommending future directions for research.

# Chapter 2 Background and Methodology

This chapter provides a detailed historical background of the Nikkei Peruvian community, including the emigration from Japan to Peru, the return migration of dekasegi workers from Peru to Japan, as well as the double return migration from Japan to Peru. It also introduces my theoretical background, including literature on diaspora, homeland, and hostland, reverse transnationalism, imagined community, and more. Finally, I summarize my methodology, including the research study, analysis, and positionality.

## Historical Background: Japanese Emigration to Peru

Japanese emigration to Peru began around 1899, prompted by the Meiji government, with emigrants to Peru seeking greater social and economic mobility free from the relatively rigid socioeconomic hierarchy in Japan. They believed that they would eventually return home to Japan after making their fortunes working as contracted agricultural workers on plantations, though this did not come true, with only six percent returning (Takenaka 2009). Such emigrants were considered kimin, abandoned people pushed out by the government to provide for the rest of the population (Takenaka 2004). Japanese immigrants to Peru, called Nikkei Peruvians, faced much hostility, especially as they gradually became economically successful over generations. In Peru, Nikkei people were characterized as "racially" and "culturally" different, and many anti-Japanese measures emerged, with tensions rising especially during World War II as well as the election and controversial presidency of Japanese-Peruvian Alberto Fujimori.

While ethnic discrimination against Nikkei Peruvians is not as prominent today, many do stand out due to their phenotypically Japanese appearance in the mostly mestizo country of Peru (Shintani 2007). In 2013, the number of Nikkei-Peruvian individuals in Peru was estimated to be

at around 100,000, with a majority living in Lima ("Japan-Peru Relations (Basic Data)" 2015). Primarily in Lima, many Nikkei schools, associations including the Asociación Peruano Japonesa (APJ), the sports club Asociación Estado La Unión (AELU), press like *Perú Shimpo*, clinics, credit unions, and more exist—institutions which the Japanese government, in part, helps fund (Takenaka 2004). Moreover, in 2013, Japan and Peru celebrated 140 years of diplomatic relations, and a relationship between the two countries is also fostered through cultural and political conferences and lingo-cultural exchange programs and scholarships ("Peruvians Struggling to Find a Place in Japanese Society" 2014). Overall, historic alienation from the rest of Peru helped unify the Nikkei community and limit their assimilation, although with the third, fourth, and fifth generations of Nikkei Peruvians, this is rapidly changing, with rates of endogamy drastically decreasing.

**Historical Background: Return Migration to Japan**

In 1990, the Japanese government amended its Immigration Control Act. This allowed foreign nationals of Japanese descent up to the third generation to live and work in Japan without restrictions (Andrade Parra 2018). The government explained this extension of "Nikkei visas" in terms of these people's "ethnic ties" to Japan, although the reality was that they desired inexpensive labor. Daniel Linger noted how the immigration law "promised a flexible, low-cost, culturally tractable and racially correct labor force" (Linger 2001:23). The return migrants called dekasegi workers usually worked in industrial jobs that native Japanese did not want to do, called 3K (kitanai, kiken, kitsui) or 3D (dirty, dangerous, difficult) jobs. Despite their Japanese descent and so-called racial correctness (Linger 2001), Nikkei Peruvian immigrants were treated as "other" and not regarded as truly Japanese. This ethnic othering combined with long working

hours at factories, separation from family in Peru, and a lack of social mobility creates stress and anxiety for many Nikkei Peruvians in Japan (Takenaka 2009). Moreover, 70% of return migrants noted that their level of Japanese language was low or just enough to survive (Takenaka 2014), which further limits their ability to assimilate into Japanese society, while also remaining stuck in unskilled, low-paying jobs that do not require mastery of the Japanese language. In 2013, there were around 60,000 Nikkei Peruvian migrants in Japan ("Japan Migration Profiles" 2013). They tend to settle in areas where there is a Nikkei Latino community already established, with the largest Peruvian communities being found in Aichi, Kanagawa, Gunma, and Shizuoka ("Summary of Reports Status on Employment Status of Foreigners' Workers as of October 2020" 2020).

Despite certain trade-offs such as being away from family in a foreign country and xenophobia, the migration of initial waves of Nikkei Peruvian immigrants makes sense when considering how the 1980s in Peru is called the Lost Decade or the Crisis of the 80s, in which there was severe economic crisis, with large waves of migration out of Peru (Portocarrero 1989). Moreover, there was also great internal conflict in Peru between the Government and the Maoist guerilla group Shining Path during the 1980s and 1990s, with an estimated 50,000 to 70,000 deaths, contributing to the severe socioeconomic instability at the time (Starn 2019). Even now, Peru is still socioeconomically unstable, so migration makes sense for many Nikkei Peruvians, especially for those who do not have the financial ability to access safer and often better options like private school, private health insurance, and more.

According to Akemi Matsumura, who conducted ethnographic work among Nikkei Peruvian return migrants in Aichi, Japan, Nikkei Peruvian women migrate for several reasons, including 1) the desire to encounter new spaces and a different life from their life in Peru, 2)

greater economic power and access to consumption, 3) access to the state system of social medicine, and 4) access to the migrant worker visa that Japan offers (Matsumura 2019). Nikkei Peruvian migrants who stay in Japan tend to be those who form families and become parents. In contrast, those who return to Peru tend to be single, although many families also return. Nikkei in Japan tend to face limitations in work and be considered as "other" in Japanese society. Notably, women tend to take the primary role in attending parent-teacher meetings at school, helping children with schoolwork, taking children to medical appointments, and more.

Other reasons that Nikkei mothers may migrate to Japan include wanting to educate their children in Japan and benefit from the Japanese government's support of children, as the Japanese government heavily subsidizes school expenses along with diapers and milk for new mothers. In general, health insurance and accommodations for mothers makes pregnancy and childbirth very affordable for mothers. Also, with the job opportunities mentioned above, many migrate hoping for economic stability for their family, with the ability to send remittances back to family in Peru. Moreover, mothers noted the chaos and insecurity in Peru as a factor in their decision to move to Japan, noting how Japan is much safer and more stable. Some mothers are also brought to Japan as children by their parents who came as dekasegi workers, moving back and forth between Japan and Peru until they finally settled in Japan as adults. Many mothers also want their children to get to know the land that their ancestors came from, noting how family members already in Japan had also encouraged them to migrate (Interview Data).

Japan has been quite inhospitable for Nikkei immigrants (Takenaka 2009). In particular, the historically xenophobic attitudes of Japanese people, Japanese institutions of power catering to a largely homogenous Japanese population, as well as the tension between Peruvian and Japanese cultural values have led to high stress within the Nikkei community (Takenaka 2009),

However, the first-generation children (particularly those born and raised in Japan) of these Nikkei Peruvian immigrants are increasingly becoming integrated into mainstream Japanese society due to their fluency in the Japanese language and familiarity with the cultural customs (Andrade Parra 2018).

**Historical Background: Double Return Migration to Peru**

Some return migrants to Japan do decide to move back to Peru in a process called double return migration, and their children possess a certain Japaneseness that somewhat clashes with the Nikkeiness of the Peruvian Nikkei community (Sueyoshi 2017). Moreover, due to such double return migration and through sharing of stories from family and friends who have immigrated to Japan, Nikkei in Peru are increasingly becoming aware that Nikkei is a transnational identity that is neither wholly Japanese nor Peruvian. Individuals, families, and generations have different levels of engagement in the Nikkei Peruvian community, but there is a growing Nikkei pride and a sense of optimism about the future of the community in Peru, as expressed through a campaign called "Orgullosamente Peruano #Soy Nikkei" (Proudly Peruvian #I am Nikkei) (Wong-Kit García 2018).

Besides helping transmit and maintain the ideologies of the Nikkei community, motherhood can function to forge or maintain connections in the Nikkei community. Takenaka notes how some third-generation or later-generation Nikkei Peruvians may rebel against their parents and leave the colonia, but once they get older and want to return to the community, they may encounter difficulty. As such, mothers may enroll their children in Nikkei schools in Peru, gradually allowing mothers to re-enter the Nikkei Peruvian community (Takenaka 1999). In this

way, motherhood can function as a way for Nikkei mothers and their families to re-enter the imagined community of Nikkeis in Peru.

The issues of "blood" and endogamy have also historically been significant in forming the Nikkei imagined community's boundaries. While I could not find official figures about current rates of endogamy, in 1991, Nikkei endogamy rates were as high as 65% to 75% (Takenaka 1999). Overall, Nikkei women's identities as mothers are negotiated in response to the larger diasporic community of Nikkeis. Moreover, within the diaspora, Nikkei also negotiate their identities between generations, cultures, along with ideas of homeland and hostland.

**Prior Research on Nikkeis**

Nikkei Brazilians (or Japanese Brazilians) are a more well-known population in the social sciences, whereas Nikkei Peruvians are not as present in the literature. Sociologist Ayumi Takenaka has conducted a great amount of research among the Nikkei Peruvian and Nikkei Brazilian community in both Latin America and Japan, researching topics such as the transformation of the ethnicity of Nikkei Peruvians (1999), the history of immigration, settlement, and racialization in Peru (2004), and the ethnic hierarchy of Peruvian and Brazilian return-migrants in Japan (2009). In addition, Robert Steven Moorehead wrote his dissertation in sociology about Japanese Peruvian immigrants and their struggle for integration and identity in Japan, with his ethnographic site being a public elementary school in central Japan (2010).

My research relates to previous academic research in that it explores such topics of ethnic identity formation and ethnic othering with a specific focus on mothers, while also aiming to imagine what the future community may look like in Peru and Japan.

## Theoretical Framework

Central concepts in my thesis discussed in subsequent chapters will include theories involving diaspora (along with concepts of hostland and homeland), return migration and resulting reverse transnationalism, imagined community, and motherhood. Below I provide a brief introduction to these themes, although they will be more fully explored in subsequent chapters.

### *Diaspora, Homeland, and Hostland*

Rogers Brubaker's theory of diaspora is helpful in describing the collective experience of Nikkei Peruvians (Brubaker 2005). He describes three foundational characteristics, with the first being the notion of dispersal, commonly outside of national boundaries, although it can also signify displacement in a metaphorical sense. The second foundational characteristic is a homeland orientation. He describes how it is an identity tied to a real or imagined homeland in a meaningful way that intimates a journey of leaving and returning. In this way, individuals may recreate culture in the locations they migrate to, but they persist in their remembrance of 'something-else and somewhere-else'. The third foundational characteristic is boundary maintenance, which is crucial since the community is established outside of the original territory. However, diaspora literature also notes that boundary-erosion in diasporic groups is common as well, with diaspora often being linked to diversity and hybridity, where cultures are melded instead of ossified. Brubaker resolves this tension between boundary maintenance and boundary erosion by noting how diasporas must have "multigenerational staying power" (2005:7). Brubaker notes that diaspora is particularly useful when we think of it as a "category of practice" (2005:13) instead of a bounded group.

Brubaker's third foundational characteristic of boundary-erosion and maintenance is particularly interesting for this study of motherhood since women's bodies have traditionally been tied up with notions of ethnocultural authenticity (Yuval-Davis 1993). In the case of Nikkei mothers, this is significant since endogamy and the associated issue of last names have been and continue to be issues within the Nikkei community that contribute to the boundary maintenance and erosion of this diasporic group. For example, mothers I interviewed noted how the Nikkei community continues to perceive individuals with both last names being Japanese as "best" or "most authentic", with the second-best option being the paternal last name being Japanese, the third best option being the maternal last name being Japanese, and the worst option being having no Nikkei last names at all. Such politics surrounding last names impacts Nikkei individuals' inclusion and exclusion in the community, as last names are associated with notions of authenticity. In addition, the issue of exogamy is significant since individuals (often of mixed ethnicity) perceived as having less Japanese facial features may be excluded or questioned as to whether they truly belong to the community.

Susan Pattie also argues that "like identify itself, the concepts of return, homeland, and diaspora are all continually in the process of construction" (Yuval-Davis 1993). Nikkei Peruvian mothers, across time and space, must instrumentally and flexibly alter their identities while mothering their children, negotiating between Japaneseness, Nikkeiness, and Peruvianness in their homes, communities, nations, and beyond. Pattie also states "The new homeland replaces the old, but so, too, in a continuing process, does the new diaspora replace the old" (Pattie 1999:90). Following this idea, Nikkei Peruvian mothers must grapple with the question of if Nikkeiness and their true identity is found in Japan or Peru, and where their homeland truly is located.

### *Return Migration and Reverse Transnationalism*

An experience which Nikkei Peruvian return migrants to Japan may experience is called reverse transnationalism. Reverse transnationalism was first described in relation to how return migrants from the U.S. and Germany to Greece found the material and psychological difficulties of living there overwhelming, despite growing up with a strong Greek identity; thus, they ultimately reimagined the U.S. and Germany to be their affective homelands (King and Christou 2014). Similarly, many Nikkei Peruvian migrants to Japan begin to identify more as Peruvian and reappraise their 'affective homeland' as Peru. This experience of reverse transnationalism can also be related to Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut's scholarship, where they note, "Groups subjected to extreme discrimination and derogation of their national origins are likely to embrace them ever more fiercely" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:187). In this way, mothers embrace their identities as Peruvian in response to discrimination in Japan.

Thus, for many Nikkei Peruvian return migrants, transmitting Peruvianness becomes quite important, with one key way to transmit Peruvianness being teaching children Spanish. In her study of British citizens who fluently speak English but also speak a heritage language, education researcher Jean Mills notes,

> Speaking English connected the respondents to educational success and, for some, their British identity, and speaking the mother tongue connected them to different familial, neighbourhood and heritage communities and endorsed vital aspects of their culture and identity (Mills 2005:272).

Speaking Spanish is a way for mothers to transmit the Peruvian aspects of their cultures and identities and help their children relate more to their heritage community.

### *Imagined Community*

Relatedly, Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community describes how a nation "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1983:49). The imagined community invents its own people which it deems citizens, with its borders being finite but elastic and permeable. This concept is helpful for characterizing the "imagined community" of Nikkeis since expressions of varying degrees of Japaneseness, Nikkeiness, and Peruvianness have helped unite the imagined community of Nikkei Peruvians of the past, present, and future. Nikkei Peruvians have elected to reject the options of completely assimilating to host culture or only retaining home culture, creating a hybrid, bicultural identity that distinguishes them from majority ethnic groups in both Peru and Japan. This strategic, instrumental use of Japaneseness, Peruvianness, and Nikkeiness has persisted through history, which has allowed the community to survive and maintain its distinctness throughout changing socioeconomic and political conditions. Nikkei mothers must choose whether to remain within the borders of the imagined community in terms of their behavior and the values they exhibit, potentially impacting their lived experiences as mothers.

### *Motherhood*

In terms of theory surrounding motherhood, I draw from Patricia Hill Collins' work on motherhood in the margins. Collins notes, "Preparing children to cope with and survive within systems of racial oppression is extremely difficult because the pressures for children of racial-ethnic groups to assimilate are pervasive" (Glenn, Chang, and Forcey 1994:57). Collins also notes how these women are "not powerless in the face of racial and class oppression" and that

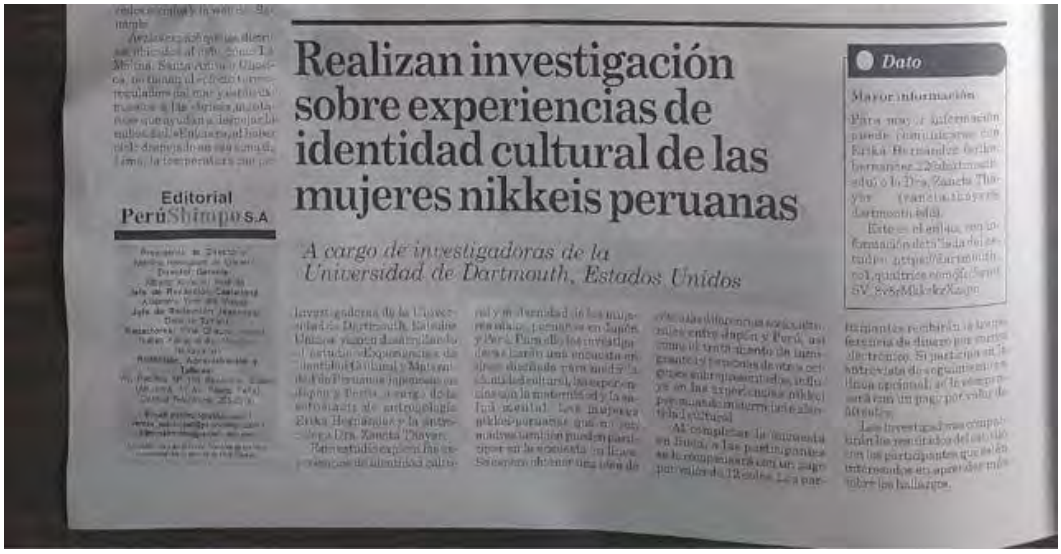
"being grounded in a strong, dynamic, indigenous culture can be central in these women's social constructions of motherhood" (Glenn, Chang, and Forcey 1994:55). Nira Yuval-Davis also writes about how women often have the social responsibility of intergenerational transmission of "cultural traditions, customs, songs, cuisine, and, of course, the mother tongue" (Yuval-Davis 1993:627). In this way, Nikkei mothers may feel pressure and even feel empowered to help their children maintain varying degrees of Nikkeiness, Japaneseness, and Peruvianness even while their children experience pressure to adapt to the mainstream Japanese or Peruvian society. However, they remain resilient and often innovative in their ability to modify their parenting strategies to fit the needs of contemporary Japan and Peru.

Further, women's studies scholar Irene Gedalof's theory about the inadequacy of the familiar "juggling between two worlds" model in diaspora is helpful in grounding this thesis. She notes how this model posits that the world of those constructed and represented as indigenous (Brah 1996) is "isolated from, and untouched by the diaspora spaces emerging through processes of migration" (Gedalof 2009:97). Gedalof also notes how transnational and migration studies have prioritized processes of displacement and non-belonging for the sites in which new identities are formed. She acknowledges how knowing how "women construct migrant and transnational identities in the face of processes of displacement, non-belonging and isolation" (Gedalof 2009:97) is important. However, she also notes that we must look at women's stories of "emplacement, belonging, and connectedness" in migration and acknowledge the work that migrant mothers undertake to reproduce home, thinking about "the place of that home in the making and remaking of new identities" (Gedalof 2009:97). Following Gedalof, it is important to acknowledge that while Nikkei Peruvian mothers may feel that they are stuck or displaced between two worlds of Peru and Japan, their identities are transformed because of diaspora,

return migration, and double return migration; they work towards creating spaces of belonging for themselves and their children, regardless of circumstances in which they may feel socially excluded or isolated. I also draw from Nora Lester Murad's scholarship. She writes about her experiences of mothering ethnically mixed children, mothering in American-Jewish and Palestinian Muslim contexts. Her reflections on her own identity and her children's identities are helpful in considering how and why Nikkei Peruvian mothers may aim to transmit Nikkeiness, Peruvianness, and Japaneseness. Overall, motherhood can be seen as a process of becoming which is both complicated and enriched by these processes of migration and diaspora.

**Methodology**

In my first round of data collection from August to November of 2020, I designed an online survey and conducted follow up interviews online with women in Peru and Japan. In contrast to my later goals (see second round of data collection below), my goals in this original research project were to explore Nikkei motherhood, cultural identity, and experiences of maternal and mental health. I recruited participants by reaching out to Nikkei Facebook pages, blogs, schools, associations, and scholars. I created several site-specific posters with the link and QR code to the survey which I also sent to contacts. *Peru Shimpo*, a newspaper, also offered to publish information about me and the study, as seen below in Figures 1 and 2, which greatly helped with recruitment.



# Realizan investigación sobre experiencias de identidad cultural de las mujeres nikkeis peruanas

*A cargo de investigadoras de la Universidad de Dartmouth, Estados Unidos*

Editorial PerúShimpo S.A.

Dato

Mayor información

*Figure 1: Newspaper article about study*

# Erika Inomata-Hernández realiza estudio sobre las peruanas nikkei

Editorial PerúShimpo S.A.

*Figure 2: Newspaper article about me and the study*

The online survey was administered through Qualtrics (see Appendix B for selected survey questions). The instrument included approximately 100 questions that assessed background information (i.e. age, Nikkei generation), maternal health (i.e. satisfaction with care during pregnancy and childbirth), maternal depression (as indexed by the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD-R)), loneliness (as indexed by the short-form UCLA Loneliness Scale (ULS-8 Loneliness Scale) (Hays and DiMatteo 1987; Borges et al. 2008), and acculturation (as indexed by a revised version of the East Asian Acculturation Measure (Barry 2001) for Japan and a revised version of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Cuéllar, Arnold, and Maldonado 1995) for Peru). Because the COVID pandemic was ongoing, I also included questions about if participants felt any sense of discrimination due to the pandemic and how the pandemic impacted their community involvement. Participants were also asked to indicate whether they would be willing to participate in a follow up interview. Surveys were completed for 49 participants, with 41 in Peru and 8 in Japan.

While I initially intended to conduct in-person interviews through the support of the Stamps fellowship, I switched to Zoom interviews due to the pandemic. Scheduling for interviews was done through Calendly. Participants were asked questions using a semi-structured interview instrument. Topics covered included experiences with discrimination, how they identified themselves ethnically, important aspects of being Nikkei, and where they felt was "home." I also asked a subset of participants about their maternal and reproductive health experiences. Please see Appendix C for my interview guides. The quantitative survey data were exported to Microsoft Excel and assessed using Stata. I evaluated the correlation between different survey variables relevant to each study chapter. I draw from these data at select points

in my chapters when helpful for supporting specific qualitative observations, but do not use most of the data since my research focus has shifted since this survey. However, the data were helpful in shaping research questions in round 2 interviews.

First round interviews were completed for 20 participants. The interviews were conducted virtually over Zoom, with some being in English and most being in Spanish. An interpreter was used for 13/20 interviews. My approach to working with the interpreter was to request the same Peruvian interviewer for all of the interview times in which she was available, since gradually, she became familiar with certain words like "Nikkei" and other Japanese words that my interviewees frequently used. Because my ability to understand Spanish was better than my ability to speak it at the time, I often had her ask the questions but did not have her interpret the participants' answers, which helped reduce the time of the interview and keep the interviewee engaged. I also sent the interpreters I worked with my interview questions in advance so that they could prepare if needed. From working with the same interpreter many times, we were able to establish a good working relationship and rhythm to the interviews, which helped with the pacing and tone of the interview. Interviews lasted approximately thirty to sixty minutes. Nine women were mothers, and 11 women were not mothers. Six of those mothers were living in Peru, with 3 of those mothers having lived in Japan before. The other 3 mothers were living in Japan. Within the non-mothers, all 11 women were living in Peru, with 6 having lived in Japan before.

After interviews, I sent thank you e-mails and payments through Tremendous, in recognition of their time and effort in completing surveys and interviews. Payments were calculated as approximately 1.5 times the average hourly wage in each country (with the average hourly wage being about 930 yen in Japan; 44 soles in Peru). I audio-recorded the interviews

through Zoom, downloaded them, and ran them through Sonix, a transcription software. I listened back to interviews and corrected the transcriptions as needed, adjusting manually for phrases in Spanish or Japanese that the software did not transcribe correctly. The transcriptions were exported to NVivo, a qualitative analytic software program, for qualitative coding. The coding approach was both inductive and deductive. I looked at my research questions and interview guide to develop relevant codes, and codes were also developed based on my inductive review of the interview transcripts. Once I had coded interviews, I grouped together codes into themes which served as the foundation for my chapter outlines.

To enhance the credibility of my interpretations, I discussed emerging themes with my faculty mentor as I conducted interviews and qualitative analysis; this helped me plan the structure of my thesis and focus on the aspects of the data that were most relevant to my research questions. Moreover, I compared patterns that emerged from my quantitative data from my first data collection round to the interview data in order to make sure that my interpretations were credible. I also enhanced the credibility of my interpretations through interviewing several participants in both 2020 and 2022 and interviewing some participants several times. This allowed for building trust with the interviewee and further familiarity with their lived experiences. I also enhanced the credibility of my interpretations through having two cycles of data collection, which allowed me to make more informed interpretations of data in my second round based on knowledge and familiarity I had gained in 2020.

As described, the first round of interviews informed my subsequent research questions by allowing me to gain some knowledge on my major area of interest which included the influence of motherhood on identity, which I focused on in the second round. In my second round of data collection in 2022, I focused my questions specifically on experiences of motherhood, framing

this around diaspora, return migration, double return migration, and the future of the Nikkei imagined community. I also asked about women's experiences with their own cultural identities as well as the cultural identities of their children. My recruitment method this time involved reaching out to past participants from my 2020 surveys and interviews, posting on different Nikkei Latin American Facebook groups, and snowball sampling.

