

# Between Japan and Peru: a century of circular migration and the ambivalence between permanence and temporariness

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## I. Introduction

The Japanese immigration to Peru is the oldest in South America and the second oldest among Latin American countries after Mexico. It dates back to 1899 when 790 Japanese arrived in the *Sakura Maru*. This was the beginning of a flow of 18,347 Japanese immigrants who reached Peruvian coastal ports as contract laborers (Fukumoto 1997). These first sojourners, whose stay in Peru was thought to be temporary by both, sending and receiving societies and by the immigrants themselves, set the basis for the establishment of the Nikkei (term that applies to the overseas Japanese emigrants, their descendants and spouses of non-Japanese ancestry) community in Peru, as they sponsored the immigration of members of their nuclear or extended families and also the immigration of their fellow-countrymen. A significant part of this chain migration or *yobiyose* was the coming of the so-called picture brides, who joined their husbands-to-be, worked hand in hand and raised their children in Peru. This constant inflow of Japanese immigrants was interrupted by the outbreak of WWII.

At the beginning of the nineties the *dekasegi* phenomenon started, which after a long hiatus of half a century reopened the migration flow between Japan and Peru, but in the reverse direction. Nikkei Peruvians flocked “back” to Japan, and since then they have been settling there as blue-collar workers to be employed in Japanese factories. This inflow of Nikkei immigrants that initially was a household emergency strategy adopted in order to cope with an adverse temporary economic scenario in their homelands, changed into a permanent residence of nuclear and extended families of Japanese ancestry in Japan. Since the end of the first decade of the new millennium, the

simultaneity of the protracted crisis in Japan and the economic expansion in Peru has triggered the return of many Nikkei Peruvian families to their homeland.

Both immigrations, the immigration of Japanese to Peru and the immigration of Nikkei Peruvians to Japan, were never intended to be permanent upon arrival in the country of destination. However, as years passed by and the more adjusted to the receiving society they were, the higher the opportunity cost of going back home. “Naturally,” the immigration became permanent. On the other hand, in both countries, Japan and Peru, the implementation of government policies that could deal primarily with the lack of labor due to their particular issues on demographics, has created the legal framework for the Japanese and the Nikkei Peruvians to have free mobility between these two nations, which could set the revolving door for temporary immigration.

The intergenerational circular migration (ICM hereinafter) that has been observed among Japanese immigrants and their descendants during more than a century has both components, permanence and temporariness, as these depend on the alternate exploratory choices of the immigrants, who evaluate their economic and moral wellbeing in both, sending and host societies.

This paper focuses on the analysis of two apparently contradictory components of the intergenerational circular migration of the Japanese immigrants and their Nikkei descendants by framing the discussion of permanence and temporariness within the theoretical proposal of Agunias and Newland (2007). These two researchers suggest a typology of circular migration, which encompasses both, permanence and temporariness, as they introduce

a more dynamic trajectory that considers not only the migration itself, but also the possibility of return after immigration. Furthermore, the paper introduces the role of ICM as household economic strategy, vehicle of individual self-realization and mechanism to reach triple-win outcomes, considering that its circularity provides the immigrants with a transnational space, in which they can take their own decisions regarding staying or migrating, and their length and timing, based on the expected achievements on economic and moral wellbeing.

## II. Theoretical Framework

Regarding the current literature on circular migration, there is a clear imbalance between the role of destination countries, and the role of sending countries. So far, the literature has mainly emphasized the role of host countries by focusing on their immigration policies (Agunias and Newland 2007; Newland, Agunias and Terrazas 2008; Fargues 2008; Zapata-Barrero et al. 2012), and its impact on human rights (Castles and Ozkul 2014), human development (Newland 2009) and its connection with diasporic movements (Agunias and Newland 2012). On the other hand, studies that deal with the effect of circular migration on origin countries and the migrants themselves, has focused on the impact of circularity on developing countries (Cali and Cantore 2010) and the socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants (Constant and Zimmermann 2003; Vadean and Piracha 2009; Zimmermann 2014).

Over the years, circular migration was closely associated with temporary migration, particularly to that regarding low-skilled circularity from south to north. There is plenty of literature on seasonal migration programs and non-seasonal low-wage labor migration (Constant and Zimmermann 2003; Newland et al. 2008; Fargues 2008; Zapata-Barrero et al. 2012; Castles and Ozkul 2014; Zimmermann 2014). However, lately another strand of literature has covered the mobility of highly skilled professionals, academics, and entrepreneurs (Newland et al. 2008; Cali and Cantore 2010; Castles and Ozkul 2014).

In both cases, low and high-skilled migration, circularity is supposed to be ensured through different mechanisms, and permanence becomes the opposite term to circularity. The return of low-skilled sojourners is guaranteed on the premises of an agreement or regulatory framework between the countries of origin and destination, while the mobility of highly educated immigrants is taken for granted as they try to achieve the best return on their investment in human capital and make the best contribution by using their qualifications and capabilities, in the country of origin, destination or even in a new host society.

Pertaining to legal issues, in the existing literature, temporariness and permanence are two absolutely irreconcilable terms (United Nation 2016). However, the expected temporariness in the destination country of low and high-skilled circularity may turn into permanence, and vice versa as it happened in the course of more than a century of ICM of the Japanese and their descendants. The typology of Agunias and Newland (2007) responded to the need of counting on a less linear migration path and comprehensive enough that can encompass both, permanence and temporariness, as possible decisions and outcomes of ICM.

Agunias and Newland (2007) distinguish between permanent and temporary migration as well as between temporary and permanent return. According to these four elements and their various combinations, four basic types of circular migration can be identified: 1. Permanent migration and permanent return: Those who spend a lengthy period in the host country and then return to stay in their country of origin; 2. Permanent migration and temporary return: Those who have emigrated for good, but who return for temporary stays; 3. Temporary migration and permanent return: Those who only stay in the host country for a short period and then return to the homeland for good; 4. Temporary migration and temporary return: Those who regularly go back and forth between two or more countries.

### III. ICM in a 100-year Span

The first Japanese