In the second round of data collection, I conducted a total of 17 interviews over Zoom and interviewed 14 participants. These interviews were done without an interpreter. Some of the participants were participants from the first round of data collection in 2020. Three interviews were with repeat interviewees from round 1. Interviews lasted approximately 30 to 70 minutes. Seven women were living in Japan and 7 women were living in Peru at the time of the interview. Of those 7 women living in Peru, 3 have lived in Japan previously. One participant self-identified as non-Nikkei and the rest all self-identified as Nikkei. All interviewed women were mothers. For round 1, there were three participants in group 1 (Nikkei always living in Peru), three in group 2 (Nikkei living in Japan), and three in group 3 (Nikkei return migrant to Peru). For round 2, there were four participants in group, seven in group 2, and three in group 3. Thus, the total number of participants who are mothers in the analysis was: seven in group 1, ten in group 2, and six in group 3. I also integrated some of the non-mother's experiences into my analysis although this was separate from the mother analysis. I followed the same process of scheduling, transcription, and data analysis as in my previous round of data collection. I re-coded some of my past interviews to incorporate new codes that came up in the second round of data collection. As described with the previous round, I took both deductive and inductive approaches, but divided my analysis and codes for each of the different groups. Please see Appendix D for my code charts.

To supplement my own research and understanding and see if my own findings were supported in media, I also looked at online sources. These sources included Nikkei-Peruvian YouTube channels, Nikkei Peruvian Facebook groups, Nikkei blogs such as Discover Nikkei, as well as Peruvian online newspapers, and magazines. These were particularly helpful in analyzing the impact of the Fujimori family on the larger Nikkei Peruvian community in Peru. Thus, these perspectives provided additional insight into different trends and points of view in the community.

Throughout this thesis, I mention the different generations of Nikkei. I define the different generations below.

1st generation (issei) = You were born in Japan.
2nd generation (nisei)= You were born in Peru; either parent was born in Japan.
3rd generation (sansei)= You were born in Peru, both parents were born in Peru, and all grandparents were born in Japan.
4th generation (yonsei)= You and your parents were born in Peru and at least one grandparent was born in Japan with the others born in Peru.
5th generation (gosei)= You and your parents were born in the Peru and all grandparents were born in Peru.

### *Researcher Positionality*

I am second-generation Mexican American on my paternal side and first-generation Japanese-American on my maternal side. I grew up on the South Texas border in the Rio Grande Valley, speaking fluent Spanish as a child. My Spanish skills regressed to conversational as a young adult, but language classes at Dartmouth and at the University of Sevilla, Spain exchange program in 21F helped me become more proficient in speaking.

I spent most of my summers as a child and young adult in Tokyo, Japan, with my mother's family, and thus, speak Japanese fluently. Thus, given my positionality as someone with a mixed ethnic background, I related to some of my interviewees' experiences of feeling out

of place or in between different cultures and countries. However, I was careful not to conflate my own experiences with those of my interviewees, which ultimately was not as difficult as anticipated especially when speaking with mothers who had such different life experiences from me. That being said, also being of a mixed cultural background and being able to understand the mixing of Japanese and Spanish of my interviewees was helpful in understanding my interviewees' experiences and building rapport.

# Chapter 3 "One Day in a Kimono, the Next in a Pollera": Diasporic Motherhood in Peru

## Introduction

So, for me it is very important that my daughter knows and values both sides, both struggles…that she does not forget all the work that her grandparents did to get to where they are…One day you can see her with a kimono [traditional Japanese garment] and another day you can see her with a pollera [traditional Peruvian embroidered skirts made of wool].

—3rd generation mother of one

As expressed by the above mother, diasporic motherhood for Nikkei Peruvians in Peru is a complicated journey of teaching children to value both sides of their ethnocultural heritage. This chapter discusses the lived experiences of mothers in Peru who have never immigrated to or lived in Japan. Even within this small group of 7 mothers, their experiences are greatly diverse; some mothers and their children are mixed Japanese and Peruvian in ancestry while others are ethnically only Japanese. All of the mothers acknowledge that they are Nikkei Peruvian, given that they participated in this study, although the strength of that identity varies across individuals. Moreover, this chapter reveals how mothers' own identities and experiences shape how they transmit Nikkeiness, Japaneseness, and Peruvianness to their children, and in turn, how their children's experiences in the community impact mothers' own identities or feelings towards the community. Relating to this topic of parental power to teach their children who "we" and "they" are, scholar and mother to ethnically mixed children Nora Lester Murad writes,

> The challenges I face talking to my own daughters about their/our family highlight the politics inherent in parenting in mixed families. All parents use power and shape power relations when we teach our children who 'we' are and who 'they' are and how 'we' and 'they' ought to relate. However, in cases like ours, the implications of these decisions are concentrated within our family (Murad 2005:480).

For Nikkei Peruvian mothers in Peru, they must teach their children if they are part of the "we" of Nikkei and if the Peruvians are "we" or "they". This can take many forms and greatly depends on the mother's own upbringing and experiences, as well as her partner's identity and the

partner's support of cultural transmission. Other factors include how hospitable the socioeconomic and political context of Peru feels for the family, as well as the larger Nikkei community's inclusion or exclusion of the mother, children, or both. Mothering decisions ultimately have great implications for their children's identities, from if a woman decides to have children with somebody Nikkei or non-Nikkei or Peruvian or non-Peruvian, if she decides to send her child to a Nikkei school, if she exposes her children to Nikkei community and cultural events and traditions, and much more.

**Mothering in the Context of Peru: Challenges**

Being a mother in Peru means navigating a society in which political and socioeconomic instability is widespread, with street violence and safety being an issue especially for women and children; as a 3rd generation mother of one describes it, "the level of violence, delinquency has gone beyond any limits. And it is not only fear as a woman, but as a mother as well." Institutional and political corruption is also common, with a 3rd generation mother of two describing how it does not matter if you break the law, since if you have money, you will be fine. Moreover, she explained how she "recently was attacked. I was robbed and they hurt me…They stole my car…It's frightening to go out to the streets and know that I may be hurt again". She further explained how this restricted her and her children's mobility on the streets. She described how "My kids are afraid to be outside" and how when her children walk home about a kilometer from the Peruvian Japanese stadium, they feel the "verbal violence, the immorality" in the streets.

Health care access is an issue for many mothers in Peru. For instance, a 3rd generation mother of two brings up how many pharmacists, including herself, are unable to obtain health

insurance from their employer. Thus, during the pandemic, knowing that the national health care system is inadequate in most cases, she and her children changed their entire diets to be healthier and only she left the home, to avoid contracting coronavirus. Other mothers noted how they tried to avoid national insurance hospitals and go to private, paid clinics, with a 4th generation mother of two having heard stories about unsafe hospitals where mothers suffer and "their children end up dying during birth or burnt when bathed" after childbirth.

Another issue many interviewees described was machismo, and how there are double standards for men and women, with prevailing, conservative views that mothers belong in the home taking care of their children. A 3rd generation mother of one noted frustration at the fact that if she takes on the same responsibilities as her son's father and works a lot, people say she is being a bad mother, but if her son's father works a lot, he is being a good father.

Moreover, mothers noted frustration at the lack of social support in Peru, with a 3rd generation mother of one noting how "Peruvian society embraces you but does not help you". There is also a lack of societal support for working women with children, as contrasted with Japan, and thus, women are forced to work less hours to spend more time with their children and avoid prohibitively high nannying costs.

Women's opinions about discriminatory treatment of Nikkei individuals in Peru were mixed. To begin with, discrimination has been greatly shaped by the presence of controversial Nikkei Peruvian politicians— former President Alberto Fujimori as well as his daughter Keiko Fujimori who has unsuccessfully run for president several times. Initially, a greater acceptance of the Japanese colony in Peru was anticipated due to the 1990 election of Alberto Fujimori, the son of Japanese immigrants, as President. He branded himself as "El Chino" (Chinese) in his campaigns, mainly appealing to the working class, mestizo, and indigenous peoples of Peru,

becoming popular as a non-white, ethnic minority from a humble background that gave Peruvians hope (Shintani 2007). Fujimori himself had limited ties with the Nikkei-Peruvian community, but nonetheless, he became a representative for Nikkei across Peru, with Peruvians typically making the association between Fujimori and Nikkei (Takenaka 2004).

However, there were many anti-Fujimori protests on Lima's streets in the 1990s and subsequent years, as many people resented him for his political actions as well as his ethnicity. A famous, white Peruvian journalist noted, "We should recover Peru for Peruvians" (Takenaka 2004:95), showing how there were still doubts about the "Peruvianness" of Nikkei, with people hesitating to acknowledge them as true members of Peruvian society. Fujimori served as President from 1990 to 2000, when he fled to Japan and was impeached by the Peruvian Congress for reasons including human rights violations and scandals (Rácz 2019). When his daughter Keiko Fujimori ran for President several times in the past, she has also been publicly labeled "*china*." Interestingly, Fujimori's unsuccessful presidency was largely attributed to his ethnic background, which was ironically also why he was elected (Rácz 2019).

Being called china is an uncomfortable, common occurrence for many Nikkei women, with many noting how they are called Chinese even by friends and family who know that they are not Chinese, in addition to harassment from strangers. The discomfort associated with being called china is likely related to how it is a reminder of their status as an ethnic "other" in Peru, with the misattribution of their identity being another layer in this "othering". A 3rd generation non-mother noted how "I find it offensive, and I just hate it", and how such discrimination is "a vicious cycle that doesn't correct itself", with the discrimination towards her and others sometimes being so severe that she has considered raising her future children outside of Peru. She noted that the racial discrimination is not limited to Nikkei people, but rather a "terrible fight

that the country fights within itself". While the discrimination of the past used to be more physical, such as the burning of Nikkei-owned bodegas, physical acts have turned into verbal harassment and subtle microaggressions.

Thus, these experiences are quite hurtful for Nikkei women, reinforcing their persisting status as "other" in Peru. This can be related to Marianne Gullestad's findings in Norway, who argues how as a reaction to the rise in immigration into the country, there is a new hegemony with polarization between the 'us' (majority Norwegians) and the 'them' (immigrants) based on descent, in which one's "foreign" appearance and family name can serve as a marker for cultural difference and social distance. Thus, skin color and race form a metaphoric kinship that excludes those who do not look Norwegian from the Norwegian national identity (Gullestad 2006). Similarly, since many Nikkei do not "look Peruvian," they are often excluded from such metaphoric kinship among Peruvians, with their "foreign" appearance and family names serving as indicators for many non-Nikkei Peruvians that they are "them" or "other" due to their Japanese descent.

Moreover, interviewees noted how during the political scandals of the Fujimori family, they noticed heightened discrimination towards people who were visibly Asian and discrimination towards the Japanese colony, including harassment on the streets, but generally noted how things are better now. A 3rd generation mother of two noted how it is uncomfortable as a mother, noting "When they spit on you in the street, throw stones at your private property…That is difficult, because explaining to a child that there is nothing wrong with being Nikkei and that these are political problems—it is a little complicated." Thus, mothers noted how they must teach their children that it is not a personal issue if they experience that type of discrimination, and that there are good and bad people of every ethnicity and nationality. A 3rd

generation mother of one also brought up the colorism that shapes discrimination in Peru and how, “Here in Lima, as long as you are not dark, nothing happens.” This is interesting to consider in the context of Nikkei individuals, since considering rising endogamy, the community’s skin color may change and impact discrimination towards them in different ways, in both positive and negative ways, being perceived as the “cholita” instead of the “china”.

As will be discussed below, being Nikkei can be an advantage despite some discrimination, due to the generally positive reputation that the community has built over the past centuries, except for the more recent Fujimori scandals. I would theorize that some of the discrimination may, in part, be tied to non-Nikkei Peruvians’ resentment of the socioeconomic success that many Nikkei have had in the country. Recently, Cosas Perú Magazine released an article about Kyara Villanella, daughter of Keiko Fujimori and granddaughter of Alberto Fujimori, being one of the winners of Miss Perú La Pre. Some of the Facebook comments are helpful in elucidating the negative view that some Peruvians still have of Nikkei, with one user commenting,

> Tiene cara de papa, y brazos de picaronera, ojos jalados de china, no nos representa, hay niñas lindas peruanas, pero no tienen dinero, para presentarse. Toda la familia Fujimori, viven sin trabjar con tantas maletas de dólares que el chino nos robó a todos los peruanos. [She has a potato face, arms of a doughnut vendor, ‘pulled-up’ Chinese eyes, she doesn’t represent us. There are pretty Peruvian girls, but they do not have money to present themselves. The whole Fujimori family lives without working with many bags of money that ‘el chino’ stole from all of us Peruvians.] (Cosas Perú 2022).

Thus, it is obvious that though being Nikkei comes with a certain level of discrimination, there is also socioeconomic privilege for many members of the community.

**Mothering in the Context of Peru: Advantages**

While mothers brought up the negative aspects of mothering in Peru, they also noted some of the positive aspects of living and mothering in the country. Mothers, including those part of mixed families, described how the closeness of family is something that they greatly value about Peru, in the emotional sense of happiness of spending time with family.

Many mothers also brought up how being Nikkei is often an advantage in Peru. While there is some discrimination against Nikkei, in general, the Nikkei community in Peru is positively regarded since the community is perceived as trustworthy, honest, and respectable, with interviewees describing ads in modern newspapers "seeking a Nikkei cashier". In general, "chinos" are perceived as intelligent, wise, and good businesspeople, which some theorize is linked to the idea of "oriental wisdom", acupuncture, and martial arts from Asia. In fact, some people ask "chinos" where to locate their businesses because of their perceived business-savviness (Drzewieniecki 2004).

Poor and more ethnically mixed Nikkei Peruvians in urban slums have also become aware of the benefits of being Nikkei, with one half-Nikkei Peruvian teenager noting how though she had "nothing Japanese" she wanted to use her maternal Japanese name Takayama instead of her paternal name Gonzales; she noted, "if you are Nikkei, you have gained credit even if you have done nothing" (Takenaka 1999:1469). Moreover, a 3rd generation mother of two brought up the interesting point of how being Nikkei in Peru is arguably an advantage in comparison with other Latin American countries that have fewer Nikkei individuals and community organizations (with the exception of Brazil which has a much higher Nikkei population); being Nikkei in Peru, especially Lima, comes with certain support and a sense of cultural understanding for many mothers and their children, which was appreciated by many of the interviewees.

A 3rd generation mother of one noted how there are many individuals from the Nikkei community that are leaders in literature, medicine, gastronomy, culture, politics, and more, that have allowed them for the most part to be accepted today in Peru, or at least in Lima. Thus, overall, Nikkei mothers do seem to be aware of the benefits of being Nikkei and that it is an identity worth fostering in their children, while acknowledging that things have not always been that way and that their ancestors have worked hard to become accepted and well-regarded in Peru.

**Transmitting Nikkeiness and Peruvianness**

Nira Yuval-Davis writes about how women are often the ones who have the social responsibility of intergenerational transmission of "cultural traditions, customs, songs, cuisine, and, of course, the mother tongue" (Yuval-Davis 1993:627). This is certainly true for the Nikkei community, and mothers expressed hopes that their children would identify as Nikkei, helping them learn about their history, customs, and traditions little by little.

Institutions like Nikkei schools and organizations such as Asociación Peruano Japonesa (APJ) can function to transmit Nikkeiness to children in all of the ways Yuval-Davis identified. For instance, a 3rd generation mother of one who teaches Spanish at a Nikkei school in Lima notes how the entire school curriculum centers around Nikkei and Japanese values, trying to enforce the core values while also trying to transmit pride in the cultures of both Peru and Japan. Certain core values that are transmitted across institutions as well as within families include values like honesty, sincerity, trust, politeness, and respect. Through different festivals including undoukai (sports festivals) and matsuri (cultural, civil, and religious ceremonies and festivals), Japanese traditions are also transmitted. Moreover, while fluency in Japanese is rare among

Nikkei Peruvians, basic reading, writing, and speaking is taught in these types of institutions, and basic Japanese phrases are still used in most families, maintaining some connection to the Japanese language.

Moreover, mothers note how within the household, it is important that they transmit Nikkei traditions and language to their children, including customs like giving thanks before meals, having respect for elders, and holidays like hinamatsuri, as well as whatever Japanese phrases are still used in the family. A 3rd generation mother of two notes, "It is very important [that] they identify with the Nikkei culture, and if you don't want to lose that culture, you have to transmit it." Thus, through customs such as eating Japanese food and dancing traditional odori with their children, mothers maintain and transmit Nikkeiness to their children. Overall, mothers expressed that their husbands were generally supportive of exposing their children to Nikkei culture, even those with non-Nikkei Peruvian husbands, who tend to feel comfortable in the trustworthiness and safety of Nikkei environments.

Some mothers identified Nikkei as a blend between the Japanese and Peruvian cultures, giving the example of Nikkei gastronomy which blends the two countries' culinary traditions, cooking Peruvian ingredients with Japanese techniques and vice versa. As mentioned, they spoke about the fusion of the different foods in their own households as well, and how that is something that they find important to transmit to their children. Interestingly, in the survey and as seen in Figures 1 and 2, a statistically significant difference was found between cooking Nikkei food and being more Japanese-oriented ($n=41$, $r= 0.6822$, $p= 0.0000$) as well as cooking Nikkei food and being less Peru-oriented ($n= 41$, $r= -0.3471$, $p= 0.0262$).

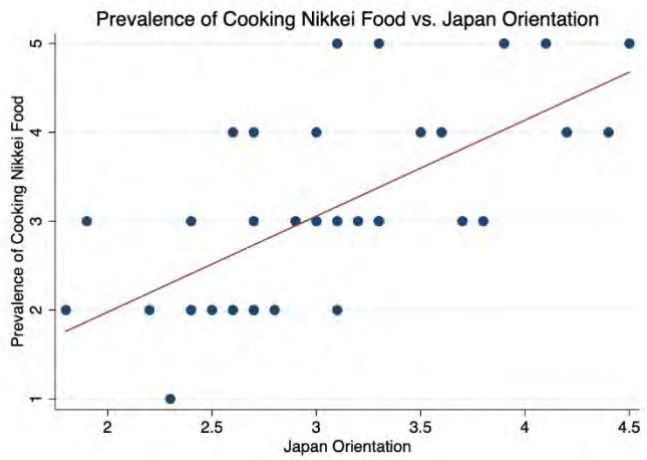



*Figure 1: Scatterplot of Prevalence of Cooking Nikkei Food vs. Japan Orientation*

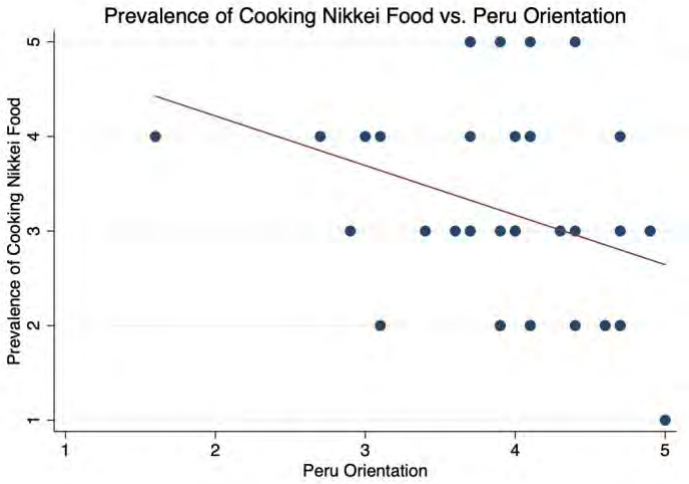



*Figure 2: Scatterplot of Prevalence of Cooking Nikkei Food vs. Peru Orientation*

Transmitting a sense of Peruvianness is also important for mothers, especially those who are part ethnically Peruvian themselves or married to Peruvian men. As quoted at the beginning of the chapter, a 3rd generation mother of one, whose mother is Peruvian and father is Nikkei, notes, "So for me it is very important that my daughter knows and values both sides, both struggles…that she does not forget all the work that her grandparents did to get to where they are". She further noted, "One day you can see her with a kimono [traditional Japanese garment] and another day you can see her with a pollera [traditional Peruvian embroidered skirts made of

wool].” Thus, she wants her children to value the traditions and customs from both sides of the family and hopes that her daughter identifies as mestiza, both Peruvian and Nikkei.

Mothers expressed how they felt the cultural blending in their mothering styles, noting how sometimes they feel like a partly Latina and partly Nikkei mom, being “Latina” yelling at their children but then “Nikkei” because they are quite serious with issues in the house or with studies. However, others expressed how there is also an immense cultural clash between Peruvian and Nikkei culture, with a 3rd generation mother of two noting how “the two cultures clash” and are often not very compatible. This sense of both pride and discomfort in the mixed ethnic and cultural nature of mothering as a Nikkei Peruvian can be related to scholar Nora Lester Murad’s experiences as a parent of mixed children. Specifically, Murad uses autoethnography to explore her experiences of mothering in an American-Jewish and Palestinian-Muslim family, having lived and worked in both the United States and Palestine. She writes, “As much as I would like my daughters to feel comfortable in all their identities, there is no way their journey—or mine—can be smooth and unconflicted…How will my choices as a mother affect theirs and how will they find what I most want for them—security in their belonging?” (Murad 2005:500). Thus, mothering for Nikkei Peruvian mothers is a complex journey of transmitting Nikkeiness and Peruvianness, with women’s choices as mothers having great potential to impact the child’s comfort in their identity as well as their sense of belonging to the Nikkei community, Peruvian society, both, or neither.

Exogamy is becoming increasingly common in the Nikkei community, especially with later generations, and as such, mixed-race mothers and mixed-race children are increasing in numbers (Takenaka 2003). This has important implications for belonging and non-belonging in the Nikkei community, as will be discussed in the following section.

**Belonging, Non-belonging in the Nikkei Community**

As Fredrik Barth described in his instrumentalist approach, ethnic identity can function as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion, with ethnic identity only being sustained if it can be successfully performed to a degree (Barth 1969). For the Nikkei, they have many unwritten rules and customs that are considered "common sense". Good behavior including academic, professional, and athletic achievements as well as donations are rewarded through recognition in Nikkei press, and good behavior is characterized as Japanese and Nikkei whereas bad behavior is characterized as Peruvian (Takenaka 2003). Thus, there are certain cultural meanings attached to behaviors, values, and traits of individuals that reinforce the boundaries of the Nikkei imagined community, leading to belonging or non-belonging for individuals.

Notions of blood have historically played an important role in belonging or non-belonging to the Nikkei community, although this is gradually changing. Yuval-Davis notes "the central role that the myth (or reality) of 'common origin' plays in the construction of most ethnic and national collectivities" (Yuval-Davis 1997:72). The pressure to marry only fellow Nikkei was persistent up until recently within the community, with older individuals still encouraging such endogamy. In fact, in 1991, Nikkei endogamy rates were as high as 65 percent to 75 percent (Takenaka 1999). This endogamy was considered necessary in the past since fellow Nikkei could "help each other with finding work" according to MTNov24, with a 3rd generation non-mother noting how "La Unión [Nikkei association/sports club] was founded to keep Nikkei genes together, like to keep the blood Nikkei…But right now this is a very old way of thinking". Giving an example, a 3rd generation mother of one noted how with her daughter's fathers' parents, they neglected to teach him at all about his Peruvian side of the family, telling him that he was only Nikkei as a way to hopefully ensure a better future for him. Thus, while historically

this “common origin” and shared bloodline kept the Nikkei imagined community together, now there are other issues that are prioritized in determining if an individual belongs or not to the community.

While some mothers expressed relief and a sense of hope that such restrictions are being eased in the community, a 3rd generation mother of two who is mixed and married to a fellow sansei (3rd generation) noted how ethnic mixing is complicated and brings changes both for the better and worse, stating, “Maybe that’s why our parents or our grandparents were so strict about keeping marriage within the colony.” Interestingly, she expressed a certain nostalgia for times where the community was “purer”, suggesting that the community is still struggling with these issues surrounding who to allow to claim belonging. However, in general, women expressed comfort with exogamy and dating outside of the community, perhaps with some preference to marry a Nikkei person. Overall, there is much less conflict about marriage between Nikkei and Peruvians, and some mothers expressed hope that this means that the Nikkei community is becoming more accepting of diverse members in the community. A 3rd generation mother of one noted how later generations are integrating a little more into Peruvian society, especially in the fourth generation. However, a 3rd generation non-mother did use the phrase “La sangre llama a la sangre” (Blood calls blood) to describe why Nikkei get along well with one another, suggesting how while the imagined community is no longer bonded by blood, it is still an important symbol for one’s belonging to the group.

Despite the community moving towards accepting exogamy more, there is a certain politics surrounding facial features, which can serve as a measure of one’s belonging to the Nikkei community. There is a persisting sentiment that the more Japanese blood one has, the better. Moreover, the “core members” and leadership of Nikkei associations and institutions

almost always have Japanese heritage from both parents and tend to be economically privileged. Takenaka noted how those who do not "look" Japanese are sometimes stopped by security guards when entering the Japanese Cultural Center (Takenaka 2003); a 3rd generation mother of two noted similar experiences of being questioned during activities in the colony since she does not have many Japanese facial features, and thus, being told things like "descendants only here" or being asked to tell them what her last name is. She noted during these encounters, she thinks "You can't tell that I am [Nikkei], but believe me, I am", feeling a sense of comfort in the fact that her children have more Japanese facial features than she does. Some mothers expressed frustration at how there is still discrimination based on one's facial features, with a 3rd generation mother of one noting how her teacher in a Nikkei school asked her out of the blue, "You are an ainoko [a person with Japanese and non-Japanese blood], right?" She noted how this experience was quite jarring for her since it showed her how discrimination is still ingrained in many community members, and that she hopes with her children's generations and the future, that they will become more tolerant with the mixtures, and "not only tolerant, but perhaps even celebrating this diversity."

Another aspect of individuals that can serve as a measure for belonging in the imagined community is their last names. Many Nikkei community members have a habit of asking each other's family names upon meeting for the first time; since the community is relatively tight-knit and connected, last names are used to identify which family one belongs to and mutual acquaintances or friends (Rácz 2019). A 3rd generation mother of two noted, "It is usually seen as better when your first last name is Japanese origin than Latin origin. When you have the other case like [my children] where their first last name is Latin origin and the second last name is Japanese origin, it can limit them". A 3rd generation mother of one described it well, saying that

it is linked to machismo, with "a Nakasone López being 'better' than a López Nakasone", and if your face is "less López" and "more Nakasone", that is also seen as better. In this case, "better" can translate to being seen as more "authentic" or more worthy of belonging to the imagined community. Moreover, the APJ has officially defined "Japanese" as those who have at least one maternal or paternal Japanese surname, and while those without a Japanese surname can join Nikkei associations, they have to be accompanied by members or sometimes pay an extra entrance fee (Takenaka 2003). Thus, it is evident that having Nikkei last names or at least one Nikkei last name is crucial to belonging to the imagined community.

For mothers such as a 3rd generation mother of one who grew up in the Nikkei community attending Nikkei schools strongly identifying as racially Asian and culturally Nikkei, motherhood has been transformational in her feelings towards the Nikkei community. She notes how through starting and owning her own business, her family has been able to rise in socioeconomic status, allowing her to send her daughter to an international school which many foreign children, including the children of diplomats, attend. Since she felt quite accepted growing up going to AELU and APJ events, she tried to integrate her daughter into the sports and other events. However, upon going there, they would ask her ten-year-old daughter, "What are you doing here if you are in another [non-Nikkei] school and you have money?" In this way, she has identified how the Nikkei imagined community has closed its borders to those like this mother who do not necessarily conform through different actions such as attending a Nikkei school, associating mainly with Nikkei people, and maintaining a middle-class socioeconomic status. Her opinion is that the Nikkei community has great difficulty integrating members who are not from similar social and economic status, as they feel self-conscious not knowing how to behave or speak in situations from members of different socioeconomic classes. She also noted

how her daughter does have Japanese friends, such as those who come from Japan with their diplomat parents, but not Nikkei friends, since those Japanese friends and other foreigners are much more willing to integrate and make friends as opposed to the Nikkei children and community which is quite insular and closed-off to those they view as outsiders.

Overall, for those who are seen as "other", even if they are ethnically Nikkei, there can be trouble feeling a sense of belonging and being accepted as a member of the Nikkei imagined community. For some mothers, this realization comes through the experience of motherhood while others realize it through their own interaction with the community.

However, for those who do feel that they belong, the Nikkei community can feel very welcoming and serve as a source of great comfort and safety. Importantly, these cultural institutions can serve as a way to "make known what is Nikkei and who is Nikkei", in the words of a 3rd generation mother of two. Many Nikkei Peruvians also note how they can better trust other Nikkei. Once, when a theft occurred in a Nikkei Peruvian institution, the staff immediately suspected a non-Nikkei Peruvian and decided to make entrance requirements stricter (Takenaka 2003:476). A 3rd generation non-mother mentioned how her grandmother would be suspicious towards Peruvians in La Unión [the Peruvian-Japanese stadium], saying, "so many gaijin [foreigners] who aren't us, why do they let them in? That's probably why the robberies have increased." Moreover, a 3rd generation mother of two described how the Peruvian-Japanese Stadium feels like an "oasis of security" since everybody in there feels like aunts and cousins, and one can leave one's wallet or jacket anywhere and nobody will touch them all day. Time spent in Nikkei institutions like the stadium and Nikkei schools can serve as a way for individuals including mothers and children to feel that they belong, with some mothers like a 3rd generation mother of one also noting how the pandemic helped create even stronger relationships

and stronger sources of help within the Nikkei community through online channels as well. A 3rd generation mother of one expressed how she has appreciated how the community supports her, not just in terms of physical affection, but also through actions and advice.

While mothers did note that there was not necessarily immense pressure to participate in the community, since the community is so insular, there is a certain measure of belonging that one is able to achieve through participating in community activities regularly, symbolically "earning one's place". Relating to this exclusiveness, many interviewees noted how the community was quite insular, with a 3rd generation non-mother stating,

> When I was growing up, it was a struggle for me to connect with Nikkei kids. Because they grew up together, they did everything together, and then, you know, it was a bit [difficult] trying to break into that very solid core of friends.

A 4th generation non-mother also noted how "They don't try to help outsiders be a part of their group. It can be a little bit discriminatory… They're respectful but not inclusive." This may relate to how joining a Nikkei-Peruvian community association requires two members' recommendations, making it hard for people to join unless they grew up as part of the Nikkei community and have strong connections. Some third-generation Nikkei Peruvians may rebel against their parents and leave the *colonia*, but as they get older and want to return, they encounter difficulty; thus, many use their children, enrolling them in Nikkei schools, which gradually allows them to reenter the community (Takenaka 2003). In this way, Nikkei associations like APJ have drawn boundaries around the imagined community through this somewhat strict, institutionalized group membership. Thus, it is important for mothers to take their children to community activities and be seen in the community in order to earn their children a certain sense of belonging, although as mentioned before, not all children are seen as "belonging", which can be understandably frustrating for mothers.

**Mothers' Own Identities and Their Hopes for Their Children**

The strength of Nikkei identity among Nikkei Peruvian mothers in Peru varies, especially since they have varying levels of engagement in the community. Many women described their identity as being hybrid and something that they take pride in. At the same time, many women expressed a sense of "being in between two worlds", including a 3rd generation mother of one. In general, mothers expressed how finding their own identities was a complex journey. Many mothers expressed how it is frustrating since "We have like a huge gap of identity that just won't ever feel complete because here in Peru, everyone sees us as someone from someplace else. And in Japan, they also see us from someplace else. So where do we really fit?", in the words of a 3rd generation mother of one. This is echoed by the survey results, as seen in Figures 3 and 4, which demonstrated that there is a statistically significant correlation between being Peru-oriented and being less lonely (n= 41, r= -0.4131, p= 0.0073) as well as less depressed (n= 41, r= -0.3161, p= 0.0440), adding to this idea that being perceived as "other" in Peru can lead to poor mental health or loneliness.

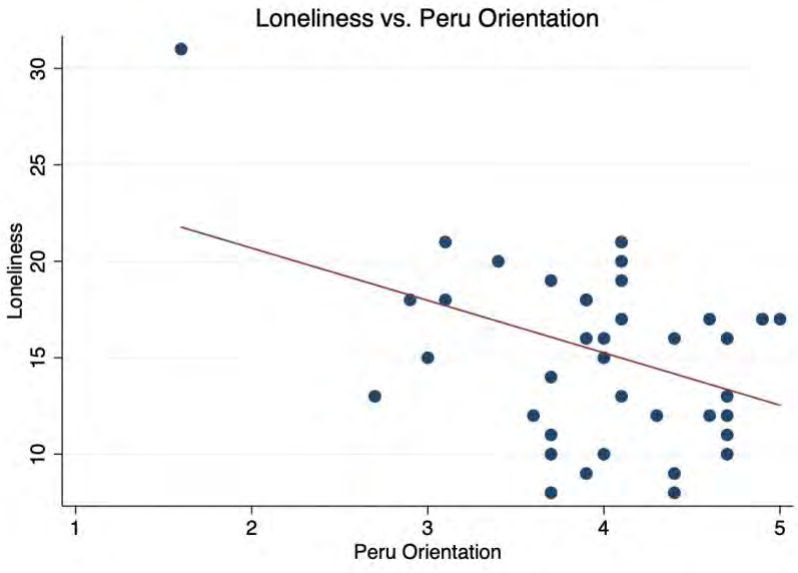



*Figure 3: Scatterplot of Loneliness vs. Peru Orientation*

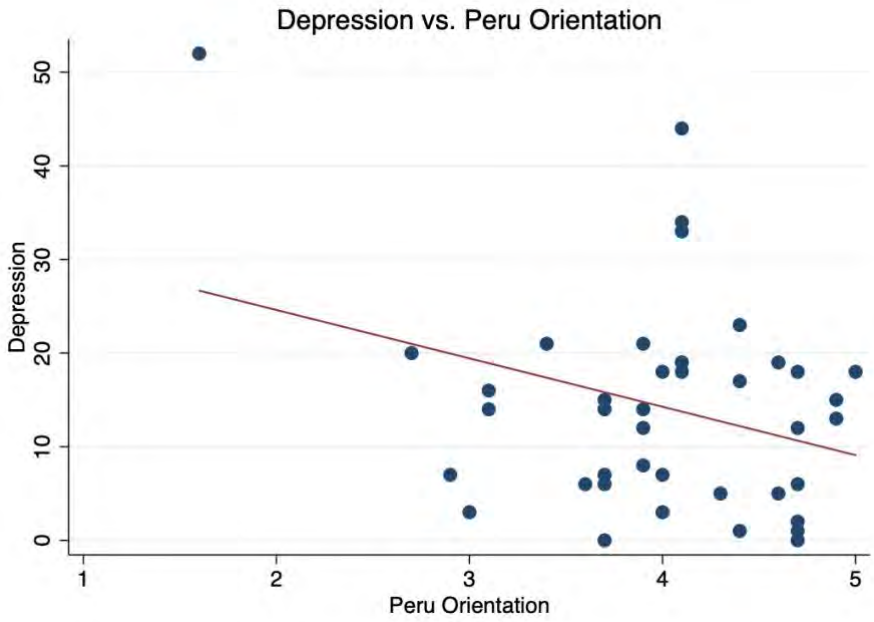



*Figure 4: Scatterplot of Depression vs. Peru Orientation*

Another 3rd generation mother of one described, "As I grew up, there were many doubts about my identity, doubts that I was solving by myself" since her own father grew up away from his family and never fully identified with being Nikkei. Due to this experience, she noted how it was important in her mothering that she does not repeat those confusing aspects of her own upbringing and continuously remind her daughter that she is mestiza and that all aspects of her identity are important. A 3rd generation mother of two echoed this sense of difficulty in finding an identity, noting how though she did not identify herself strongly with neither Nikkei nor Peruvian culture, she thinks that in mothering, she hopes to teach her children that "here's where we start our own traditions", participating in both Nikkei and Peruvian cultures as well as teaching them about their Colombian heritage from their father.

For others like a 3rd generation mother of one, due to her and her husband's parenting decisions and circumstances in the Nikkei community, her daughter has come to not feel a connection to neither the Nikkei community nor to Peru, making plans to start her professional

and personal life abroad. Thus, it is clear that not every Nikkei mother prioritizes fostering a strong sense of cultural identity in her child, tying back to Murad's point about the parental power to teach their children who "we" and "they" are (Murad 2005).

Overall, mothers tended to express hopes that their children identify with the Nikkei culture, acknowledging how to not lose that aspect of their identity, they themselves must transmit it to their children. Many also expressed gratitude to the country of Peru, stating how despite the suffering of generations of Nikkei in Peru, "Still…we love Peru, and it's the country that at the end accepted my grandparents, so there's a lot of gratitude for it", as a 3rd generation non-mother noted. A 5th generation non-mother also noted how non-Nikkei Peruvians seemed to appreciate "seeing someone [like her] that does not look Peruvian sing Peruvian music" at Nikkei events and how it "erases the boundaries" between Peruvians and Nikkei.

**Mother Emulation vs. Non-Emulation**

Irit Glassman and Rivka Eisikovits found how among several generations of mothers, starting with an immigrant population of mothers, there was a "gentle balance between preservation and change in their cultural models of mothering" (Glassman and Eisikovits 2006:474). They also note how when a receiving society encourages first generation immigrants to retain values from their origin culture, while also exposing them to new values, this helps the second and third generation members gain confidence in their social identity, enhancing their ability to deal and integrate new cultural values (Glassman and Eisikovits 2006). While Peru did not necessarily encourage first generation immigrants to retain values from the origin Japanese culture, due to historic exclusion of Japanese immigrants and the Nikkei community, values from the origin culture persist even to the modern day. In this way, the balance between preservation

and change in cultural models of mothering is evident in intergenerational transmission of ways of mothering.

In terms of aspects of their own mothers' mothering that they wanted to emulate, mothers noted the value of transmitting Japanese customs as well as sending their children to Nikkei community institutions like Nikkei schools and organizations like APJ. A 3rd generation mother of one mentioned the specific example of teaching her children to continue traditions learned in her own family like the butsudan, which is a small, household Buddhist shrine where memorial tablets for family ancestors are placed along with offerings to Buddha and family ancestors. Mothers also mentioned how they wanted to transmit certain values that their own mothers fostered in them such as respect for authority, a sense of responsibility for one's actions and things, the value of education, and punctuality.

On the other hand, there were aspects of their own mothers' mothering that they did not want to emulate. Some mothers mentioned how they wanted to raise their children to be more independent. Moreover, mothers such as a 3rd generation mother of two mentioned how their own mothers were quite submissive and stayed in the house, which was something that they themselves do not believe in nor want to transmit to their children. As mentioned before, mothers like a 3rd generation mother of one noted how though her own parents chose to send her to a Nikkei school, this was something she chose not to emulate in her own mothering. Mothers also expressed sentiments of trying to resist the urge to be dictatorial, authoritarian, and very strict in their mothering, as their own mothers had been, trying to become better people and better moms.

Moreover, regarding the Armenian diaspora, Pattie notes how "Young people are often a source of tension for old people, an extension of their dissatisfaction and uncertainty with their life decisions and the ways their own lives have unfolded" (Pattie 2005:58). She also notes how

"Each generation in diaspora worries that the next is not finding the right balance between accommodation of the host culture and assimilation into it" (Pattie 2005:59). These sentiments are present in the Nikkei community as well, with mothers noting how their own mothers disapprove of certain aspects of their mothering, while worrying that they are not finding the right balance between exposing their child to the Nikkei community while also integrating to Peruvian society. Women who are not yet mothers also noted how they want to keep in contact with the Nikkei community but do not necessarily want to expose their own children to some of the more conservative or problematic aspects of the community.

**Meaning of Motherhood**

Psychologists theorize on how becoming a mother impacts women's identities, noting that motherhood is transformational in terms of identity. Most women feel a sense of self-loss when becoming mothers, and there is also a sense of becoming defined by motherhood. This redefinition happens in various ways, with many women feeling that their children are "woven and embedded into their personalities" (Laney et al. 2015:133), in a sense, expanding their identities to include their children in their boundary of self. They also experience an expanded consciousness for their children's needs as well as an ability to see the world through their children's eyes. Women also became more aware of their own strengths and flaws, with a sense that motherhood had intensified their personalities. Moreover, women felt that their emotions were often intimately tied to their children, suffering when they suffer and feeling happy when they feel happy (Laney et al. 2015).

Overall, mothers described being a mother as feeling like it was extending a part of themself, as well as serving as a way for them to extend their own culture and values. They noted

how it is an exhausting process since it is stressful and tiring as a 24/7 job, especially with infants, but how it is also extremely satisfying. A 3rd generation mother of one noted how due to being a mother, she now values the opportunities offered by life much more, but how she feels that instead of giving 100 percent of herself, she now must give 120 percent. Mothers noted that they became more aware of their strengths like being responsible and their flaws like being too strict through mothering. Moreover, mothers acknowledged how it is a tremendous responsibility and challenge to be a mother, since they need to prepare their children to fend for themselves and face life in the best way possible. They also stressed how it is a beautiful experience to be able to see how their children develop and think, hopefully becoming a better person and a better version of the mother herself.

**Peru as the Ultimate Homeland**

Anthropologist Takeyuki Tsuda argues that since ethnic minorities who look phenotypically different are racialized as "foreigners with essentialized cultural attachments to their native countries of origin," they develop "romanticized views of the ethnic homeland as the country where they racially belong" (Tsuda 2013:175). This was true for Nikkei Peruvians, who historically idealized Japan as a homeland, although over time with further integration into Peruvian society combined with the impact of return migration to Japan, this perception of Japan as homeland has changed. In fact, all mothers who were asked to identify their homeland perceived Peru as their homeland. A majority of mothers in this group are sansei (third generation) or yonsei (fourth generation). This is important to note considering past literature from the 1990s and 2000s that located the homeland of the Nikkei community as still being in Japan, but this was with earlier generations.

In general, mothers expressed positive sentiments towards Japan, noting how they acknowledge it as the place where some of their ancestors come from and an admirable country in many respects. A 3rd generation mother of one noted how "Japan is somewhere I like very much, but I was born here in Peru…So I feel that my homeland is here in Peru because my community [built by Japanese immigrants] represents me fighting and moving forward". Others also expressed how since they do not know Japan and are not Japanese, they cannot help but feel that Peru is their homeland, as the place they were born and grew up.

Maruška Svašek writes how love for the homeland can be "imagined as a natural attachment between people and territory, a legitimate and sacred connection that is fundamental to their sense of belonging" (Svašek 2010:870). This characterization of homeland can be helpful in characterizing many Nikkei mothers' perception of Peru as their homeland, as they feel a legitimate and sacred connection and a sense of belonging to the place, despite their historical exclusion and some persisting discrimination against their community. Judith Shuval's theoretical paradigm of diasporas is also helpful in explaining mothers' perception of Peru as homeland. She writes how their level of integration into the homeland can be shaped by a sense of "at homeness" and acceptance of the homeland culture (Shuval 2000). Given that most of the interviewed mothers seem to experience a sense of being "at home" and accept the culture of Peru to a degree, it makes sense that they perceive Peru as their homeland.

**Interaction with Japan and Feelings Towards Migration**

William Safran writes, "Some diasporas persist—and their members do not go 'home'—because there is no homeland to which to return; because, although a homeland may exist, it is not a welcoming place with which they can identify politically, ideologically, or socially; or

because it would be too inconvenient and disruptive, if not traumatic, to leave the diaspora" (1991:91). Safran continues, "Members of diaspora communities are by turns mistreated by the host country as 'strangers within the gates' or welcomed or exploited for the sake of the domestic and diplomatic interests of the host country" (1991:92). These statements by Safran well express what keeps many Nikkei Peruvian mothers subjectively and often emotionally "between Peru and Japan".

In discussing whether they wanted to eventually migrate to Japan, mothers brought up various factors in their decision-making including their family already living in Japan, their children's wishes, as well as their economic and work aspirations.

The possibly "traumatic" (Safran 1991:91) effects of leaving Peru to migrate to Japan are brought up by children who note how they are concerned about being bullied in Japanese schools, which has kept mothers such as a 3rd generation mother of two from migrating to keep her children from being exposed to that sort of discrimination. In fact, she mentioned how around 11 or 12 years old, they see many Nikkei children come back to Peru to avoid being bullied in their teenage years, since that does tend to be when bullying intensifies in Japanese schools. Some mothers brought up how hearing about the struggles of return migrants to Japan was a factor in their decision-making about whether to migrate to Japan. Mothers noted how they had heard that in Japan, Nikkei Peruvians are regarded as foreigners and sometimes discriminated against as well as sometimes exploited for their labor and limited in their socioeconomic mobility. One 3rd generation mother of one ultimately decided not to migrate when she was a teenager and was considering going to Japan to study or work, since her father told her that since she is "a foreigner, the best thing is to have a profession, to be somebody" before visiting or migrating to Japan.

At the same time, mothers such as a 3rd generation mother of one are aware of the benefits of moving to Japan. She brings up how she would like to "offer my daughters the opportunities that I didn't have". Other mothers brought up how everything in Japan is more advanced than in Peru including education, health care, government support for mothers and children, and more.

However, there are constraints to getting to Japan, especially as one's generation gets later and later. For instance, for mothers including a 4th generation mother of two, it is difficult to be eligible for Nikkei visas since they are traditionally for third-generation or before Nikkei. For such people, there are often language requirements in applications for entry. Third-generation Nikkei mothers expressed frustration at the fact that they had not been registered on the *koseki* even though one or both of their parents were, which would have made migrating even easier.

In terms of how their Nikkei identity and Japanese heritage might impact their experience in Japan, mothers had mixed opinions. Mothers were generally hesitant to say that being Nikkei would help them adjust better to Japan, noting how the only advantage might be that they would be able to identify with certain foods, places, and customs, as well as the obvious advantage of being able to get the Nikkei visa. The survey results, as seen in Figure 5, did indicate a statistically significant correlation ($n= 41$, $r= 0.4107$, $p= 0.0076$) between being Japan-oriented and believing that one will fit in better in Japan due to Nikkei heritage.

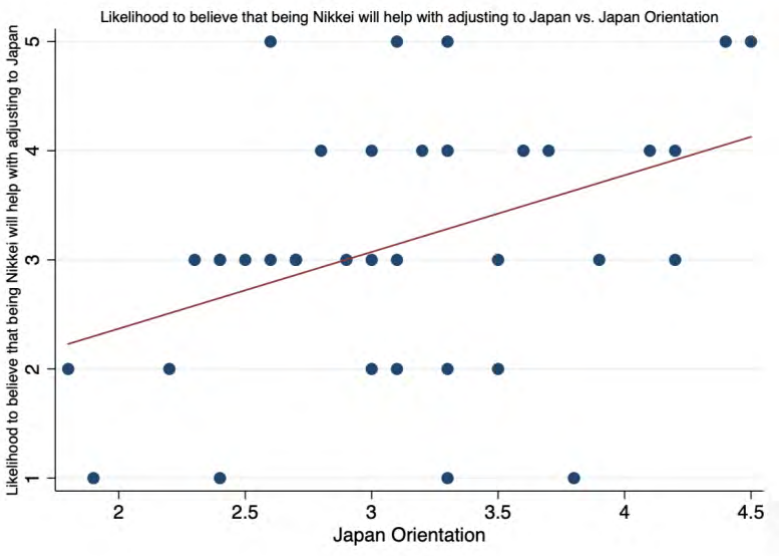



*Figure 5: Scatterplot of Likelihood to believe that being Nikkei will help with adjusting to Japan vs. Japan Orientation*

However, mothers were generally very aware that in Japan, they are considered foreigners, with a 3rd generation mother of one stating, "In Japan, we are foreigners, it's as simple as that." Another 3rd generation mother of one noted how being Nikkei helps with "absolutely nothing" in Japan, since even if you have an Asian face, you still need to integrate into the Japanese culture, which she notes as very different from Nikkei culture which is more influenced by the West.

Such restrictions have shaped mothers' and families' decisions so that some decide instead to make plans to visit rather than migrate to Japan. Mothers expressed interest in seeing how their own roots, culture, customs, and food connects with and relates to those in Japan, as well as in visiting their extended family members. The Japanese government and Nikkei community organizations also offer scholarships to Nikkei students and individuals to travel to Japan for study and home-stay opportunities. Mothers expressed hopes for their children that they can visit through such opportunities to learn more about their roots and further expose them to the Japanese culture to foster their Nikkei identity.

## Conclusion

As seen, navigating Peruvian society and the Nikkei Peruvian community in Peru can be a complex process for both mothers and their children, due to the restrictions set on who is seen as "worthy" of belonging. Many Nikkei Peruvian mothers aim to teach their children to value both sides of their ethnocultural heritage, though this can be difficult due to experiences of discrimination in both Peruvian and Nikkei contexts. At the same time, Nikkei is an identity that has both practical and emotional benefits in Peru, so it is important to many mothers to transmit this valuable identity to their children. Overall, many mothers experienced a certain cultural blending in their mothering styles, which corresponds with their own hybrid identities. While their sentiments towards Japan were positive, they ultimately identified their homeland as Peru. Many mothers also expressed a certain openness to moving to Japan, or at least visiting Japan, so that they and their children could better know their roots—an experience they deemed very valuable.

# Chapter 4: "Your Soul Stayed in Peru": Return Migrant Motherhood in Japan

## Introduction

Sometimes I talk to my schoolmates…and I miss Peru greatly. Because my mother still lives there. And I worry. But a friend told me, 'Rosita, your soul stayed in Peru.'

—3rd generation mother of three

Motherhood as a foreign mother is difficult and sometimes painful, as expressed by this 3rd generation mother, especially in a country like Japan where being Japanese is a complicated issue both in terms of citizenship and identity. This is a complex experience which mothers must help guide their children through. It is complicated to acquire Japanese citizenship since one must have a Japanese national parent to be a citizen, and naturalization requires giving up citizenships for other nations. Moreover, the Japanese government is hostile in terms of policies regarding immigrants, even those of Japanese descent. Moreover, "acting" or being perceived as Japanese is arguably even more complex, since the definition of Japanese is very narrowly construed, with historic, persistent xenophobia, though this is slowly changing (Takenaka 2009). Thus, while Nikkei Peruvians in Peru expect at least some familiarity with the Japanese culture and language, once in Japan they encounter the "real" Japanese and are treated as gaijin (foreigners), transforming their ethnic consciousness. Moreover, Nikkei Peruvian mothers see their children rapidly adjust in a sociocultural sense to Japan, further emphasizing how Peruvian their own identity is, as will be elaborated on further. Despite such difficulty, mothers show resilience and adjust their mothering strategies to help guide their children through their sociocultural adjustment to Japan. Overall, motherhood for Nikkei Peruvian return migrants in Japan can be viewed as an experience in which culture and identity is negotiated, where mothers are reminded of their "in-betweenness" regarding the Japanese, Peruvian, and Nikkei cultures;

many mothers experience nostalgia for Peru as the country they were born and raised in yet bound to Japan since their children are there.

**Mothers' Sociocultural Adjustment to Japan**

Jhumpa Lahiri's novel *The Namesake* is about second-generation Bengali man Gogol Ganguly in the United States, and his Indian migrant mother Ashima, and it deals with themes of motherhood in diaspora. Lahiri writes,

> For being a foreigner, Ashima is beginning to realize, is a sort of lifelong pregnancy—a perpetual wait, a constant burden, a continuous feeling out of sorts. It is an ongoing responsibility, a parenthesis in what had once been ordinary life, only to discover that that previous life has vanished, replaced by something more complicated and demanding. Like pregnancy, being a foreigner, Ashima believes, is something that elicits the same curiosity from strangers, the same combination of pity and respect (Lahiri 2003:50).

As the passage above reveals, being a foreign mother is a complex and demanding experience, evoking a bittersweet sense of longing for a home that now only exists in one's heart.

The stress of foreign motherhood is intensified by the fact that many Nikkei Peruvian mothers expect their Nikkeiness to be at least some advantage in Japan. However, instead, they are treated as gaijin by "real" Japanese, and as Lahiri expressed, respected for their efforts yet pitied for their lack of Japanese language skills and cultural awareness. This is well expressed by a 4th generation mother of two, who notes,

> If you talk to me about motherhood, motherhood is incredible. If you talk to me about motherhood in a foreign country without knowing the language— you must have guts. You must try to find a way for your children to look up to you…So if you ask me how motherhood is, it is frustrating, at the same time it is satisfying when you see you that you are able to teach by example, but this is a daily challenge that does not end.

It is clear from this quote and mother's experiences that foreign motherhood can be incredibly frustrating and stressful but also rewarding when mothers see their children thrive.

Some mothers did express that being Nikkei was indeed an advantage, since one is able to understand certain words and customs in Japan due to their upbringing, causing less surprise when they arrived. However, in general, being Nikkei was of limited advantage. For instance, a 3rd generation mother of two brought up how, "The truth is that they see you as a foreigner because they see you as not understanding the language, you don't understand the culture, you don't understand their way of thinking, so you are not the same as them." Many mothers brought up the discrimination that they face for being a foreigner or not speaking Japanese correctly, although they noted that not every Japanese person is like this. This was also supported by the survey, as seen in Figure 1, which despite a very small sample size demonstrated a statistically significant correlation (n= 8, r= 0.8115, p= 0.0145) that if one can read Japanese better, then one is better assimilated, as measured by an acculturation scale.

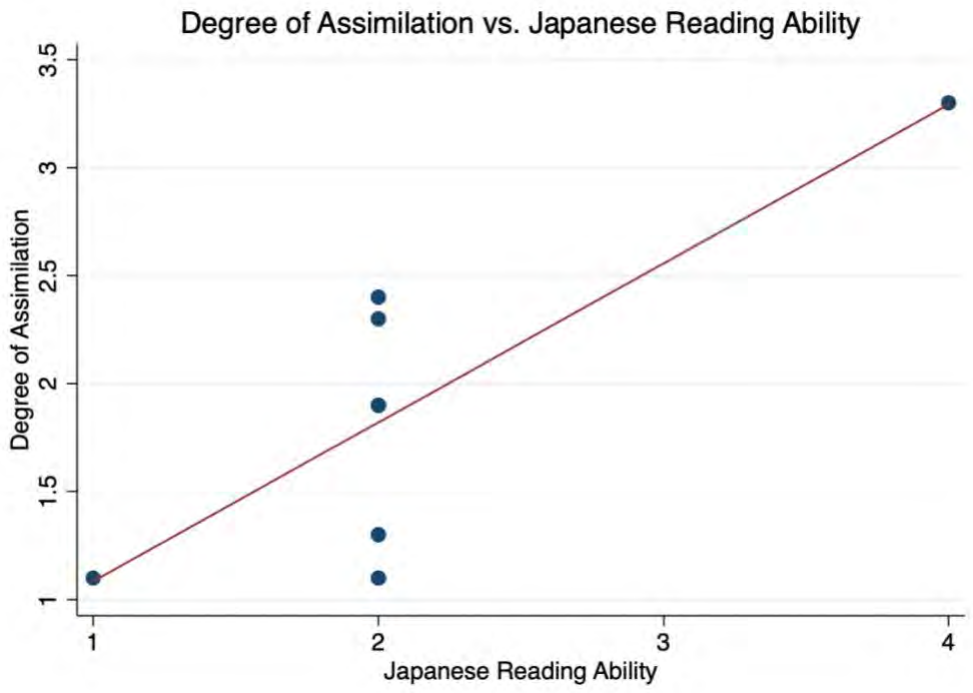



*Figure 1: Scatterplot of Degree of Assimilation vs. Japanese Reading Ability*

In this way, the discrimination and ethnic othering of Nikkei in Japan, combined with the long working hours at factories, separation from family in Peru and other parts of Japan, and a certain lack of social mobility, creates stress and anxiety for many Nikkei Peruvians in Japan (Takenaka 2009). A 3rd generation mother of two brought up how she has heard complaints that even if mothers might have a stable job and be able to pay for things, since "they have to do the same things every day" at factories, this can become stressful and unsatisfying. Mothers often experience stress or even depression since their family is not close by and there are not people to help with the children, causing mothers to feel very alone, especially if the husband is also working full-time. The survey results demonstrated a statistically significant correlation (n= 8, r= 0.7931, p= 0.0188) that the colder one thinks Japanese are, the lonelier the respondent feels.

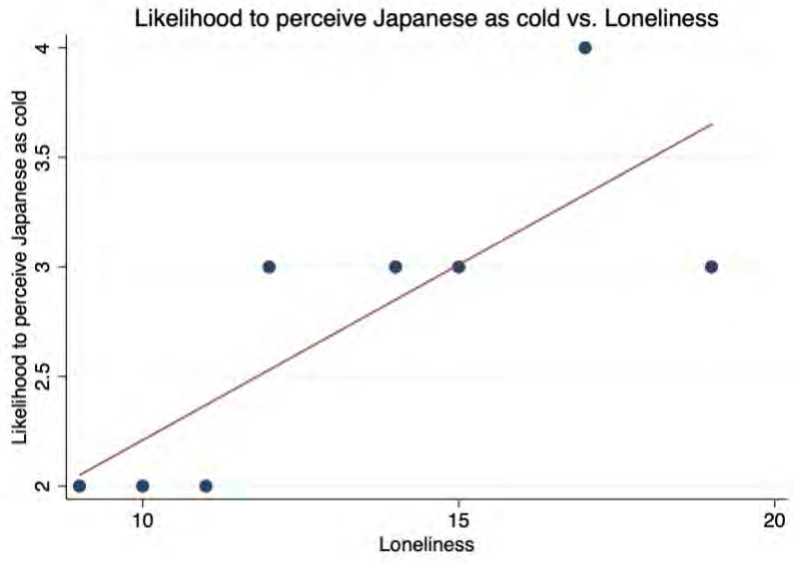



*Figure 2: Scatterplot of Likelihood to perceive Japanese as cold vs. Loneliness*

One *dekaseg*i worker warned how "Going to Japan is a trap" (Locklin 2004:4) which can only bring suffering and stress. Second-generation Nikkei Peruvian Santos Ikeda Yoshikawa wrote on Discover Nikkei how,

> For a Nisei [second generation] like myself to walk on Japanese soil was a dream come true; I even cried because it was such an unforgettable experience. Peruvian Nikkei are

> considered Japanese in Peru, but we never knew that the Japanese themselves would treat us as simple foreigners (gaijin) (Ikeda Yoshikawa 2014).

Another third-generation Nikkei person noted, "To be accepted in Japan, you must be real Japanese" (Takenaka 1999:1466).

Clearly, many mothers are subjected to the negation of their Japanese heritage and discriminated against due to their status of foreigners. Portes and Rumbaut have noted, "Groups subjected to extreme discrimination and derogation of their national origins are likely to embrace them ever more fiercely" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:187). This discrimination contributes to mothers wanting to fiercely maintain their Peruvian identities, as well as instill a sense of pride in their Peruvian identity in their children. The experiences of some mothers, while diverse, may be mostly in their workplaces such as factories, where their ability to assimilate to Japan is limited by their rigorous work schedule and limited interaction with traditionally Japanese individuals.

While the strict boundaries on Japanese identity cause many mothers to shed their Nikkei identity and identify as Peruvian, this is not necessarily a completely negative experience. A 4th generation mother of two noted, "The topic of Nikkei in Japan today is something that tends to be discussed more in Latin America. It is difficult here to talk about being Nikkei in Japan. Here your identity is totally Peruvian, you are a foreigner." She continued,

> In Peru, I thought that I was a bit Japanese. I arrived in Japan, and I realized that I am not Japanese at all, that I am Peruvian…I don't think my identity has changed, but it has been enriched, it has been clarified…In Peru, I didn't feel Peruvian, in Japan, I don't feel Japanese, and now I understand that I am neither. I am something more than.

Thus, this "more than", hybrid identity is embraced by many mothers, as will be elaborated on further in the chapter.

Overall, it was clear to mothers that there were great differences between being Nikkei and being Japanese. For instance, a 2nd generation mother of four noted how Nikkei Peruvians are much more open, expressive, and have physical contact when greeting each other, which is very different from Japan which is more closed off to showing emotion and physical contact in greeting. A 4th generation mother of two noted how, "When you are in Japan, you see that the Nikkei community in Peru is nothing like the Japanese. For instance, I mean, no, we are not punctual. Our culture, our cultural customs are Peruvian." She further expressed, "I think the truth is that when you come to Japan, you realize that the Nikkei culture is imaginary. We are Peruvians." Mothers also described how the Japanese tendency to not give their opinions and try to maintain an appearance of peace is frustrating, with a 4th generation mother of two noting how despite her children not liking it, she still continues to express herself quite openly, which she describes as a "very Latin" quality. Thus, the very strict culture in Japan that they perceive as very different from the Nikkei culture is something that mothers had to adjust to.

The discrimination in Japan was difficult for many mothers to get used to, since they described Japanese society as having a more subtle, less aggressive discrimination, as compared with Peru, where people are more direct and aggressive in their discrimination. In particular, mothers expressed frustration at the attitudes of Japanese who express contempt or annoyance when they cannot understand the language. Many mothers described how despite having lived in Japan for many years, they have been unable to learn the language due to the complexity of the language as well as the work hours that did not allow them time to dedicate to studying. A 4th generation mother of two expressed frustration about this, noting that "because of cultural differences, linguistic differences, you have to relearn everything." A 3rd generation mother of three also described, "With two children, you don't have time to learn…but little by little I

learned to defend myself with the language." Although difficult, learning the Japanese language can be a great advantage for mothers since they are able to speak with teachers directly and solve their own problems as well as their children's problems.

For mothers who migrated to Japan first as children, adapting to Japan was easier than for those who migrated as adults. For example, a 3rd generation mother of two who migrated to Japan when she was ten years old noted how, "Now that I have been living here for 30 years, they don't even think I am a foreigner because of the way I think or the way I treat them or the way I speak…I guess I have focused on [learning their culture] more than anything else because I understood that if I didn't that they were not going to accept me in their place, in their society." Despite being able to blend in with "true" Japanese people, it is interesting how this mother continually describes the culture, place, and society, as "theirs" rather than "ours", perhaps reflecting how she still feels foreign despite not being perceived as such, emphasizing how difficult it is for immigrants to feel "at home" in Japan.

**Children's Sociocultural Adjustment to Japan**

As introduced in Chapter 2, Patricia Hill Collins writes, "Preparing children to cope with and survive within systems of racial oppression is extremely difficult because the pressures for children of racial ethnic groups to assimilate are pervasive" (Glenn, Chang, and Forcey 1994:57). She specifies how this survival must not come at the expense of self-esteem. She continues, "Mothers make varying choices in negotiating the complicated relationship of preparing children to fit into, yet resist, systems of racial domination" (Glenn, Chang, and Forcey 1994:58), in which they may or may not equip their children with skills to challenge systems of racial oppression. This is especially relevant because minority individuals in Japanese, including the

indigenous Japanese populations of Okinawans and Ainu people, along with people of foreign descent like Taiwanese and Koreans, have historically been "characterized as being backward, as though they were 'children' that needed to be cultivated into becoming 'Japanese'" (Kawabata 2011:55-56).

Factors that can greatly impact children's adjustment to Japan include whether or not their appearance is foreign or non-Japanese and whether or not they have a Japanese last name. Mothers noted how it is much easier when a child has a Japanese surname, since writing one's last name in katakana (the alphabet typically used for foreign-origin words) is a clear indicator that one is gaijin. Thus, it can be easier for a child to adjust if they look more Japanese and have a Japanese last name. Since Japan only uses the paternal last name, unlike in Peru, the father must have a Japanese last name for the child to also have it. Regarding this complex socialization processes that Nikkei-Peruvian children face in Japan, international studies scholar Ana Sueyoshi notes,

> It is observed, certainly not exclusively among Nikkei Peruvian children in Japan, a Japanization process that serves them well in their negotiation within the host society. This process is reinforced by the fact of having more Asian traits, Japanese last names or first names written in Japanese characters, so that Nikkei Peruvians can camouflage their real origin and be unnoticed in Japanese society (Sueyoshi 2017:124).

Sueyoshi (2017) articulates how there are only limited spaces in which Peruvian children can connect with their culture, and even when they do identify with their Peruvian heritage, this can make them the target for bullying. Thus, for many, it seems easier to abandon their Peruvian-ness in favor of becoming "Japanese" or at least blending in with Japanese peers as best that they can.

This attempt to blend in makes sense, given that many mothers noted how bullying is a problem that their children face in school. For instance, a 4th generation mother of two noted how her daughter was the victim of bullying since in fifth grade, her daughter's friends stopped

talking to her and she felt very isolated. YouTube content creator Japaperuana's school experiences as a child born to and raised by immigrant Nikkei-Peruvian parents in Japan give further insight into the matter of bullying. She notes,

> But here in Japan, it is especially a context where you stand out a lot if you are different. And to be different isn't a very good thing when you are a child. I suffered bullying, and they would somehow attribute all of my flaws to my being a foreigner…The children took it upon themselves to highlight how different I was (Kamitani 2018).

She describes how she was singled out for something that she could not help throughout her entire school career in Japan, causing her at times to want to be able to hide the aspects of her identity that others perceived as "different" and "non-Japanese". The negative impact that this had on her sense of self is a compelling reason to question the inadequate response of teachers and staff members to bullying, as well as what may be a larger problem within Japanese society of the suppression of individuality.

Given the difficult social context, mothers like one 4th generation mother of two noted how it was important to them that their children feel comfortable in Japan, noting, "I make sure that my kids know that even though they don't have Japanese citizenship, they were born here. And they should identify themselves as Japanese if they want to and have their identity be what they want." She noted how her oldest daughter had many questions about why they lived in Japan, as she felt very different from others due to her physical features and other doubts about her identity. When her daughter was a young teenager, she started to say that "Japan was the worst place in the world" and that it was boring. Due to this strong identity conflict in her daughter, and, in turn, herself, at fourteen, she took her daughter to Peru. However, when her daughter returned, she realized the while she loved the Latin culture, Peruvian culture was not what she had idealized or imagined, noting "because not only is it fun, but it's also dangerous, it's chaotic, it's messy, and it's unsafe. There are a lot of pros, but also a lot of cons." This

helped her daughter to stop seeing only the negative aspects of Japan and also see the positive aspects that prompted her parents to educate her in the country.

This 4th generation mother further elaborated that to be the child of immigrants in Japan is a complex experience since "if you are a looking for a label, a child of immigrants is not going to have one…you have to accept that you are multi-labeled if you can and that you are a person of the world." She continued, that if a parent is not able to understand their own identity or place in a country, then it is very difficult to teach it to a child, so she strives to teach her children to value the good and bad of Japan and the pros and cons of having "many cultures inside of you". Ultimately, she concluded how though her children "have Peruvian documents, but I tell them your culture is Japanese", noting how she has tried to help them understand the norms of the Japanese culture, although she does not completely understand it herself.

Interestingly, she brought up an example about the Japanese cultural norm of collectivism, or valuing conformity and harmony in groups. Her daughter joined club basketball in high school and had to leave the house very early since the walk was 30 minutes from their house. On days when it was raining, she felt bad and wanted to drive her, but her daughter would cry to her that she would not go by car since her senpai (an older member of the team) had told her not go by car. She noted how "little by little, I realized that those are the Japanese identity codes, right?" Thus, she noted how she aims to adapt to the culture sometimes for the sake of her children but how "there are many cultural codes, no matter how much I learn Japanese, that I will not understand."

This relates to anthropologist Gail Benjamin's ethnography in Japanese schools, where she found that Japanese frequently said the proverb, "The nail that sticks up gets pounded down", and how this does not have the same meaning as its English counterpart of "The squeaky

wheel gets the oil" (Benjamin 1998). This relates to how Marcel Mauss has noted how in some societies, the concept of self is closely tied to social role and membership in a group (Mauss 1999), a fitting description for Japanese society, which has long been characterized as quite sociocentric, placing a high value on harmony, consensus, and loyalty to the group (Marfording 1997). Thus, if Japanese education systems are aimed towards helping children become productive members of a group-oriented society (Benjamin 1998), then it may mean that for many Nikkei-Peruvian children, the aspects of their backgrounds that make them different are seen as things that must be "stomped out" in favor of making society more "harmonious".

Moreover, a 3rd generation mother of three also had an experience where her son thought that he was Japanese, but she noted how she had to teach him when she got his passport around the age of eight that "we are foreigners. That if Japan doesn't want to give us a visa to stay here, we must return to Peru. But being a little kid, he didn't understand." Ultimately, she noted how her children, who are now adults married to Japanese people, do not feel Peruvian, since "they came here as children, and their whole lives are here." She further elaborated on how her children do not feel a desire to visit Peru anymore, especially since they feel protected living in Japan and like the rest of the world is chaos. She does not necessarily agree with that sentiment and encouraged her children, especially her youngest to visit, but this was not attractive to them.

Mothers who are not proficient in Japanese noted the difficulty in being a foreign parent in Japan, with this impacting their ability to aid their children's sociocultural adjustment. A 4th generation mother of two expressed frustration at how she is unable to help her children with their homework and how teachers tend to not be very honest with parents about their children's performance since there are no grades in elementary school, noting how "In Japan, people don't speak about problems directly." She noted that this is especially frustrating because in Japan,

while elementary and junior high school is relaxed, going to high school and college is quite competitive with rigorous entrance exams that require years of preparation; as a non-Japanese person, she did not understand what her children needed support in. This can especially be a problem when foreign parents do not engage at school since they do not want to miss work, which is interpreted as a lack of care of the parents by schoolteachers and may translate to a lack of care from teachers and even the children. Moreover, schools may not have interpreters available, which is an issue especially if children are having problems at school and the mother is not able to sufficiently communicate with the teacher. The Japanese writing system is also very difficult, with three different systems including kanji (an elaborate system of characters derived from Chinese writing), so a lack of understanding of the Japanese language can cause frustration even in seemingly simple activities like buying groceries.

The difficulty of being a foreign mother in Japan was well expressed by a 4th generation mother of two who noted, "Being a mother in a foreign country is a double challenge, right? Because children judge you, they judge your ignorance." She continued, "If something happened to me in Peru and my daughter criticized me for something, I would have the tools to fix it, whatever it was." But in Japan, due to the language and cultural differences, this sometimes is not possible, and this can be incredibly frustrating for mothers. For instance, a 3rd generation mother of three described how her eldest son being embarrassed and not wanting to walk with her or her husband for being "too Peruvian" made her want to grow as a person and learn more Japanese and about the culture.

A 4th generation mother of two has dealt with her frustration about being ignorant in certain respects by trying to find ways for her children to look up to her, like setting a positive example by making efforts to learn Japanese. While she has accepted that her Japanese will

never be perfect, she wants to continue to encourage her children to professionalize and prioritize their Japanese while also maintaining their Spanish to a proficient level. Another 3rd generation mother of three expressed a similar sentiment, noting how, "I want my children to see that even though I have not been here since I was a little girl, I can learn [Japanese], right? And I want them to see that so that they can also be better than me." Thus, while mothers saw it as the responsibility of parents themselves to communicate with children about school issues and make efforts to learn the Japanese language, it is not a simple issue that can be resolved in a short time, requiring great effort on the part of the mother.

**Transmitting Peruvianness, Nikkeiness, and Japaneseness**

While mothers expressed that they knew that their children would likely identity themselves strongly as Japanese, since they were born and raised there, mothers did express a desire for their children to identify with Peru. Relating to this, Georgina Tsolidis writes,

> My contention is that within families understood as diaspora space, women, particularly mothers are cultural workers responsible for 'selecting/recycling/rearranging the cultural matter' which through the family, produces identities with distinct shapes but which nonetheless are capable of change. They are responsible for ingesting and divesting cultural matter. Their journeying, whether real or metaphorical, provides them with the opportunity to let go, revisit, and pick up again as they choose. The process is ongoing (Tsolidis 2011:417).

As Tsolidis notes, Nikkei Peruvian mothers in Japan serve as "cultural workers" throughout their journeys of encountering Peruvianness, Nikkeiness, and Peruvianness, ultimately selecting the cultural matter that helps shape their children's identities.

Mothers tend to value the opportunity for their children that mothering in Japan offers. A 2nd generation mother of two mentioned how she can give her children many more opportunities than she could have in Peru, noting how while her family was well-off in Peru, she could never

have offered her son the opportunity to study abroad if they had stayed in Peru. Mothers also valued the opportunity for their children to learn multiple languages, including Japanese, Spanish, and for some families, Brazilian Portuguese, or English. However, the negative aspect of this is that parents must sacrifice learning Japanese at home, so that the children learn Spanish, since bilingualism requires time and dedication invested by parents, usually especially by the mother. A 4th generation mother of two expressed how it is "very difficult to raise bilingual children in a society still as closed to foreign languages as Japan", reflecting how it can be very difficult to navigate Japanese society as a non-fluent speaker of Japanese.

One common way in which mothers transmit Peruvianness to their children is by teaching them Spanish. The above 4th generation mother of two had great insight as a Spanish teacher for many years for foreign children. She articulated how the main issue for parents who do not speak or understand Japanese very well is that their children can express themselves more fully in Japanese than in Spanish. She notes, "the Spanish that the kids speak is very basic…so when they reach their teens, there is not a lot of communication— a true, real communication." For this reason, she has made great effort to make sure that her own children and her students have a high proficiency in Spanish, since that allows for better communication. Thus, it is clear that the complexity of Japanese can be a factor inhibiting parents from communicating with their children if the children do not learn the parent's language well. The situation of one 3rd generation mother of three is an example of one approach that mothers may take and is recommended by some Japanese schoolteachers, which is to speak to her children in Japanese so that they catch up in school. However, the mother described this as a mistake since they stopped speaking Spanish and lost their vocabulary. Thus, now her children are adults, when she speaks to them in Spanish, they answer in Japanese, with neither side "fully understanding everything".

At the same time, mothers also need to consider how by teaching their children Spanish or Portuguese, this may potentially impact their performance in school. Mothers also brought up how if their children are multilingual, they may speak to their fellow non-Japanese friends in Spanish or Portuguese, which is an issue since many schools, especially those with high foreign populations, demand that students only speak in Japanese. Thus, mothers like one 2nd generation mother of two expressed that this is a challenge for many foreign mothers in Japan.

Moreover, regarding the transmission of Peruvianness by teaching children Spanish, a study about the lived experiences of British citizens who fluently speak English but speak heritage languages is relevant. Education researcher Jean Mills found that,

> Speaking English connected the respondents to educational success and, for some, their British identity, and speaking the mother tongue connected them to different familial, neighbourhood and heritage communities and endorsed vital aspects of their culture and identity (Mills 2005:272).

In a similar sense, as expressed by some of the mothers above, speaking Japanese is important to children's educational success and future career success, whereas speaking Spanish is important to helping them embrace the Peruvian aspect of their culture and identity and allowing them to relate more intensely to their familial and heritage communities.

Other ways in which Nikkei-Peruvian parents may attempt to connect their children with their Peruvian heritage and help foster a sense of belonging for them is through cultural events like Peruvian dance contests, Spanish language classes and clubs, and the Catholic church community. Mothers also mentioned how transmitting the Nikkei identity is particularly special due to the gastronomical fame of Nikkei Brazilian and Nikkei Peruvian foods, and since beyond their gastronomy, Nikkei have excelled in many aspects around the world. For instance, a 2nd generation mother of two brought up how she tries to pass on aspects of the Peruvian culture and history through talking to them about the culture, showing them documentaries and museum

exhibitions, and cooking Peruvian food. She proudly noted how oldest son identifies greatly with Peru in terms of food. Mothers also liked that Nikkei are more open-minded than Japanese people, aiming to transmit that cultural value to their children. However, mothers also thought that it was important for their children to get to know their roots within Japan, with mothers noting how since that is where the family's history, stories, and roots are from, they want to meet more people there.

At times, mothers can feel surprised or even slightly disappointed by how Japanese their children are, with a 3rd generation mother of three explaining how her older son does not like when she hugs or kisses him, since the Japanese culture is more physically distant and cold when compared with Peruvian culture. However, she noted how her younger son is "more Nikkei, more Peruvian" in that sense. This relates to Pattie's observation of how "Each generation in diaspora worries that the next is not finding the right balance between accommodation of the host culture and assimilation into it" (Pattie 2005:59). Thus, overall, mothers seemed to think that while they do their best to teach their children their Peruvian roots and stress that they are both Peruvian and Japanese, they know that their children's experiences and culture will always be more Japanese, which can be worrisome.

**Belonging in Japan and Mothers' Hopes for the Future**

As mentioned previously, upon arriving in Japan, many return migrant mothers discover that "real" Japaneseness is very different from their own identities, reconsidering their ethnic proximity with the Japanese. Thus, knowing that they can never become Japanese, combined with the discrimination mentioned in previous sections, mothers begin to reimagine themselves as gaijin (foreigner) and Peruvian, identifying less with their Japanese and Nikkei heritage. This

greatly impacts mothers' sense of belonging in Japan, since gaijin are seen as not belonging in the country. A 4th generation mother of two expressed this well, noting how

> But well, the thing is that your Nikkei identity in Peru is very beautiful, because you are physically different, right? And the concept that Japanese people are intelligent workers kind of helps you, you take advantage of it. Even though it is not real and when you come to Japan, your identity doesn't even exist. Your Peruvian identity emerges because you are not Japanese, you are in Japan. There is no Nikkei. If you don't explain that your grandparents are Japanese, for them you are just another migrant, like a Nepalese, a Korean, a Chinese, even an Okinawan. Because many in Tokyo believe that the Okinawans are foreign.

Moreover, in contrast with the situation in Peru, in Japan, there are not many benefits to being Nikkei in Japan. Third-generation Nikkei Peruvian Kenzo remarked, "Here in Japan, privileges [of being Nikkei] in Japan? From a Japanese to me… I don't think so" (Andrade Parra 2018:10). In fact, being Latina can be more beneficial for Nikkei Peruvian mothers, constituting cultural capital as an identity different from Japanese. This can create employment opportunities, socialization, and even recognition for cultural achievements or events. A 3rd generation non-mother noted,

> And when I was over there, I really felt myself thinking that I was going to feel better, more related to the Japanese culture. But it was not like that. I actually felt like I was out of place, and I learned to appreciate more to be a Peruvian, I felt, or a Peruvian when I was over there. I learned to value both cultures, to value what I have learned from our ancestors, and to really like and feel more as a Peruvian.

This can be described as case of "reverse transnationalism". Reverse transnationalism describes how return migrants from the U.S. and Germany to Greece found the material and psychological difficulties of living there overwhelming, despite growing up with a strong Greek identity; thus, they ultimately reimagined the U.S. and Germany to be their affective homelands (King and Christou 2014). Similarly, many Nikkei Peruvian migrants to Japan begin to identify more strongly as Peruvian and reappraise their "affective homeland" as Peru. Thus, the term Nikkei is not widely used by return migrants in Japan; in fact, many only use it to refer to their life back in

Peru and the institutionalized Nikkei community of Peru. In this way, mothers not feeling a sense of belonging in Japan is shaped by their tendency to identify more strongly as Peruvian. This is backed up by the survey results, where no significant correlation ($n= 41$, $r= -0.2796$, $p= 0.0767$) was found between having lived in Japan and being Japan-oriented.

Another factor that can impact Nikkei Peruvians' sense of belonging in Japan is possessing or not possessing citizenship. Being in Japan on a visa can be a bit precarious, especially since the Japanese government only grants visas to the third generation and below. Moreover, citizenship is not granted to individuals just because they were born in Japan, which a 4th generation mother of two noted makes things complex in terms of her children's identity. Mothers like one 3rd generation mother of two noted how the process is very difficult with "many requirements" but "since we're going to stay here for good, maybe we will apply."

Thus, belonging can be seen as working in two ways, including in a psychosocial sense as well as in the political sense, as described by Christiansen and Hedetoft who note, "belonging and the political forms and articulations it give rise to are multidirectional and ambiguous (sometimes 'logically' contradictory), typified by increasingly mobile or at least internationally oriented/knowledgeable individuals, appropriating and engaging in multiple belongings of 'nationality' and 'ethnicity'" (Christiansen and Hedetoft 2004:2). As seen, Nikkei Peruvian mothers in Japan may feel an ambiguous psychosocial sense of belonging due to their Peruvianness while also feeling "at home" due to their family and community, and their sense of belonging is also impacted in the political sense by their Nikkei visa and Peruvian nationality.

In terms of their children's sense of belonging, a 4th generation mother of two noted, "I have seen my children struggle to find their identity, because they are neither Nikkei, nor are they Peruvian, nor are they Japanese…motherhood has made me think differently about the issue

of identity and I had to value it…I have had to understand who I am as a descendant in order to be able to help my children understand who they are." This can be related to Nora Lester Murad's reflection on her life experience in various cultures and her struggles in mothering mixed children,

> Redefining myself as a member of the human family, I did not give up any of myself, but I gained new understanding. I now relate differently to what it feels like to be "the only one" or to feel fury about injustices that many others cannot even see, and also to feel joy at my daughters growing into their complex selves (Murad 2005:499).

A 3rd generation mother of two also noted how she would "love it if they could take the best aspects of the three different cultures [Japanese, Peruvian, and Brazilian] that they are a part of." This is backed up by the survey results (n= 8), in which each mother except for one answered that they wanted their child to ethnically identify as Nikkei-Peruvian. Thus, mothers care deeply about their children being able to grow into their complex identities and that motherhood has provided clarity about mothers' own hybrid identities as well. Moreover, looking to the future, mothers hoped for their children to aspire to higher education, instead of being "condemned to go to work in a factory" in the words of a 2nd generation mother of two, building a career and happy life which most mothers predicted would be in Japan.

Overall, mothers expressed that they felt comfortable and safe in their cities, with many mothers noting how they felt that they had a community thanks to church, or nearby Peruvians or other Latin Americans. However, mothers like one 3rd generation mother of three expressed how they did not feel that they would every fully belong, noting, "They are not going to treat you like one of them…No matter how many years you live here…you are always going to be a foreigner, right?" She continued, "I wouldn't say it feels like home, but I've gotten used to living in the city. I'm more at ease, right? Knowing the place." Thus, this reflects how while it is difficult for mothers to feel a sense of belonging in broader Japanese society, through finding comfort in

family and ethnocultural communities, they are able to create a sense of belonging in certain spaces.

**The Meaning of Motherhood for These Mothers**

In a study on Greek, Italian, and Spanish mothers living in Norway, researchers explored the emotional meaning and experience of motherhood in migration (Herrero-Arias et al. 2021). In general, migrant mothers stressed that mothering meant learning practices that allow them to provide a "good" childhood and upbringing to their children, experiencing satisfaction and pride when their children benefited from opportunities encountered in the host country. At the same time, the host country also brought negative emotions such as shame or guilt when mothers felt judged by the host country parents, professionals, and community. Thus, mothers expressed a fear of not meeting the expectations of the mothering ideal of the host country, which might disadvantage their children somehow. Mothers also navigated complex emotions regarding the cultural differences between their host and home country, in that they viewed it as important to perform their home country's cultural practices to promote their children's identity and autonomy, but at the same time, they could face judgment from the host country for doing so. Overall, the researchers found that motherhood consisted of a complex navigation of ideals surrounding motherhood and migration, ultimately aimed at creating a sense of belonging for themselves and their children (Herrero-Arias et al. 2021).

In general, Nikkei Peruvian mothers in Japan expressed how motherhood is a great blessing and comes with a feeling of unconditional, eternal love. At the same time, mothers like a 4$^{th}$ generation mother of two expressed how it is the "hardest career" with a great amount of responsibility and work, and how in certain moments, one may fail but must do the best one can

with the tools that are available. She further noted, “Being a mother means getting up every day and saying I will do better. Without any day off.” They expressed how they want to protect and shelter their children as much as possible, but at the same time they know that they need to allow room for mistakes. A 2nd generation mother of two expressed this as “if he wants to hit his head, he can hit his head and learn, and that’s being a mom too.” Mothers also expressed a strong sense of wanting to give children all the opportunities that they can, with a 3rd generation mother of two noting how sometimes she feels like she can give her children even more, wanting them to experience things that she never got to experience. Mothers also expressed how motherhood comes with a sense of knowing that you are capable of “being there and persevering”, in the words of a 3rd generation mother of three. Mothers also described a strong sense of wanting to help their child move forward and develop well in Japan, no matter how much they or their children suffer. Mothers expressed how it is extremely challenging to be a mother in a foreign country, noting that motherhood makes you think deeply about the issue of your children’s identity and your own identity, ultimately aiming to help their children feel that they belong in Japan, despite what their passport says.

**Interaction with Peru and Feelings about Returning**

When I asked mothers living in Japan about their feelings about returning to Peru, they had mixed feelings. Some mothers were open to returning, noting how they would be interested in eventually returning since they still have family there. However, most mothers expressed that they think they would stay in Japan since otherwise they would only be able to see their children and grandchildren about every four years. Mothers did express that they would like to go back to visit with their children, to show them important landmarks like Machu Picchu, visit family, and

give them more insight into the culture. Mothers also noted how they miss some aspects of Peru like the warmness of the people and the closeness of family, as well as the food. However, they also mentioned how they do not miss aspects of Peru like the insecurity, violence, and lack of job security; one 3rd generation mother of three noted of the time she moved back to Peru when her children were still six and eight years old, describing how they liked Japan much more since it felt less dirty and safer, constantly comparing Peru and Japan.

**Homeland as Peru**

Mothers tended to consider their homeland to be Peru. Many mothers noted how they did identify with some aspects of Japanese culture and feel comfortable, but that Peru would always be their homeland. Mothers did note how despite feeling quite different in Japan, it still felt like home and that it was great to know their roots. Several interviewees expressed how they feel that their identity or even homeland is "in the air", with a 3rd generation mother of three noting how "it's precisely like between countries, between cultures." She continued, "It's because sometimes you suffer discrimination from everybody. From Japanese because you are gaijin, and in Peru since you're 'china'. We do sometimes experience discrimination from both sides, for being in the middle." Thus, it is clear that being "at home" in a place does not necessarily mean that one considers it their homeland.

Interestingly, a 3rd generation mother of two who has lived more years of her life in Japan than in Peru but and speaks better Japanese than Spanish noted, "I have a feeling that my homeland is Peru? But I have lived here in Japan a long time…Sometimes I feel more Japanese. So, I don't know, maybe both of them [are my homelands]." However, in general, mothers ultimately identified Peru as their homeland, noting how that was where they were born and

grew up. As quoted in the introduction, a 3rd generation mother of three noted how she misses Peru greatly since much of her family is there, stating, "Sometimes I talk to my schoolmates…and I miss Peru greatly. But a friend told me, 'Rosita, your soul stayed in Peru.'" However, she noted that she stays in Japan since her children and grandchildren are there.

The ultimate identification of Peru as homeland by many mothers can be related again to reverse transnationalism (King and Christou 2014) in which since the second-generation Greek Americans were unable to fulfill true Greekness nor true Americanness, they re-appraise their affective homeland as the US. Similarly, since in their "first return" to the ethnic homeland of Japan the mothers feel unable to fulfill neither true Peruvianness nor true Japaneseness, they affectively experience a "return from the return" to their country of birth and upbringing of Peru.

It might be argued that women's feelings of being "at home" are largely built on their identities as mothers, since they feel bound to Japan because their children are there. Thus, in the return migration experience, it seems that mothers attempt to sustain both of their homes, the one in their memory and the one that they currently physically live in. Overall, these mothers' perceptions of their homeland and hostland help demonstrate how the concept of homeland and hostland is fluid and varies for different individuals over time and space (Pattie 1999).

**Conclusion**

In general, mothers appreciated that being Nikkei allowed for the opportunity to migrate to Japan and work and educate their children there, although they acknowledged that Japan is not without its flaws. Foreign motherhood in Japan is obviously difficult because Japanese society can be xenophobic and places intense restrictions on the definition of Japanese. Despite such difficult circumstances, mothers demonstrate resilience in their mothering strategies, opting to

strategically teach or not teach their children different aspects of Peruvian culture including the traditions, history, and Spanish language, so that they can help shape their children's identities in the way that they believe will be best. While mothers tended to identify their homeland as Peru, they predicted that their children's homeland would be Japan; their children's intense Japaneseness reminds them of how Peruvian their own identities are, making them nostalgic for their homeland. Despite this nostalgia, they described anticipating staying in Japan to stay geographically close to their children.

# Chapter 5 "From Being in Limbo to Accepting Myself": Double Return Migrant Motherhood in Peru and Imagining the Future of the Community in Peru and Japan

## Introduction

> Genetically, maybe I'm half Japanese, but I feel I am double cultured…I'm not half of something. I've got double culture. I've got two languages. I've got two ways of seeing the world. And maybe that is what made me feel better and stop feeling I'm in limbo…It made me accept myself.
>
> —3rd generation mother of one

As described by this 3rd generation mother, double return migration (migration from Peru to Japan and back to Peru) is a process which can lead to internal conflict but eventual acceptance of one's transnational identity for mothers. Regarding Greek American return migration Anastasia Christou (2006) writes about how there is a sense of fluidity which characterizes diasporic life and processes of return. She continues, "it is, in a sense a translated life through the cultural languages of 'home' and 'abroad' where the migrants' liquefied lives are realized in the changing historic circumstances and the fragility of Greekness in the family and the community" (Christou 2006:1051). This sentiment characterizes double migration well, since through this process of diaspora, return, and double return, Nikkei Peruvian mothers realize that not only is Peruvianness fragile abroad for their children, but Japaneseness is fragile in both their family and within the Nikkei community. I would argue that double migrant mothers and their children (specifically those born and raised in Japan) encounter the most volatile struggles of identification and belongingness in Peru, since their lives and identities are rendered most "liquid" by these back-and-forth processes of migration. In the first half of the chapter, I describe the themes and perspectives that emerged from interviews with mothers who experienced double return migration. In the second half of the chapter, I synthesize themes from all of the interviews

and groups of mothers and non-mothers to describe and imagine what the community may look like in the future in Peru and Japan.

**Reason For and Feelings About Migrating Back to Peru**

In describing double return migration of Polish migrants to Western Europe back to Poland, Anne White writes about how in migration, non-economic factors like "attachments to particular people, places and lifestyle" (White 2014:28) have a tendency to predominate over economic ones. She further describes, "people return to Poland 'because' they fulfilled a personal economic plan and earned some money, but on a deeper level they return to Poland because this is where they feel at home" (White 2014:28). The same is true for Nikkei mothers, who have a variety of reasons for migrating back to Peru, with a tendency for non-economic reasons to be the main factor in their double return migration. Several mothers mentioned how they decided to return since a parent was sick, and there was nobody else to take care of the parent. Other mothers mentioned how they had always seen their time in Japan as temporary and though they ended up staying longer in Japan than expected, they felt like it was time to return to their life in Peru. In general, mothers mentioned both positive and negative aspects of migrating back to Peru; they seemed able to see things through "new" eyes, comparing the loudness and openness of the Peruvian society with the quietness and closed-off nature of Japanese society. However, for those mothers whose children were born and raised in Japan, sentiments about their children's sociocultural adjustment seemed less favorable.

**Children's Adjustment to Peru**

When return migrant mothers to Japan move back to Peru with children born or raised in Japan, their children embody a certain Japaneseness that does not completely align with the Nikkeiness of the Peruvian Nikkei community (Sueyoshi 2017). Noting how this Japaneseness in her son has made it very difficult for him to adjust, a 3rd generation mother of one remarked how it is very likely that her son will move outside of Peru if possible, noting how he has stated, "Mom, don't be sad about this, but I hate your country." In response, she noted how she tells her son to be grateful to be able to get to know a different country such as Peru, stating,

> Japanese people don't need to learn a different language. They don't need to worry about going abroad. They don't because they don't know what being poor is…Be grateful for what you have…now you know that there's a lot of people who don't have anything to eat.

In this way, mothers make efforts to help their children to adjust to Peru, although this can be difficult because of some children's preference for Japan. Relatedly, a 3rd generation mother of one interestingly noted how her child is not very affectionate and is more "Japanese" in that sense, even though she as a mother is Peruvian. Thus, children's Japaneseness can make their sociocultural adjustment a complicated process to navigate for both the children and the mother.

Moreover, mothers described how their children noticed that people in Peru tend to be "kinder" and "warmer" than Japanese people, and also, that their children noticed how they often faced teasing or embarrassment in schools and in the streets for looking Asian or having a Japanese surname. One 3rd generation mother of two specifically mentioned how her children had been teased due to COVID's origin in China. Thus, children can sometimes feel quite lost, having experienced bullying in both countries due to an issue out of their control like their ethnicity and physical features. Accordingly, children's adjustment in terms of their identity was a big issue. A 3rd generation mother of one noted how her son is struggling because while he was

bullied in Japanese schools and did not necessarily have the best time in Japan, he "also doesn't like Peruvian people". She further stated,

> He says most Peruvians are rude and not well-educated…People throw garbage as they pass by…they don't recycle, they spit on the floor. He really hates the traffic…I myself, I grew up among that chaos. So, for me it's kind of acceptable. But he grew up in a first world country so coming here to Peru has been shocking. Yeah, he doesn't like Peru, that's for sure.

She noted how while he likes the food and culture of Peru as well as their inner circle, in general, he does not like the country. Further, he at first had trouble adjusting because he did not know Spanish fluently, although now, he is very proficient; however, his conflicts over being Peruvian are continuous, with a strong desire to move out of the country. A 3rd generation mother of two also noted how her son did not like Peru very much at first but has gotten somewhat used to it, noting, "it's very good for them to know what life is like in different countries." Mothers also noted how they understood why their children generally preferred Japan, since it is very developed and peaceful; they noted how their children who were born there probably "feel more Japanese than Peruvian since they were born and raised there" and have "beautiful memories" there, in the words of a 3rd generation mother of two.

Thus, in general, children were afraid due to the great amount of delinquency and general poverty in Peru as compared with Japan, as well as the lack of safety, with a 3rd generation mother of one noting how her children observed that in Japan "you don't have the fear that somebody is going to try to rob or kill you in the streets." Mothers generally noted how in Peru, they stress to their children to be very careful and not trust any strangers. They noted how they approached mothering in Peru as a process of helping their children get used to the country little by little. Overall, this experience of motherhood is stressful but involves a day-by-day process of trying to help their children's fragile identities become stronger.

In general, mothers noted a desire to help their children maintain their Japaneseness while also raising them to be proud of their Nikkeiness and Peruvianness as well. A 3rd generation mother of two noted how since children tend to want more friends and feel a solidarity with other children, this has been difficult, especially since many children, both in Japan and in Peru, are not sensitive to or even aware of the fact that there are children of other nationalities and ethnicities, especially in rural areas. In terms of creating connections with the Nikkei community, mothers mentioned having their children participate in Nikkei community organization activities, sending them to Nikkei schools, as well as sending them to Japanese language classes. Mothers stressed the importance of maintaining both languages but the difficulty of doing so due to lack of fluent speakers to practice with. In this way, Nikkei institutions serve as a vaguely familiar and safe proxy for Japanese society as the children adapt to Nikkei and Peruvian society, and many also are able to maintain a sense of their Japaneseness through internet resources and communication with friends in Japan. Moreover, the enrollment of these returnee children in Nikkei schools is perceived positively by other Nikkei students since the returnee children are admired as true carriers of Japanese culture and language (Sueyoshi 2017). In this way, mothers strive to transmit Nikkeiness and Peruvianness to their children while also helping them maintain Japaneseness.

**Recollection of Japan and Mother's Identities**

Mothers generally had positive memories of Japan, noting how the culture is very courteous and peaceful, with advantages like the affordable and advanced health care system and the good public education system. A 3rd generation mother of one noted how she and her children "would love that Peru copies some things from Japan since it's a very good culture, so

we can be a better country." However, mothers also recalled how there was difficulty since many Japanese were not willing to interact with foreigners, feeling like they are "in limbo" since in neither country considers them a full "Peruvian" or a full "Japanese" woman.

However, mothers also noted how living in both countries made them able to better come to terms with their identity. A 3rd generation mother of one mentioned being shocked at how in Japan, there is an expression "hafu" which means being half Japanese. As mentioned in the introduction of the chapter, she noted,

> Genetically, maybe I'm half Japanese, but I feel I am double cultured…I'm not half of something. I've got double culture. I've got two languages. I've got two ways of seeing the world. And maybe that is what made me feel better and stop feeling I'm in limbo…It made me accept myself.

She noted that she aims to instill a sense of pride in her son, noting how she tells her son that he "belongs to the world" and that "it is important to embrace both sides of our legacies."

Some mothers noted a sense of relief that their children were somewhat safe from the xenophobia, lack of empathy for foreigners, and intense bullying in schools in Japan. One 2nd generation mother of one noted, "They [the Japanese] always treat each other with more respect"; thus, in Peru, she was relieved that they could expect at least some sense of full belonging within the Nikkei community and be perceived quite positively by Peruvians due to their Nikkei identity. Some of this ethnic disillusionment of return migrants in Japan has pervaded the Nikkei community's consciousness in Peru. As a result, instead of simply Japanese blood-based ethnicity, many Nikkei Peruvians have begun to define the imagined community based on their shared distinctly Nikkei (not Japanese) values. In 2015, the President of the APJ Pedro Makabe stated,

> In reality, the Nikkeis are Peruvians. We are Japanese descendants, but above all, we are Peruvians. In the APJ, we are trying to spread the idea that the Nikkei community should integrate and contribute efficiently and effectively to Peru's development. It is the same

> for the Nikkeis who have come to Japan, what is important is that they keep their Peruvian roots ("Los Nikkeis" 2015).

Thus, Nikkei Peruvians in Peru are increasingly becoming aware that Nikkei is a transnational identity that is neither wholly Japanese nor Peruvian, in part, due to this double return migration.

In terms of mother's experiences of motherhood**,** mothers generally noted how motherhood is life-changing, full of great affection but also sacrifice for their children so that they are happy and well. Part of this for some mothers meant making the difficult choice to move back to Peru so that their children could know the other aspect of their cultural heritage and meet their family members. One 3rd generation mother of one noted a renewed interest in connecting with the Nikkei community in Peru, since in Japan, she met many Nikkei from other countries and enjoyed the unity of the wider community. Mothers whose children had not yet lived in Japan expressed a strong interest in having their children live in or visit Japan. Moreover, the sentiment of being in between two worlds was strongly expressed by many of these mothers, echoing the sentiments of women in the previous chapters. Other mothers noted how there was some remaining conflict over how to identify themselves, with Nikkei or mestiza (for those with Peruvian blood) being the best identifiers in Peru. In general, mothers expressed how they wanted to teach their children the best aspects of being Peruvian, Nikkei, and Japanese, wanting their children to benefit from being born in a family of two cultures. Mothers felt most at home in Peru, while also feeling conflict due to worry for their children whose souls seemed to have stayed in Japan.

**Homeland and Returning to Japan**

Mothers strongly identified Peru as their homeland. However, for their children who had been born and raised for several years in Japan, they predicted that they would identify Japan as

their homeland. Mothers noted how for themselves, Peru was where they were born and went to school, and thus, it seemed natural that they would be fonder of Peru, although they expressed how they loved both countries. It was interesting that there seemed to be a bit more hesitation in answering this question for these mothers, as compared with the mothers from Chapter 3 and 4, perhaps relating to how there was more nostalgia associated with Japan now that they were no longer living there.

Several mothers expressed interest in returning to Japan, for both work and personal reasons, with those with more concrete plans paused due to the pandemic. For mothers whose children had never lived in Japan, they noted how they wanted their children to get to know the Japanese culture and learn Japanese. A 3rd generation mother of two actually noted how her husband is still in Japan working, and thus, she plans to return with her children as soon as possible, especially since her children "feel more Japanese than Peruvian" and greatly desire to move back. Also, mothers like one 3rd generation mother of one pointed out that if she takes her son to Japan when he is still young, he will be more adaptable, which would be beneficial in terms of adjusting to Japan.

**Future of Community in Japan: "Dilution but not Disappearance"**

In general, mothers viewed the future of the community in Japan as one in which many children and grandchildren would gradually integrate into Japanese society and benefit from living in a country with great economic power. While the older generations are mostly limited to working in factories, the younger generations born and raised in Japan now have greater opportunity to go to college, although this of course depends on parental support, as will be elaborated on shortly. That being said, there is a good amount of unity among Latinos in Japan,

as well as Nikkei Latinos, so another possibility is that the children and grandchildren maintain some connection with Latinos and Nikkei Latinos in Japan, continuing to have some sort of community with an ethnic basis in shared Latin American heritage. In this way, it seems likely that the future of the community of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan is one that blends into the greater population of Latin American immigrants to Japan, as this already seems to be happening, as explored in Chapter 4.

Many mothers reiterated how since there is no Nikkei community like that which exists in Peru in Japan, their children would likely identify themselves as partly Peruvian but not necessarily as Nikkei. Since Nikkei Peruvians are spread out across Japan, in areas in which there are concentrated populations of Nikkei Latin Americans, it is likely that small Latino pockets of community will persist while those in more Japanese or diverse areas will assimilate further into mainstream Japanese society. Another 3rd generation mother of two echoed that children would begin to "medatanakunaru" (start to not stand out) and how "they would integrate into the Japanese community with a little bit of their Peruvian culture surviving."

A future of upward socioeconomic mobility is not guaranteed for Nikkei Peruvian families whose children have struggled to learn the Japanese language, particularly if those children migrated as young adults rather than as infants or toddlers. Unless the Japanese government substantially invests in better JSL curricula and support for foreign children as well as better language support for communication between teachers and foreign parents, Peruvian children requiring remedial help will likely remain unable to succeed academically. This will perhaps force them to join their parents in a factory job as adults, rather than being able to benefit from higher education and integrate into the Japanese workforce, while also limiting their ability to naturalize as Japanese citizens. These children might theoretically have a future in

which they move back to Peru, where they may not have as much difficulty acculturating as a child who fully integrated into Japanese society. Thus, the future of the Nikkei community in Japan is highly dependent on Japanese government policy towards immigrants. If many Nikkei Peruvians continue to struggle with education and are forced to rely substantially on welfare while remaining "stuck" in low-paying factory jobs, this may contribute to future generations becoming stuck in generational poverty and feeling like minorities unable to integrate into larger Japanese society. However, this concept of a minority population increasing is not appealing to the Japanese government, so efforts to better assimilate these return migrants perhaps may occur.

I would argue that one factor that will likely be critical in defining the future of the community in Japan is the fluency in Spanish of the children of return migrants to Japan. William Safran and Amy Liu write how languages are "intimately associated with the development of a community's identity" (Safran and Liu 2012:270). If children remain fluent in Spanish, this will make it more likely that they feel a sense of affinity for other Peruvians of Japanese heritage living in Japan, while also making it more possible for them to visit Peru, communicate with relatives in Peru online, or even migrate back to Peru.

Moreover, mothers noted how it seems quite likely that many of the Nikkei Peruvian families living in Japan will continue to live there, especially those with children, since Japan is much more economically stable and more secure, and many Nikkei immigrants now have grandchildren and some own houses or apartments. However, this is, of course, dependent on Japanese foreign policy, which has great potential to impact the ability for Japanese descendant immigrants to comfortably remain in Japan.

In terms of the future of the community's cultural attributes, a 4$^{th}$ generation mother of two had insight, noting how just as how in Peru the Nikkei community's newspapers and

magazines are now all written in Spanish, the same trend is happening to the Nikkei Latino community newspapers and magazines in Japan in which they are becoming written in Japanese more and more. She noted,

> I think that the Nikkei community will be diluted, not to say it will disappear. The concept of Nikkei for me is disappearing. My children will stop being called Nikkei and it is more likely that they will be naturalized Japanese. They will have some foreign traits but be Japanese.

Mothers also predicted that with the changing nature of Japanese society, eventually there will be a rebellion or break in the extremely closed-off Japanese society in the near future, especially as more foreigners and mixed children enter society. Since Japanese society is slow to change and hostile to difference and the "other", this may cause tension and frustration within younger generations that more readily embrace diversity and exploration of the world.

Regarding the political tensions involved in mothering in culturally mixed families, Nora Lester Murad writes, "Whites teach their White children who they are and that's neutral, but I teach my children they are Arab and that's political" (Murad 2005:499). Similarly, when Japanese parents teach their children that they are Japanese, that is perceived as neutral; however, when Nikkei Peruvian parents teach their children that they are Peruvian, that is considered political. This can be explained by the fact that the Japanese government has made harsh moves towards greater centralized control of all immigration and foreign residents, with many nationalists wanting to preserve the purity of Japanese ethnicity and sovereignty by limiting non-Japanese culture and individuals increasing in Japan as much as possible. In addition, conformity is valued immensely in Japan, causing the society to tend towards a desire to minimize differences (Yamamoto 2012). Thus, the future of the community in Japan will depend on whether or not internationalists and progressives remain in power over far-right

nationalists, as well as if Japanese society becomes more inclusive and accepting of multiethnic and multicultural identities.

Regarding the autonomy involved in identifying as diasporic, Khachig Tölölyan writes,

> The diasporic not committed through these links is now a citizen in his or her 'new' home country, possesses a hybrid culture and identity or at the very least has developed a comfortable bicultural competence. He or she is a diasporic because of a set of cumulative decisions to continue to remain bi- or multi-local, to care about others in diaspora with whom she shares an ethnodiasporic origin, and also to care in some manner about the well-being of the homeland of the ancestors (Tölölyan 2011:11).

While it is possible that the children of return migrants to Japan identify as diasporic because of bicultural competence, this will greatly depend on Japanese government policy and societal orientation towards immigrants; it will also depend on parents' abilities to foster a hybrid identity and emotional investment in the country of Peru in their children.

**Future of Community in Peru**

In terms of the future of the Nikkei community in Peru, mothers predicted that the community would likely become more tolerant of diversity. A 3rd generation mother of one noted, "I think the community will not only be tolerant, but perhaps celebrate this diversity. Because for a long time those of us who are mixed race were not considered part of the community." This is especially important since Takenaka notes how when a theft occurred in a Nikkei Peruvian institution, the staff immediately suspected a non-Nikkei Peruvian and decided to make entrance requirements stricter (Takenaka 2003). Mothers predicted that even as the community becomes more racially diverse, the traditions will continue. This increased acceptance of diversity seems very likely, especially since many of the women that I interviewed had at least one parent, grandparent, or partner that was not Nikkei. Some mothers were a bit skeptical about the increase of ethnic mixing, with a 3rd generation mother of two noting,

> The fact is that ethnic mixing is complicated, since it always brings changes, and while there are many things that can change for the better, there are also other things that might not be so positive…Maybe that is why our parents and grandparents were so strict about keeping marriage within the colony.

Thus, the future of the community likely involves some underlying frustration or a sense of superiority among individuals who are "purer" in blood (and these individuals tend to be in positions of power), even if the wider community of Nikkei Peruvians accepts diversity. Mothers also predicted that in the fourth generation and beyond, that the Nikkei community would likely integrate further into greater Peruvian society. The future activities of the Fujimori family will also likely have great implications for the future of the community, since as prominent figures, they impact the perception of the community by other Peruvians. Some mothers also pointed out how over time, the community has changed, with a 3rd generation mother of one noting how traditionally Nikkei traits like being hardworking or respectful are somewhat fading. Thus, the future of the imagined community in Peru may be one whose ideologies slowly change to become less Nikkei and more Peruvian, even as the community retains its institutional identification as Japanese-Peruvian. There is also the possibility that even if the Nikkei Peruvian community starts to fade, there will still be some unity among Nikkeis through the larger imagined community of Nikkei Latin Americans or for those with Okinawan ancestry, the Okinawan diaspora around the world.

Among women who were not yet mothers, many expressed a desire to have their children learn about Japan, and some also expressed hesitance to raise their children in Peru due to the insecurity, ignorance, and machismo, preferring to raise them abroad. A 3rd generation non-mother interestingly noted how "Peruvians always think that the grass is greener outside of [Peru]", and that while she loves Peru, other countries might be a better place to start a family. Thus, it seems possible that for those in the third generation eligible for a Nikkei descendant visa

and others who are able to obtain a visa, that they may choose to raise their children in Japan in the future.

Moreover, women such as a 4th generation non-mother noted how they hoped for the Nikkei community to become more open to the idea that the term Nikkei is constantly in construction and that there will hopefully not be so many restrictions on what a Nikkei person is or is not. Women expressed how they see the community gradually becoming less attached to certain standards such as that Nikkei kids "have to study to be an engineer or a doctor", as a 4th generation non-mother noted, instead, having more diverse interests and careers like in art or YouTube. This can be related to Ien Ang's discussion of the Chinese diaspora; Ang writes, "The anti-essentialism of the diasporic paradigm opens up a symbolic space for people such as Yang, a distant member of the diaspora, to be Chinese in his own way, living a de-centered Chineseness that does not have to live up to the norm of 'the essential Chinese subject'" (Ang 1998:225). Thus, the future of the imagined community may become less essential, with more space for Nikkei Peruvians to be Nikkei in their own way, able to pursue diverse passions without disapproval from the community. Moreover, many women expressed how they were very open to marrying somebody that was not Nikkei, although they did see the benefit to marrying somebody Nikkei, so the future of the community in Peru likely involves further ethnic mixing.

Non-mothers also feared discrimination for their children since Peruvian society can be close-minded, and on the other end, they also feared that if they had mixed children, this could potentially impact their children's treatment within the community. However, non-mothers noted how because they have experienced a Peruvian society that is more open to Nikkei people than their grandparents and even parents, that they do not feel as discriminatory towards Peruvians in general.

Non-mothers also expressed a desire for the Nikkei community to better promote and enhance the learning of the Japanese language. Women also expressed a desire for the Nikkei community to be more open to spreading the culture to non-Nikkei Peruvians, allowing for the public to participate in certain activities and events, especially since they noted how many people in Peru are interested in learning more about Japanese culture. Also, women predicted that with these less restrictive activities, perhaps Nikkei that traditionally have not felt included in the community may feel more comfortable participating in events.

Women also predicted a future in which perhaps women's rights would be enhanced, with a 3rd generation non-mother noting how hearing statements like "girls don't sit like that, or you need to do these things to be a good woman" in her upbringing was jarring but that mentalities are gradually changing. Moreover, she also expressed how mentalities within Asian families of how if a child does something wrong then the family's reputation is tainted were something that she hoped would change in the future. This relates to Tölölyan's observation on how many diasporic young people desire and aspire to "multiple and flexible identities that they can configure as needed – they want to select from each and all those elements of which they can be proud and whose claims and obligations they are prepared to honour" (Tölölyan 2011:10). Thus, the future of the imagined community in Peru is highly dependent on the choices of the younger generations, who will likely flexibly choose what they value and claim within the Nikkei imagined community. One aspect impacting people's participation in the community is how when one turns 18 years old, one can no longer be under the family membership for the Peruvian-Japanese Association (APJ); changing these policies to be more flexible could potentially contribute to greater participation by members of the community who do not want to bear the financial burden of paying for the membership.

In terms of the morale of the future imagined community, there is a growing pride in Nikkei Peruvian identity and increasing identification with both Peruvianness and Nikkeiness. In 2017, when the National Census was held in Peru, a campaign called "I am Nikkei Perú" became popular among Nikkei Peruvians. The campaign responded to a write-in census question regarding ethnic self-identification, which allowed Peruvians to identify themselves according to their ancestors, origin, or customs. The campaign uploaded photos of individuals holding up signs that said "Orgullosamente Peruano #Soy Nikkei" (Proudly Peruvian #I am Nikkei) to social media sites. The campaign conveyed the pride of being both Nikkei and Peruvian and urged Nikkei to reflect on their identities and how they can contribute to Peru (Wong-Kit García 2018).


*Figure 1: "Orgullosamente Peruano #Soy Nikkei" Campaign (Wong-Kit Garcia 2018)*

Relating to this sentiment of thriving in diaspora, Khachig Tölölyan writes,

> Diasporas need not apologize for their alleged lack of authenticity, for the hybridity of diasporan identity, as if it represented mere decline from some purer homeland form. Rather—and there is an inevitable element of utopian self-congratulation here—at its best the diaspora is an example, for both the homeland's and hostland's nation-states, of the possibility of living, even thriving in the regimes of multiplicity which are increasingly the global condition, and a proper version of which diasporas may help to construct, given half a chance. The stateless power of diasporas lies in their heightened awareness

> of both the perils and rewards of multiple belonging, and in their sometimes exemplary grappling with the paradoxes of such belonging, which is increasingly the condition that non-diasporan nationals also face in the transnational era (Tölölyan 1996:7-8).

This embracing of multiplicity in belonging while acknowledging that such identity can be paradoxical to grapple with will be critical in shaping the future of the imagined community of Nikkei Peruvians in Peru.

The fourth and further generations in Peru are gradually emerging, with some individuals maintaining Japanese phenotype and family names without knowledge of the culture, and others losing Japanese phenotype and family names but remaining connected with the culture, among other variations. While it seems reasonable to assume that individuals will gradually assimilate completely into Peruvian society, with a greater tolerance for the variations in its members' cultural knowledge and ethnic traits, the community will likely be able to continue to foster connection with the colony's Japanese origin. As seen in Figures 2 and 3, the survey in Peru demonstrated that there was a statistically significant correlation between exposure to Nikkei culture growing up (n= 41, r= 0.5167, p= 0.0005) and/or now (n= 41, r= 0.4913, p= 0.0011) and being Japanese-oriented.

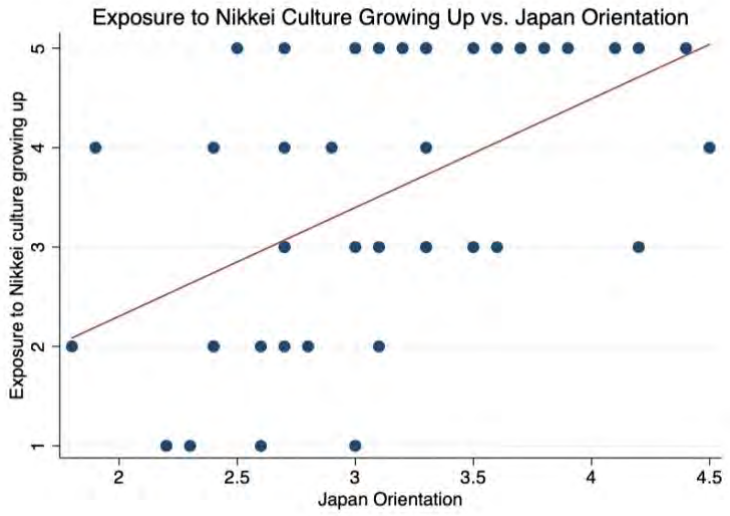



*Figure 2: Exposure to Nikkei culture growing up vs. Japan Orientation*

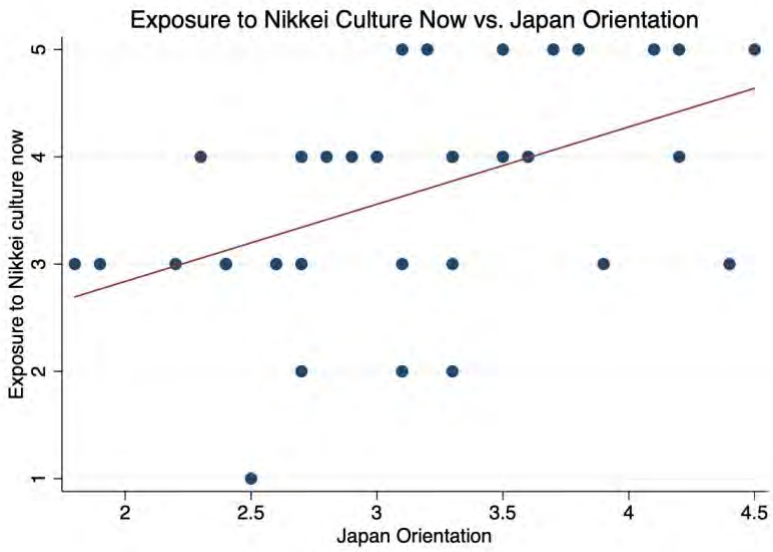



*Figure 3: Exposure to Nikkei culture now vs. Japan Orientation*

Thus, continued exposure to the Nikkei culture will likely help ensure the community's survival and members' feelings of connection to Japan.

Moreover, in order to remain viable, the Nikkei Peruvian community will likely need to remain beneficial in terms of what it offers to its members. While return migration to Japan is less of a benefit due to the lessening numbers of third generation and below descendants who are eligible to and desire to return migrate to Japan, other benefits will likely remain. These include the likely persisting positive reputation of Nikkeis in Peruvian society, as well as the opportunity to participate in Nikkei community events and access grants and scholarships available to Japanese descendants. Takenaka (1999) also writes how Peruvian national identity is quite weak because of regional and cultural differences as well as division across socioeconomic levels, so continuing to be a member of the Nikkei community in Peru seems like it will continue to appeal to individuals, provided that there is not a drastic increase in Peruvian nationalism. Thus, I predict that the future of the Nikkei Peruvian imagined community is one in which future generations will value the sense of belonging in both an emotional and institutional sense,

continuing to foster pride in the hybrid identity that Nikkei is in Peru. It seems likely that the imagined community will locate their homeland in Peru, while retaining an admiration for Japan and a desire for its continued well-being.

**Conclusion**

For double return migrant mothers in Peru, their children and their own identities are quite "in flux" because of the back-and-forth process of double return migration, in which feelings of belonging can be difficult to foster for themselves and their children. Nonetheless, mothers seem to eventually find comfort and a sense of pride in their "double culture" identities. In imagining the future of the community in Japan, it is clear that Japanese policy towards foreigners as well as mothers' success in transmitting Peruvian traditions will be crucial in determining the future. Moreover, in imagining the future of the community in Peru, Susan Pattie writes how diaspora can be viewed as a "borderless, stateless, free-floating, but nonetheless essentially meaningful, source of identity" (Pattie 1999:89). As long as the community in Peru remains a meaningful source of identity for its members, it seems likely that the community will persist for future generations.

# Chapter 6 Conclusion

This chapter will conclude the thesis by summarizing the key findings in relation to my research questions and motivations and discussing the value and contributions to the field of cultural anthropology and migration studies. It will also consider the limitations of the study and make recommendations for future research.

## Key Findings

This thesis aimed to investigate the experiences of Nikkei Peruvian mothers in Peru and Japan, exploring their experiences in the contexts of diaspora, migration, and the "imagined community" (Anderson 1983) of Nikkeis. I sought to understand how culture and national context, along with the values and traditions of the Nikkei imagined community, impact their identities and experiences as mothers. These identities and experiences were specifically explored within the three contexts of Chapter 3— diasporic motherhood in Peru, Chapter 4— return migrant motherhood in Japan, and Chapter 5— double return migrant motherhood in Peru.

One key finding from my research is that Nikkei Peruvian mothers have complex journeys of transmitting Nikkeiness, Japaneseness and Peruvianness to their children. Their choices have great potential to impact the child's comfort in their identity as well as their sense of belonging to the Nikkei community, Japanese, society, and Peruvian society. This can be related to how there are restrictions set on who is seen as "worthy" of belonging in contexts in Peru and Japan and within the Nikkei community itself.

Mothers' cultural identities are hybrid and something that they take pride in, and they hope to help their children appreciate the richness of both of their cultures. Across all three contexts, including diasporic mothers in Peru, return migrant mothers in Japan, and double return

migrants in Peru, mothers desired for their children to value both sides of their ethnocultural heritage. This is at times, difficult due to experiences of discrimination in Peruvian, Japanese, and Nikkei contexts. A cultural blending could be seen in mothers' mothering styles, in both Peru and Japan, although in Japan, transmitting Peruvianness seemed to be more prioritized. There was also a persisting sense of being in between the two worlds of Peru and Japan, which makes sense given the transnational nature of their lives.

The concept of homeland and hostland is quite unstable for Nikkei Peruvians, although the ultimate homeland for mothers does seem to be Peru. While general sentiments towards Japan tend to be positive and mothers desire for their children to know their roots and the land that their ancestors come from, Peru is the place that these mothers were born and grew up; this shapes the sentiment that their "souls stay in Peru", regardless of where they live. However, they construct spaces of belonging for themselves and their children in the different sociocultural contexts that they live in.

This construction of spaces of belonging is especially relevant in a country like Japan in which xenophobia is prominent, with intense restrictions placed on belonging, making it difficult for Nikkei Peruvian mothers and their children to adjust easily to the society. While Japan is stable socioeconomically and thus, appealing, mothers must be resilient in helping their children feel comfortable in their identities, while also choosing whether or not to transmit Peruvianness to them. This could include physical construction of belonging through taking children to Spanish language schools or Peruvian cultural clubs, to emotional construction of belonging through encouraging children to be comfortable and proud of their hybrid identities. Thus, mothering strategies have great impact on where these children will consider their homeland and how their identities will be shaped. Overall, mothers in Japan experience intense nostalgia for

Peru, although many remain in Japan because their children and grandchildren are there. The future of the community in Japan will be determined greatly by Japanese government policy towards foreigners, as well as mothers' success in transmitting Peruvian traditions. However, it seems likely that the community will likely become diluted, while not disappearing, with the second generation becoming naturalized Japanese with some foreign traits.

For those mothers who do decide to return to Peru, they and their children tend to experience a great amount of conflict in their identities and sense of belonging because of the back-and-forth involved in double return migration. However, mothers eventually do find comfort and a sense of pride in this "double culture". This sentiment can be extended to the rest of the Nikkei Peruvian community in Peru, where a greater optimism and sense of pride in the Nikkei identity can be seen, which makes it more likely for the community to remain strong and a meaningful source of identity for its members. As discussed, in Peru, Nikkei is an identity that has both practical and emotional benefits, so if this benefit endures into the future, the identity will likely continue to be transmitted, with the community in Peru persisting for future generations. The community will likely become more racially and ethnically mixed, as exogamy expands further, and mixed individuals become more common and accepted within the community.

**Contributions to the Field**

This thesis contributes to social science research on Nikkei Peruvians, putting experiences of motherhood and ethnocultural identity in conversation with experiences of diaspora, return migration, and double return migration, in a way that has not been prominent in the literature. Moreover, the predictions of the future of the community in both Peru and Japan

will provide historical documentation for community members and scholars to reflect on in the present and the future.

Regarding academic research on mixed families, Nora Lester Murad writes how there is a "great need for further research both about mixed children's experiences and those of mixed families" (2006:500), especially since most writing in that area tends to highlight the experience of the white parent, while also neglecting intersectionality in identities and experiences. Thus, this writing also contributes to research on mixed families, given that many Nikkei Peruvian women in this study and their children are ethnically, racially, and culturally mixed between Peruvian and Japanese heritage. Moreover, it addresses intersectionality through highlighting how gender and migration status can impact mixed mothers' and children's experiences and identities.

In terms of broader applications to society, it is clear that the Japanese government and society needs to consider creating policies that are more friendly to immigrants, if they want families and children to have an easier time adjusting to Japanese society. Examples could be expanded interpretation services in institutional settings and improved JSL classes. In addition, given the decreasing population in Japan, the government could consider expanding descendant visas beyond the third generation of Nikkeis, which would open up the path for more migration between Peru and Japan in the future. In Peru, it seems important for the institutional community to ensure that its members feel accepted and welcomed, regardless of whether or not they are ethnically mixed, as well as if they look Japanese or have Japanese last names.

## Limitations

A limitation of the survey is the small sample size of the sample in Japan (n= 8), as compared with the sample in Peru (n= 41). While this smaller sample size can partially be attributed to the smaller population of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan as compared with Peru, a larger sample would be helpful to expand the generalizability of the results. Moreover, in terms of the limitations of the interviews, the sample seems to be biased towards higher-income Nikkei Peruvians, especially in Japan. This might be attributed to women with higher incomes having more flexibility with time to participate in an interview, and additionally, their experiences in Japan may be more positive in some regards. The sample also may be biased towards women under the age of fifty. This makes sense given that the research is online, and thus, younger women who tend to be more technologically savvy are more likely to participate, so there may be some bias in the results. Since almost all recruitment was done through online methods, there were certain segments of the Nikkei Peruvian population in both Peru and Japan that may have been neglected in the survey and interviews. In addition, there are aspects of lived experience that cannot be captured fully through online research, so the inability due to the pandemic to do in-person interviews and participant observation is a limitation that must be acknowledged.

## Recommendations for Future Research

As far as directions for future research, it would be helpful to interview Nikkei Peruvian children to understand their cultural identities, experiences with migration, and perspectives towards Peru and Japan and their cultures. Moreover, since all my research was virtual because of the pandemic, participant observation in community centers in Peru and in Latino associations and churches in Japan would also be helpful to enrich my findings and interpretations. Another

recommendation for further research would be to specifically investigate fatherhood in the Nikkei Peruvian community, seeing how father's experiences and identities align with and differ from experiences of motherhood in the community. In a decade or two, it would also be interesting to see how and if predictions made for the future of the community in Peru and Japan in this thesis are and are not realized.

**Summary**

I have aimed to take the reader on a journey of a Nikkei Peruvian mother, through the different contexts that they may experience, including Peruvian society, Nikkei Peruvian institutions, Japanese society, and more. I have demonstrated that the questions of "Who am I ethnoculturally?" and "Where do I belong in this world?" are complex questions that involve lifelong contemplation and reflection, with their hybrid, sometimes conflicting identities having great impacts on the ways that Nikkei Peruvians choose to mother. While the title of this thesis is "Between Peru and Japan: Nikkei Motherhood", I hope that I have demonstrated that these mothers' experiences extend far beyond being "between Peru and Japan". It is true that such in-betweenness and feelings of being "in limbo" are important aspects of the lived experiences of these mothers; at the same time, Nikkei Peruvian identity is an immensely meaningful experience involving two cultures that mothers strive daily to transmit to their children, helping them thrive in their transnational identities and lives.

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# Appendix

## Appendix A Recruitment Posters


Figure A.1 Recruitment flyer for Round 1 Japan participants


Figure A.2 Recruitment flyer for Round 1 Peru participants


Figure A.3 Recruitment flyer for Round 1 participants (both Peru and Japan)


Figure A.4 Recruitment flyer for Round 2 participants (both Peru and Japan)

**Appendix B Select Survey Questions included in thesis from Peru (Table B.1) and Japan (Table B.2)**

Please see the Methodology in Chapter 2 for information about the acculturation questions, short-form UCLA Loneliness questions, and CESD-R questions, which are not included below.

Table B.1 Peru Survey Questions

| | |
|---|---|
| Q10 ¿Ha vivido alguna vez en Japón?<br>Sí<br>No | Q10 Have you ever lived in Japan?<br>Yes<br>No |
| Q69 Mi familia cocina comida nikkei/japonesa.<br>Nunca<br>Un poquito o a veces<br>Moderato<br>Mucho o muy frecuente<br>Muchísimo o casi todo el tiempo | Q69 My family cooks Nikkei/Japanese foods.<br>Never<br>A little or sometimes<br>Moderately<br>A lot or very frequently<br>A great amount or almost all of the time |
| Q85 Cuando era niña, estaba expuesta a la cultura nikkei/japonesa.<br>Nunca<br>Un poquito o a veces<br>Moderato<br>Mucho o muy frecuente<br>Muchísimo o casi todo el tiempo | Q85 I was exposed to Nikkei/Japanese culture growing up.<br>Never<br>A little or sometimes<br>Moderately<br>A lot or very frequently<br>A great amount or almost all of the time |
| Q86 Ahora estoy expuesta a la cultura nikkei/japonesa.<br>Nunca<br>Un poquito o a veces<br>Moderato<br>Mucho o muy frecuente<br>Muchísimo o casi todo el tiempo | Q86 I am exposed to Nikkei/Japanese culture now.<br>Never<br>A little or sometimes<br>Moderately<br>A lot or very frequently<br>A great amount or almost all of the time |
| Q87 Mi herencia japonesa/nikkei probablemente me ayudaría a encajar mejor y ajustar si fuera a Japón.<br>Nunca<br>Un poquito o a veces<br>Moderato<br>Mucho o muy frecuente<br>Muchísimo o casi todo el tiempo | Q87 My Nikkei heritage would probably help me better fit in and adjust if I went to Japan.<br>Never<br>A little or sometimes<br>Moderately<br>A lot or very frequently<br>A great amount or almost all of the time |

Table B.2 Japan Survey Questions

| | |
|---|---|
| Q21 ¿Cómo evaluaría su capacidad de lectura del idioma japonés?<br>No puede leer en absoluto<br>Básico (puede leer y entender oraciones y pasajes en hiragana, katakana, kanji básico, N5 or N4)<br>Intermedio (puede leer y entender escritos un poco difíciles en situaciones cotidianas, N3 or N2)<br>Avanzado (puede leer y entender periódicos, novelas, información médica escrita, N1) | Q21 How would you assess your Japanese language reading ability?<br>Cannot read at all<br>Basic (can read and understand sentences and passages in hiragana, katakana, basic kanji, N5 or N4)<br>Intermediate (can read and understand slightly difficult writings in everyday situations, N3 or N2)<br>Advanced (can read and understand newspapers, novels, written medical information, N1) |
| Q31 ¿Cómo quiere que su hijo(s) se identifique étnicamente? Elija todo lo que aplique.<br>Peruano<br>Japonés<br>Peruano-Japonés<br>Otro: | Q31 How do you want your child to identify ethnically?<br>Peruvian<br>Japanese<br>Nikkei-Peruvian<br>Other: |
| Q39 ¿Cómo describiría la calidez relativa de los japoneses nativos en general?<br>Extremadamente calido<br>Calido<br>Ni calido ni frío<br>Frío<br>Extremadamente frío | Q39 How would you describe the relative “warmness” or “coldness” of native Japanese people in general?<br>Extremely warm<br>Warm<br>Neither warm nor cold<br>Cold<br>Extremely cold |

## Appendix C Interview Guides

C.1 Round 1 Peru Interview Guide

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| **(1A) What has been your experience culturally in Peru?**<br>(1B) How do you identify yourself ethnically?<br>(1C) What aspects of being _____ are most important to you?<br>(1D) What sorts of Nikkei community/cultural events do you take part in?<br>(1E.0) How do you feel about people who falsely claim Nikkei identity?<br>(1E.1) Do you think other Nikkei community members feel similarly?<br>(1E.2) What is your impression of how native Japanese treat “foreigners”? | **(1A) ¿Cuál ha sido su experiencia cultural en Perú?**<br>(1B) ¿Cómo se identifica étnicamente?<br>(1C) ¿Qué aspectos del ser _____ son más importantes para usted?<br>(1D) ¿En qué tipo de eventos comunitarios/culturales nikkei participa?<br>(1E.0) ¿Qué opina de las personas que afirman falsamente la identidad nikkei para venir a Japón?<br>(1E.1) ¿Cree que otros miembros de la comunidad nikkei se sienten igual como usted?<br>(1E.2) ¿Cuál es su impresión de cómo los nativos japoneses tratan a los "extranjeros"? |
| **(2A) What has been your experience socially in Peru?**<br>(2B) As a child, how much did you interact with the Nikkei community?<br>(2C) How would you describe your home, neighborhood, community?<br>(2D) Who do you turn to for help when facing a problem?<br>(2E) Who do you consider your family?<br>(2F) What is your religion? How observant are you?<br>(2G) What activities do you enjoy when you are not working?<br>(2H) Who are your close friends and what ethnicity are they of?<br>(2I) When interacting with other Nikkei people, what has your experience been? | **(2A) ¿Cuál ha sido su experiencia social en Perú?**<br>(2B) Cuando era niño, ¿cuánto interactuó con la comunidad nikkei?<br>(2C) ¿Cómo describiría su hogar, vecindario, comunidad?<br>(2D) ¿A quién acude para obtener ayuda cuando enfrenta un problema?<br>(2E) ¿A quién considera su familia?<br>(2F) ¿Cuál es su religión? ¿Qué tan observador es?<br>(2G) ¿Qué actividades disfruta cuando no está trabajando?<br>(2H) ¿Quiénes son sus amigos cercanos y de qué etnicidad son?<br>(2I) Al interactuar con otro nikkei, ¿cuál ha sido su experiencia? |
| **(3A) Please tell me about your life in the year before you got pregnant in Peru.**<br>(3B) Where were you living?<br>(3C) How did you afford this living arrangement?<br>(3D) Were you working? Where? | **(3A) Por favor, cuénteme sobre su vida en el año antes de que quedara embarazada en Perú.**<br>(3B) ¿Dónde vivía?<br>(3C) ¿Cómo podía vivir de esta forma?<br>(3D) ¿Estaba trabajando? ¿Dónde? |

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| **(4A) Have you visited Japan before?**<br>(4B) How many times?<br>(4C) Across all of these visits, how much time did you spend in Japan approximately?<br>(4D) What was the purpose of making these visits? | **(4A) ¿Ha visitado Japón antes de ahora?**<br>(4B) ¿Cuántas veces?<br>(4C) A través de todas estas visitas, ¿cuánto tiempo pasó en Japón aproximadamente?<br>(4D) ¿Cuál era el propósito de hacer estas visitas? |
| **(5A) Do you have any plans to go to Japan to live? If not, any plans to visit?**<br>(5B) Why or why not?<br>(5C) What do you think motivates other Nikkei to go to Japan to live?<br>(5D.0) Do you believe that being Nikkei would give you an advantage in Japan?<br>(5D.1) How and why? | **(5A) ¿Tiene planes de ir a Japón a vivir? Si no, ¿tiene algún plan para visitar?**<br>(5B) ¿Por qué o por qué no?<br>(5C) ¿Qué crees que motiva a otros nikkei a ir a Japón a vivir?<br>(5D.0) ¿Cree que ser Nikkei se daría una ventaja en Japón?<br>(5D.1) Cómo y por qué? |
| **(6A) How did you feel when you first realized that you were pregnant most recently?**<br>(6B) What did the father of the baby, family, friends say when they learned you when pregnant?<br>(6C) Did you feel like you had someone or somewhere to go for information and questions? | **(6A) ¿Cómo se sintió cuando se dio cuenta de que estaba embarazada con su más reciente niño?**<br>(6B) ¿Qué dijo el padre del bebé, la familia, los amigos cuando se dieron cuanta que estaba embarazada?<br>(6C) ¿Sintió que tenía a alguien o a algún recurso para obtener consejería? |
| **(7A) What was your experience with health insurance during your pregnancy?**<br>(7B) Did you have health insurance during pregnancy?<br>(7C) What kind? Ministry of Health? EsSalud? Armed Forces? National Police? Private?<br>(7D) What kind of problems, if any, did you encounter with insurance? Were they resolved? | **(7A) ¿Cuál fue su experiencia con el seguro médico durante su embarazo?**<br>(7B) ¿Tenía seguro médico durante el embarazo?<br>(7C) ¿De qué tipo?<br>(7D) ¿Qué tipo de problemas, si los hay, se encontró con el seguro? ¿Fueron resueltos? |

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| **(8A) How were you treated by health care providers up until birth?**<br>(8B) Were you able to attend all of the recommended prenatal appointments?<br>(8C) What factors went into your number of visits to doctors?<br>(8D) Who were people who provided you with emotional support during your pregnancies if anyone? | **(8A) ¿Cómo fue tratada por los proveedores de atención médica hasta el parto?**<br>(8B) ¿Pudo asistir a todas las citas prenatales recomendadas?<br>(8C) ¿Qué factores se realizaron en el número de visitas a los médicos?<br>(8D) ¿Quiénes fueron las personas que le proporcionaron apoyo emocional durante sus embarazos, si alguien? |
| **(9A) Tell me about your experience with your delivery.**<br>(9B) How was the medical staff's communication with you about what was happening during delivery?<br>(9C) Did medical staff or anybody else provide you with emotional support during the delivery, and how?<br>(9D) What else do you think could have been done to make the experience easier and less stressful?<br>(9E) Are there any Peruvian cultural traditions with pregnancy, childbirth that you incorporated into your experience? | **(9A) Cuénteme sobre su experiencia con su parto.**<br>(9B) ¿Cómo fue la comunicación del personal médico con usted acerca de lo que estaba sucediendo durante el parto?<br>(9C) ¿El personal médico o alguien más le brindió apoyo emocional durante el parto y cómo?<br>(9D) ¿Qué más cree que se podría haber hecho para que la experiencia hubiese sido más fácil y menos estresante?<br>(9E) ¿Hay alguna tradición cultural peruana con embarazo, parto que incorporó en su experiencia? |
| **(10A) Tell me about being a mother in Peru.**<br>(10B) Who takes care of your child(ren) during the day?<br>(10C) What fears do you have for your children as they grow up in Peru?<br>(10D) What challenges have you faced raising a child in Peru?<br>(10E) What do you feel are the opportunities that raising a child in Peru provides?<br>(10F) Have your feelings towards motherhood changed over time?<br>(10G) What does it mean to be a mother to you?<br>(10H) What does being a mother mean to those around you? | **(10A) Cuénteme sobre ser madre en Perú.**<br>(10B) ¿Quién cuida a su(s) hijo(s) durante el día?<br>(10C) ¿Qué temor tiene usted para sus a medida mientras que crecen en Perú?<br>(10D) ¿Qué desafíos ha enfrentado en criar a un niño en Perú?<br>(10E) ¿Cuáles oportunidades cree que se ofrecen en criar a un niño en Perú?<br>(10F) ¿Han cambiado sus sentimientos hacia la maternidad con el tiempo?<br>(10G) ¿Qué significa ser una madre para usted?<br>(10H) ¿Qué significa ser madre para los que te rodean?<br>(10I) ¿Qué consejo le daría a otras madres nikkei-peruanas en Perú? ¿Y a las del Japón? |

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| (10I) What advice would you give to other Nikkei-Peruvian mothers in Peru? How about those mothers in Japan? | |
| **(11A) Tell me about your child(ren).**<br>(11B) What are their ages?<br>(11C) How do you wish for your child to identify ethnically?<br>(11D) How do you think that your child identifies ethnically and why?<br>(11E) Do you wish for your children to live in Japan or Peru in the future?<br>(11F) Where do you think your children would want to live in the future?<br>(11G) What are your plans, if any, for exposing your child to Nikkei culture? | **(11A) Háble me de su(s) hijo(s).**<br>(11B) ¿Cuáles son sus edades?<br>(11C) ¿Cómo desea que su hijo se identifique étnicamente?<br>(11D) ¿Cómo cree que su hijo se identifica étnicamente y por qué?<br>(11E) ¿Desea que sus hijos quieran vivir en Japón o Perú en el futuro?<br>(11F) ¿Dónde cree que sus hijos quieran vivir en el futuro?<br>(11G) ¿Cuáles son sus planes, si los hay, para exponer a su hijo a la cultura nikkei? |
| **(12A) Tell me about your relationship with your baby(s)' father(s).**<br>(12B) Is he Nikkei? Would you consider him more or less "Nikkei" than you?<br>(12C) What things did he do to help you during your pregnancy?<br>(12D) Were there any problems, financial, emotional, or other, that you two experienced during pregnancy?<br>(12E) How involved is he with your child?<br>(12F) How does he feel about your child's exposure to Nikkei culture? | **(12A) Cuénteme sobre su relación con el(los) padre(s) de su(s) bebé(s).**<br>(12B) ¿Es él nikkei? ¿Lo consideraría más o menos "Nikkei" que usted?<br>(12C) ¿Qué cosas hizo para ayudarle durante el embarazo?<br>(12D) ¿Hubo algún problema, financiero, emocional u otro, que ustedes dos tuvieron durante el embarazo?<br>(12E) ¿Qué tan involucrado está con su hijo?<br>(12F) ¿Cómo se siente acerca de que su hijo sea expuesto a la cultura nikkei? |
| **(13A) Have you ever been diagnosed with depression?**<br>(13B) Have you ever sought help for this?<br>(13C) How satisfied were you with the treatment you received? | **(13A) ¿Alguna vez le diagnosticaron depresión?**<br>(13B) ¿Alguna vez ha buscado ayuda para esto?<br>(13C) ¿Si ha buscado ayuda para esto, Qué tan satisfecha estaba con el tratamiento que recibió? |
| **(14A) Tell me about where you live.**<br>(14B) Does it feel like "home"? Why or why not? | **(14A) Cuénteme dónde vive.**<br>(14B) ¿Se siente como "hogar"? ¿Por qué o por qué no? |
| **(15) Why did you choose to participate in this research?** | **(15) ¿Por qué eligió participar en esta investigación?** |

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| **(16) How did you find the interview process?** | **(16) ¿Cómo estuvo el proceso de entrevista?** |
| **(17) Is there anything else you would like to share about your experience as a Nikkei-Peruvian in Peru that we haven't discussed but that you think is helpful for others to know?** | **(17) ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría compartir sobre su experiencia como nikkei-peruano en Perú que no hayamos discutido pero que usted piensa que es útil para que otros sepan?** |
| **(18) Would you be willing to be contacted with follow-up questions? Do you have any questions for me?** | **(18) ¿Estaría dispuesta a ser contactada con preguntas de seguimiento?** |

C.2 Round 1 Japan Interview Guide

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| 1. | **What has been your experience culturally in Japan?**<br>· How do you identify yourself ethnically? Has that changed since coming to Japan?<br>· What aspects of being _____ are most important to you?<br>· Do you have Japanese nationality? Are you planning to apply?<br>o What would it mean to you if you had to give up Peruvian nationality?<br>· What sorts of community/cultural events do you take part in?<br>· How do you feel about people who falsely claim Nikkei identity to come to Japan?<br>o Do you think other Nikkei community members feel similarly?<br>· Before immigrating, did you think that having Nikkei heritage would help you in adjusting to Japanese culture or gaining acceptance from native Japanese?<br>o Did it help? What have you learned about native Japanese attitudes towards "foreigners" since coming? | **¿Cuál ha sido su experiencia cultural en Japón?**<br>· ¿Cómo se identifica étnicamente? ¿Ha cambiado eso desde que llegó a Japón?<br>· ¿Qué aspectos del ser _____ son más importantes para usted?<br>· ¿Tiene nacionalidad japonesa? ¿Está planeando presentar su solicitud?<br>o ¿Qué significaría para usted si tuviera que renunciar a la nacionalidad peruana?<br>· ¿En qué tipo de eventos comunitarios/culturales participa?<br>· ¿Qué opina de las personas que afirman falsamente la identidad nikkei para venir a Japón?<br>o ¿Cree que otros miembros de la comunidad nikkei se sienten igual como usted?<br>· Antes de inmigrar, ¿Pensaba que tener herencia nikkei le ayudaría a adaptarse a la cultura japonesa o a obtener la aceptación de los japoneses nativos?<br>o ¿La ayudó? ¿Qué ha aprendido sobre las actitudes nativas japonesas hacia los "extranjeros" desde que llegó? |

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| 2. | **What has been your experience socially in Japan?**<br>· How would you describe your home, neighborhood, community?<br>· Who do you turn to for help when facing a problem?<br>· Who do you consider your family?<br>· What is your religion? How observant are you?<br>· What activities do you enjoy when you are not working?<br>· Who are your close friends and what ethnicity are they of?<br>· When interacting with native Japanese, what has your experience been?<br>o Have they been open-minded, welcoming?<br>o Tell me about any positive and/or negative experiences that particularly impacted you.<br>o What is your overall impression of how native Japanese treat foreigners? | **¿Cuál ha sido su experiencia social en Japón?**<br>· ¿Cómo describiría su hogar, vecindario, comunidad?<br>· ¿A quién acude para obtener ayuda cuando enfrenta un problema?<br>· ¿A quién considera su familia?<br>· ¿Cuál es su religión? ¿Qué tan observador es?<br>· ¿Qué actividades disfruta cuando no está trabajando?<br>· ¿Quiénes son sus amigos cercanos y de qué etnicidad son?<br>· Al interactuar con el japonés nativo, ¿cuál ha sido su experiencia?<br>o ¿Han sido de mente abierta, acogedor?<br>o Cuénteme sobre cualquier experiencia positiva y/o negativa que le haya impactado particularmente.<br>o ¿Cuál es su impresión general de cómo los japoneses nativos tratan a los extranjeros? |
| 3. | **Please tell me about your life in the year before you got pregnant in Japan.**<br>· Where were you living?<br>· How did you afford this living arrangement?<br>· Were you working? Where?<br>· At what age/when did you come to Japan and what for? Do you plan to stay or do you plan to return to Peru? | **Por favor, cuénteme sobre su vida en el año antes de que quedara embarazada en Japón.**<br>· ¿Dónde vivía?<br>· ¿Cómo podía vivir de esta forma?<br>· ¿Estaba trabajando? ¿Dónde?<br>· ¿A qué edad/cuándo vino a Japón y para qué? ¿Planea quedarse o planea regresar a Perú? |
| 4. | **How did you feel when you learned you were pregnant with your most recent child in Japan?**<br>· What did the father of the baby, family, friends say when they learned you were pregnant? | **¿Cómo se sintió cuando se dio cuenta de que estaba embarazada con su más reciente niño en Japón?**<br>· ¿Qué dijo el padre del bebé, la familia, los amigos cuando se dieron cuenta que estaba embarazada?<br>· ¿Sintió que tenía a alguien o a algún recurso para obtener consejería? |

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| | · Did you feel like you had someone or somewhere to go for information and questions? | |
| 5. | **What was your experience with health insurance during your pregnancy?**<br>· Did you have health insurance during pregnancy?<br>· What kind? Private? Employer? National?<br>· What kind of problems, if any, did you encounter with insurance? Were they resolved? | **¿Cuál fue su experiencia con el seguro médico durante su embarazo?**<br>· ¿Tenía seguro médico durante el embarazo?<br>· ¿De qué tipo? ¿Privado? ¿Empleador? ¿Nacional?<br>· ¿Qué tipo de problemas, si los hay, se encontró con el seguro? ¿Fueron resueltos? |
| 6. | **How were you treated by health care providers up until you gave birth?**<br>· Were you able to attend all of the recommended prenatal appointments?<br>· What factors went into your number of visits to doctors?<br>· How did your language abilities in Japanese impact your treatment?<br>· Who were people who provided you with emotional support during your pregnancies, if anyone? | **¿Cómo fue tratada por los proveedores de atención médica hasta el parto?**<br>· ¿Pudo asistir a todas las citas prenatales recomendadas?<br>· ¿Qué factores se realizaron en el número de visitas a los médicos?<br>· ¿Cómo afectaron su tratamiento sus habilidades de idioma en japonés?<br>· ¿Quiénes fueron las personas que le proporcionaron apoyo emocional durante sus embarazos, si alguien? |
| 7. | **Tell me about your experience with your delivery.**<br>· How was the medical staff's communication with you about what was happening during delivery? Did your Japanese language ability impact this?<br>· Did medical staff or anybody else provide you with emotional support during the delivery, and how?<br>· What else do you think could have been done to make the experience easier and less stressful? | **Cuénteme sobre su experiencia con su parto.**<br>· ¿Cómo fue la comunicación del personal médico con usted acerca de lo que estaba sucediendo durante el parto? ¿Su capacidad en el lenguaje japonés influyeó en esto?<br>· ¿El personal médico o alguien más le brindió apoyo emocional durante el parto y cómo?<br>· ¿Qué más cree que se podría haber hecho para que la experiencia hubiese sido más fácil y menos estresante? |

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| 8. | **Was this your first time ever giving birth in Japan, and if not, how did your previous pregnancy and birth experiences compare to those in Japan?**<br>· What made the experience less/more stressful?<br>· Are there any Peruvian cultural traditions with pregnancy, childbirth that you wish you could have had incorporated into your experience? | **¿Fue la primera vez que dio a luz en Japón, y si no, cómo se comparan sus experiencias anteriores de embarazo y partos con las de Japón?**<br>· ¿Qué hizo que la experiencia fuera más o menos estresante?<br>· ¿Existen tradiciones culturales peruanas con el embarazo, parto que hubiese deseado haber incorporado a su experiencia? |
| 9. | **Tell me about being a mother in Japan.**<br>· Who takes care of your child(ren) during the day?<br>· What fears do you have for your children as they grow up in Japan?<br>· What challenges have you faced raising a child in Japan?<br>· What do you feel are the opportunities that raising a child in Japan provides?<br>· Have your feelings towards motherhood changed over time?<br>· What does it mean to be a mother to you?<br>· What does being a mother mean to those around you?<br>· What advice would you give to other Nikkei-Peruvian mothers in Japan? How about to those in Peru? | **Cuénteme sobre ser madre en Japón.**<br>· ¿Quién cuida a su(s) hijo(s) durante el día?<br>· ¿Qué temor tiene usted para sus a medida que crecen en Japón?<br>· ¿Qué desafíos ha enfrentado en criar a un niño en Japón?<br>· ¿Cuáles oportunidades cree que se ofrecen en criar a un niño en Japón?<br>· ¿Han cambiado sus sentimientos hacia la maternidad con el tiempo?<br>· ¿Qué significa ser una madre para usted?<br>· ¿Qué significa ser madre para los que te rodean?<br>· ¿Qué consejo les daría a otras madres nikkei-peruanas en Japón? ¿Y a las del Perú? |
| 10. | **Tell me about your child(ren).**<br>· What are their ages?<br>· How do you wish for your child to identify ethnically?<br>· How do you think that your child identifies ethnically and why?<br>· Do you wish for your children to live in Japan or Peru in the future?<br>· Where do you think your children would want to live in the future? | **Háblеme de su(s) hijo(s).**<br>· ¿Cuáles son sus edades?<br>· ¿Cómo desea que su hijo se identifique étnicamente?<br>· ¿Cómo cree que su hijo se identifica étnicamente y por qué?<br>· ¿Desea que sus hijos quieran vivir en Japón o Perú en el futuro?<br>· ¿Dónde cree que sus hijos quieran vivir en el futuro? |

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| 11. | **Tell me about your relationship with your baby(s)' father(s).**<br>· What things did he do to help you during pregnancy?<br>· Is your husband Nikkei? Peruvian? Other?<br>· Does he speak/read/write Japanese? Did that help you at all during pregnancy?<br>· Were there any problems, financial, emotional, or other, that you two experienced during pregnancy?<br>· How involved is he with your child?<br>· How does he feel about your child's exposure to Peruvian culture, etc.? | **Cuénteme sobre su relación con el(los) padre(s) de su(s) bebé(s).**<br>· ¿Qué cosas hizo para ayudarle durante el embarazo?<br>· ¿Su marido es Nikkei? ¿peruano? ¿Otro?<br>· ¿Habla/lee/escribe japonés?<br>· ¿Eso le ayudó durante el embarazo?<br>· ¿Hubo algún problema, financiero, emocional u otro, que ustedes dos tuvieron durante el embarazo?<br>· ¿Qué tan involucrado está con su hijo?<br>· ¿Cómo se siente acerca de que su hijo sea expuesto a la cultura peruana, etc.? |
| 12. | **Tell me about your visits to Peru.**<br>· How often do you visit Peru? How many separate times have you returned to Peru, since coming to Japan?<br>· Across all of these visits, how much time did you spend in Peru approximately?<br>· What was the purpose of making these visits? | **Cuénteme sobre sus visitas a Perú.**<br>· ¿Con qué frecuencia visita Perú? ¿Cuántas veces por separado ha regresado a Perú desde que llego a Japón?<br>· A lo largo de todas estas visitas, ¿cuánto tiempo ha pasado en Perú aproximadamente?<br>· ¿Cuál era el propósito de hacer estas visitas? |
| 13. | **Have you ever been diagnosed with depression?**<br>· Have you ever sought help for this?<br>· If you have sought help for this, was it in Japan or Peru? How satisfied were you with the treatment you received? | **¿Alguna vez le diagnosticaron depresión?**<br>· ¿Alguna vez ha buscado ayuda para esto?<br>· ¿Si ha buscado ayuda para esto, ¿fue en Japón o Perú? ¿Qué tan satisfecha estaba con el tratamiento que recibió? |
| 14. | **Tell me about where you live.**<br>· Does it feel like "home"? Why or why not? | **Cuénteme dónde vive.**<br>· ¿Se siente como "hogar"? ¿Por qué o por qué no? |
| 15. | **Why did you choose to participate in this research?** | **¿Por qué eligió participar en esta investigación?** |

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| 16. | **How did you find the interview process?** | **¿Cómo estuvo el proceso de entrevista?** |
| 17. | **Is there anything else you would like to share about your experience as a Nikkei-Peruvian in Japan that we haven't discussed but that you think is helpful for others to know?** | **¿Hay algo más que le gustaría compartir sobre su experiencia como nikkei-peruano en Japón que no hayamos discutido pero que usted piensa que es útil para que otros sepan?** |
| 18. | **Would you be willing to be contacted with follow-up questions?** | **¿Estaría dispuesta a ser contactada con preguntas de seguimiento?** |

C.3 Round 1 Family Planning Questions

The answers to these questions were not used in the writing of this thesis.

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| 1. What method(s) of contraception are most common? Why? What age is common to start use?<br>a. Do people like the contraceptives that they are using? If not, why do you think they continue to use them?<br>2. Any difference between contraceptive use in Nikkei-Peruvians and non-Nikkei Peruvians?<br>3. How easy or difficult is it access family planning methods? (Sources, ease of access, cost of methods, period to refill, stock outs)?<br>4. In your experience, are Nikkei people similarly open, or more or less open, than non-Nikkei about discussing contraceptive use?<br>5. Are than any non-modern methods for family planning that people use that you are aware of?<br>6. Are there any cultural (Nikkei-Peruvian or Peruvian) ideas/concepts that you think may influence what contraceptives are used?<br>7. Anything else to share about reproduction decision-making and any cultural differences between Nikkeis and non-Nikkeis? | 1. ¿Qué método(s) anticonceptivo(s) es(son) más común(es)? ¿Por qué? 2. ¿A qué edad se suele empezar a utilizar?<br>a. ¿Le gustan a la gente los anticonceptivos que utiliza? Si no es así, ¿por qué cree que siguen usándolos?<br>2. ¿Hay alguna diferencia entre el uso de anticonceptivos en los peruanos nikkeis y los no nikkeis?<br>3. ¿Qué tan fácil o difícil es el acceso a los métodos de planificación familiar? (fuentes, facilidad de acceso, costo de los métodos, período de reposición, desabastecimiento)?<br>4. Según su experiencia, ¿los nikkeis son igualmente abiertos, o más o menos abiertos, que los no nikkeis en cuanto a la discusión del uso de anticonceptivos?<br>5. ¿Existen métodos no modernos de planificación familiar que conozcas?<br>6. ¿Existen ideas/conceptos culturales (nikkei-peruanos o peruanos) que crees que pueden influir en el uso de anticonceptivos?<br>7. ¿Algo más que compartir sobre la toma de decisiones en materia de reproducción y alguna diferencia cultural entre nikkeis y no nikkeis? |

## C.4 Round 2 Background Questions

These questions were asked to participants who did not fill out the survey, in order to gather the same demographic information about them as survey participants.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. How old are you?<br>2. What year did you come to Japan?<br>3. What generation Nikkei are you? Is your mother and/or Father Nikkei?<br>4. Did you leave Peru with a descendant visa?<br>5. In what district do you live in Japan?<br>6. In what district did you in Peru before coming to Japan?<br>7. What is your education level?<br>8. How many children do you have?<br>9. What are their ages?<br>10. How many children have you had in Peru?<br>11. How many children have you had in Japan?<br>12. Do you have extended family in Japan?<br>13. What is your current living arrangement?<br>14. Are you employed and if so, where?<br>15. What kind of health insurance do you have in Japan?<br>16. What country are you a citizen of?<br>17. How would you assess your Japanese speaking ability? Reading ability?<br>18. What language do you use to communicate with your children?<br>19. What is your marital status?<br>20. What is the ethnicity of your partner or spouse?<br>21. Are you planning to return to Peru in the future?<br>22. How involved is your partner in raising your child? | 1. ¿Cuántos años tiene?<br>2. ¿En qué año llegó a Japón?<br>3. ¿Qué generación de nikkeis es? ¿Su madre y/o padre son nikkeis?<br>4. ¿Salió del Perú con visa de descendiente?<br>5. ¿En qué distrito vives en Japón?<br>6. ¿En qué distrito vivía en Perú antes de venir a Japón?<br>7. ¿Cuál es su nivel de educación?<br>8. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene?<br>9. ¿Qué edad tienen?<br>10. ¿Cuántos hijos ha tenido en el Perú?<br>11. ¿Cuántos hijos ha tenido en Japón?<br>12. ¿Tiene familia extensa en Japón?<br>13. ¿Cuál es su situación de vida actual?<br>14. ¿Está empleado y, en caso afirmativo, dónde?<br>15. ¿Qué tipo de seguro médico tiene en Japón?<br>16. ¿De qué país es usted ciudadano?<br>17. ¿Cómo valoraría su capacidad de hablar japonés? ¿La capacidad de lectura?<br>18. ¿Qué idioma utiliza para comunicarse con sus hijos?<br>19. ¿Cuál es su estado civil?<br>20. ¿Cuál es la etnia de su pareja o marido?<br>21. ¿Piensa volver a Perú en el futuro?<br>22. ¿Qué grado de participación tiene su pareja en la crianza de su hijo? |

C.5 Round 2 Peru Interview Guide Additional Questions

These questions were added in order to specifically address research questions for this thesis and supplement the original interview guide.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Do you consider yourself Nikkei and why? What makes someone Nikkei? Nikkeiness vs. Japaneseness?<br>2. What are the opportunities and hardships of mothering in the Peruvian context?<br>3. Does being Nikkei influence your approach to motherhood and if so, how?<br>4. How do you think that motherhood in the Nikkei community has changed over time?<br>5. How do you think that motherhood in the Nikkei community differs from the Peruvian norms of motherhood?<br>6. Are their aspects of Nikkei culture you wish or try to transmit to your children? How about Peruvian culture?<br>7. What aspects of how you were raised by your mother do you want to emulate in raising your children? What aspects do you not want to emulate?<br>8. Has the history of political violence in Peru shaped your approach to mothering?<br>9. Has the history of discrimination against/minority status of Nikkeis affected the way you raise your child? | 1. ¿Te consideras nikkei y por qué? ¿Qué hace que alguien sea nikkei? ¿Nikkeidad vs. Japonesidad?<br>2. ¿Cuáles son las oportunidades y dificultades de la maternidad en el contexto peruano?<br>3. ¿Ser nikkei influye en tu enfoque de la maternidad y, si es así, ¿cómo?<br>4. ¿Cómo crees que ha cambiado la maternidad en la comunidad nikkei a lo largo del tiempo?<br>5. ¿Cómo crees que la maternidad en la comunidad nikkei difiere de las normas peruanas de maternidad?<br>6. ¿Hay aspectos de la cultura nikkei que desees o trates de transmitir a tus hijos? ¿Y de la cultura peruana?<br>7. ¿Qué aspectos de la crianza de tu madre quieres emular en la crianza de tus hijos? ¿Qué aspectos no quieres emular?<br>8. ¿La historia de la violencia política en el Perú ha influido en tu forma de ser madre?<br>9. ¿La historia de la discriminación/la condición de minoría de los nikkeis ha afectado a la forma de criar a tu hijo? |
| For those who have lived in Japan before but returned to Peru:<br>1. What aspects of your experience in Japan have impacted your approach to mothering in Peru?<br>2. What are the opportunities and hardships of mothering in the Japanese context?<br>3. How do you plan to maintain aspects of your children's Japaneseness, if any, while helping them adjust to Peruvian society?<br>4. Why did you return to Peru? | Para los que han vivido en Japón antes, pero han regresado al Perú:<br>1. ¿Qué aspectos de su experiencia en Japón han influido en su forma de ser madre en el Perú?<br>2. ¿Cuáles son las oportunidades y las dificultades de la maternidad en el contexto japonés?<br>3. ¿Cómo piensas mantener aspectos de la japonesidad de tus hijos, si es que hay alguno, mientras los ayudas a adaptarse a la sociedad peruana?<br>4. ¿Por qué regresó al Perú? |

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| 5. Has your or your children's perspective towards participating in the Nikkei community in Peru changed because of your experiences in Japan?<br>6. How is your approach to mothering in Japan different from your approach to mothering in Peru? | 5. ¿Ha cambiado su perspectiva o la de sus hijos respecto a la participación en la comunidad nikkei en el Perú debido a sus experiencias en Japón?<br>6. ¿En qué se diferencia tu forma de ser madre en Japón de tu forma de ser madre en el Perú? |
| 1. Are there values in the Nikkei community of Peru that you see are not shared by the Japanese?<br>2. Has your child served as an incentive or way for you to connect with the Nikkei Peruvian community?<br>3. Has becoming a mother impacted your identity as a Nikkei Peruvian?<br>4. Where do you consider your homeland to be- Japan or Peru? Why?<br>5. Where do you think your child will consider their homeland to be? Why?<br>6. Do you teach your child how to survive as an ethnic minority in Peru?<br>7. Do you feel pressure to maintain your connection with the Nikkei Peruvian community?<br>8. How do you see the future of the Nikkei community in Peru? How about in Japan? What do you think about Nikkei Peruvians marrying people who are not Nikkei, and how do you think that will impact the future of the community? | 1. ¿Existen valores en la comunidad nikkei del Perú que usted ve que no son compartidos por los japoneses?<br>2. ¿Su hijo le ha servido como incentivo o forma de conectarse con la comunidad nikkei peruana?<br>¿El hecho de haber vivido en Japón ha impactado tu identidad como nikkei?<br>3. ¿El hecho de ser madre ha impactado en tu identidad como peruana nikkei?<br>4. ¿Dónde consideras que está tu patria: Japón o Perú? ¿Por qué?<br>5. ¿Dónde crees que tu hijo considerará su patria? ¿Por qué?<br>6. ¿Le enseñas a tu hijo a sobrevivir como minoría étnica en Perú?<br>7. ¿Sientes la presión de mantener tu conexión con la comunidad nikkei peruana?<br>8. ¿Cómo ves el futuro de la comunidad nikkei en el Perú? ¿Y en Japón? ¿Qué opinas de que los peruanos nikkeis se casen con personas que no son nikkeis, y cómo crees que eso repercutirá en el futuro de la comunidad? |

## C.6 Round 2 Japan Interview Guide Additional Questions

These questions were added in order to specifically address research questions for this thesis and supplement the original interview guide.

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|---|---|
| 1. Do you consider yourself Nikkei and why? What makes someone Nikkei? Nikkeiness vs. Japaneseness?<br>2. What are the opportunities and hardships of mothering in the Japanese context? | 1. ¿Te consideras nikkei y por qué? ¿Qué hace que alguien sea nikkei? ¿Nikkeidad vs. Japonesidad?<br>2. ¿Cuáles son las oportunidades y las dificultades de la maternidad en el contexto japonés? |

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| 3. How do you support the adjustment of your children in Japan while simultaneously dealing with your own adjustment?<br>4. How do your children affect your adjustment to Japanese society?<br>5. How do you feel as your children become more “Japanese” than you and less “Peruvian” or “Nikkei”?<br>6. Does your awareness of the difference between Nikkeiness and Japaneseness impact your desire to transmit Peruvianness and Nikkei values to your children? If so, how?<br>7. Why did you decide to migrate to Japan, and if relevant, why did you choose to stay long-term in Japan?<br>8. If you don’t plan to stay long-term in Japan, why and when do you think you would return? Do your children play a factor in this decision-making?<br>9. Are there values in the Nikkei community of Peru that you see are not shared by the Japanese?<br>10. Has your child served as an incentive or way for you to connect with the Nikkei Peruvian community?<br>11. Has becoming a mother impacted your identity as a Nikkei Peruvian?<br>12. Do you feel less Nikkei now that you are in Japan, as compared with when you were in Peru?<br>13. Has your first child significantly impacted your sociocultural adjustment to Japanese society?<br>14. Do you think being Nikkei is an advantage in Japan?<br>15. Where do you consider your homeland to be- Japan or Peru? Why?<br>16. Where do you think your child will consider their homeland to be- Japan or Peru? Why?<br>17. How do you see the future of the Nikkei community in Peru? How about in Japan? | 3. ¿Cómo apoyas la adaptación de tus hijos en Japón y al mismo tiempo lidias con tu propia adaptación?<br>4. ¿Cómo afectan sus hijos a su adaptación a la sociedad japonesa?<br>5. ¿Cómo se siente cuando sus hijos se vuelven más "japoneses" que usted y menos "peruanos" o "nikkeis"?<br>6. ¿Su conciencia de la diferencia entre la nikkeidad y la japonesidad influye en su deseo de transmitir la peruanidad y los valores nikkei a sus hijos? Si es así, ¿cómo?<br>7. ¿Por qué decidió emigrar a Japón y, si es el caso, por qué eligió quedarse a largo plazo en Japón?<br>8. Si no piensa quedarse a largo plazo en Japón, ¿por qué y cuándo cree que volvería? ¿Influyen sus hijos en esta decisión?<br>9. ¿Existen valores en la comunidad nikkei del Perú que usted ve que no son compartidos por los japoneses?<br>10. ¿Su hijo le ha servido como incentivo o forma de conectarse con la comunidad nikkei peruana?<br>11. ¿El hecho de ser madre ha impactado en tu identidad como peruana nikkei?<br>12. ¿Te sientes menos nikkei ahora que estás en Japón, en comparación con cuando estabas en el Perú?<br>13. ¿Ha tenido su primer hijo un impacto significativo en su adaptación sociocultural a la sociedad japonesa?<br>14. ¿Crees que ser nikkei es una ventaja en Japón?<br>15. ¿Dónde considera que está su patria: Japón o Perú? ¿Por qué?<br>16. ¿Dónde crees que tu hijo considerará su patria: Japón o Perú? ¿Por qué?<br>17. ¿Cómo ves el futuro de la comunidad nikkei en el Perú? ¿Y en Japón?<br>18. ¿Qué opinas de que los peruanos nikkeis se casen con personas que no son nikkeis, y cómo crees que eso repercutirá en el futuro de la comunidad? |

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| 18. What do you think about Nikkei Peruvians marrying people who are not Nikkei, and how do you think that will impact the future of the community? | |

## Appendix D Coding Charts

Table D.1 Chapter 3 Coding Chart

| | |
|---|---|
| Nikkei community as safe | Participant describes the Nikkei community as a place of safety for her and/or her children |
| Nikkei community as supportive | Participant describes the Nikkei community as a place where she and/or children receive cultural, emotional, moral, economic, and other forms of support |
| Nikkei community as welcoming | Participant describes the Nikkei community as a place where she and/or her children feel welcomed and included |
| Nikkei as restrictive / not welcoming | Participants describes the Nikkei community as a place where she and/or her children feel excluded and not welcomed |
| Transmission of Nikkeiness | Participant identifies an aspect of Nikkei culture (language, tradition, customs, etc.) that has been transmitted to them or that they wish to transmit to their children |
| Transmission of Peruvianness or other | Participant identifies an aspect of Peruvian culture (tradition, customs, etc.) that has been transmitted to them or that they wish to transmit to their children |
| Nikkei community ideology | Participant identifies an ideology of the Nikkei community |
| Positive social context of Peru | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Peru that is positive/that they perceive as good |
| Negative social context of Peru | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Peru that is negative/that they perceive as bad |
| Politics of last names | Participant describes how having in the community, having both Japanese last names is seen as better, and how having your paternal (first last name) be Japanese is seen as better than having your maternal (second last name) be Japanese; likely related to machismo and the transmission of last names two one's own children |
| Politics of facial features | Participant mentions how one "looking Nikkei" or not affects treatment or identity |
| Mother emulation | Participant describes aspects of mothering in others, including their own mother, that they want to emulate in their own mothering |

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| Mother non-emulation | Participant describes aspects of mothering in others, including their own mother, that they do not want to emulate in their own mothering |
| Belonging / feeling accepted | Participant describes feelings of belonging or feeling accepted in a community / country |
| Not belonging / feeling different | Participant describes feelings of not belonging or feeling different in a community / country |
| Bullying/discrimination in Japan | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Japan |
| Bullying/discrimination in Nikkei context | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Nikkei community or context |
| Bullying/discrimination in Peruvian context | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Peruvian social context |
| Desire to migrate | Participant describes their desire to migrate to Japan |
| Desire to visit but not migrate | Participant describes their desire to visit, but not migrate to Japan |
| Awareness of Japan vs. Nikkei difference | Participant identifies or is aware of the difference between Japaneseness vs. Nikkeiness |
| Acceptance of identity | Participant seems accepting of their identity and/or their child's |
| Hybrid identity | Participant identifies their or others' identity as something hybrid |
| Conflict in identity | Participant seems conflicted in their identity and/or their child's |
| Peru as homeland | Participant identifies Peru as their homeland |
| Japan as homeland | Participant identifies Japan as their homeland |
| Endogamy | Participant mentions marrying within the Nikkei community |
| Exogamy | Participant mentions marrying outside of the Nikkei community |
| Meaning of motherhood | Participant describes what mothering means to them |
| Future of community in Peru | Participant predicts the future of the community in Peru |
| Future of community in Japan | Participant predicts the future of the community in Japan |
| Possibility of Nikkei as an advantage in Japan | Participant describes how being Nikkei may be an advantage in Japan |
| Nikkei as an advantage in Peru | Participant describes how being Nikkei is an advantage in Peru |

Table D.2 Chapter 4 Coding Chart

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|---|---|
| Transmission of Nikkeiness | Participant identifies an aspect of Nikkei culture (language, tradition, customs, etc.) that has been transmitted to them or that they wish to transmit to their children |

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|---|---|
| Transmission of Peruvianness or other | Participant identifies an aspect of Peruvian culture (tradition, customs, etc.) that has been transmitted to them or that they wish to transmit to their children |
| Transmission of Japaneseness | Participant describes how Japaneseness is transmitted to their children |
| Positive social context of Japan | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Japan that is positive/that they perceive as good |
| Negative social context of Japan | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Japan that is negative/that they perceive as bad |
| Sociocultural adjustment to Japan of mother | Participant describes their own process of adjusting to Japan |
| Sociocultural adjustment to Japan of children | Participant describes their children's process of adjusting to Japan |
| Feelings about sociocultural adjustment of children | Participant describes their feelings about their children's sociocultural adjustment to Japan |
| Politics of last names | Participant describes how having a Japanese last name or Peruvian last name impacts them or their children |
| Politics of facial features | Participant mentions how one "looking Japanese" or not impacts them or their children |
| Mother emulation | Participant describes aspects of mothering in others, including their own mother, that they want to emulate in their own mothering |
| Mother non-emulation | Participant describes aspects of mothering in others, including their own mother, that they do not want to emulate in their own mothering |
| Belonging / feeling accepted | Participant describes feelings of belonging or feeling accepted in a community / country |
| Not belonging / feeling different | Participant describes feelings of not belonging or feeling different in a community / country |
| Bullying/discrimination in Japan | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Japan |
| Bullying/discrimination in Nikkei context | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Nikkei community or context |
| Bullying/discrimination in Peruvian context | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Peruvian social context |
| Reason for migrating to Japan | Participant describes their reason for migrating to Japan |
| Openness to migrating back to Peru | Participant is open to migrating back to Peru |
| No desire to migrate back to Peru | Participant has no desire to migrate back to Peru |
| Awareness of Japan vs. Nikkei difference | Participant identifies or is aware of the difference between Japaneseness vs. Nikkeiness |

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|---|---|
| Acceptance of identity | Participant seems accepting of their identity and/or their child's |
| Hybrid identity | Participant identifies their or others' identity as something hybrid |
| Conflict in identity | Participant seems conflicted in their identity and/or their child's |
| Peru as homeland | Participant identifies Peru as their homeland |
| Japan as homeland | Participant identifies Japan as their homeland |
| Endogamy | Participant mentions marrying within the Nikkei community |
| Exogamy | Participant mentions marrying outside of the Nikkei community |
| Meaning of motherhood | Participant describes what mothering means to them |
| Future of community in Peru | Participant predicts the future of the community in Peru |
| Future of community in Japan | Participant predicts the future of the community in Japan |
| Nikkei as an advantage in Japan | Participant describes how being Nikkei is an advantage in Japan |
| Nikkei as an advantage in Peru | Participant describes how being Nikkei is an advantage in Peru |
| Sense of community | Participant mentions feeling a sense of community |
| Lack of sense of community | Participant mentions feeling a lack of a sense of community |
| False Nikkei | Participant discusses people who fake Nikkei identity to go to Japan |
| Citizenship | Participant discusses issues of Japanese citizenship |
| Visa | Participant discusses issues of visas |
| Visiting Peru | Participant discusses visiting Peru |
| Pandemic | Participant mentions how pandemic impacted their life |
| Positive social context of Peru | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Peru that is positive/that they perceive as good |
| Negative social context of Peru | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Peru that is negative/that they perceive as bad |

Table D.3 Chapter 5 Coding Chart

| | |
|---|---|
| Transmission of Nikkeiness | Participant identifies an aspect of Nikkei culture (language, tradition, customs, etc.) that has been transmitted to them or that they wish to transmit to their children |
| Transmission of Peruvianness or other | Participant identifies an aspect of Peruvian culture (tradition, customs, etc.) that has been transmitted to them or that they wish to transmit to their children |
| Transmission of Japaneseness | Participant identifies an aspect of Japanese culture (language, tradition, customs, etc.) that they wish to continue transmitting to their children |

| | |
|---|---|
| Positive social context of Japan | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Japan that is positive/that they perceive as good |
| Negative social context of Japan | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Japan that is negative/that they perceive as bad |
| Positive sociocultural adjustment to Peru of children | Participant describes their children's process of adjusting to Peru- Positive aspects |
| Negative sociocultural adjustment to Peru of children | Participant describes their children's process of adjusting to Peru- Negative aspects |
| Adjustment to Peru of mother | Participant describes their own feelings about adjusting back to Peru |
| Belonging / feeling accepted | Participant describes feelings of belonging or feeling accepted in a community / country |
| Not belonging / feeling different | Participant describes feelings of not belonging or feeling different in a community / country |
| Bullying/discrimination in Japan | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Japan |
| Bullying/discrimination in Peruvian context | Participant describes experiences of bullying or discrimination in Peruvian social context |
| Reason for migrating back to Peru | Participant describes their reason for migrating back to Peru |
| Feelings about returning to Japan | Participant expresses their feelings about returning to Japan |
| Awareness of Japan vs. Nikkei difference | Participant identifies or is aware of the difference between Japaneseness vs. Nikkeiness |
| Acceptance of identity | Participant seems accepting of their identity and/or their child's |
| Hybrid identity | Participant identifies their or others' identity as something hybrid |
| Peru as homeland | Participant identifies Peru as their homeland |
| Japan as homeland | Participant identifies Japan as their homeland |
| Meaning of motherhood | Participant describes what mothering means to them |
| Future of community in Peru | Participant predicts the future of the community in Peru |
| Future of community in Japan | Participant predicts the future of the community in Japan |
| Nikkei as an advantage in Japan | Participant describes how being Nikkei is an advantage in Japan |
| Nikkei as an advantage in Peru | Participant describes how being Nikkei is an advantage in Peru |
| Positive social context of Peru | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Peru that is positive/that they perceive as good |
| Negative social context of Peru | Participant identifies an aspect of mothering or living in Peru that is negative/that they perceive as bad |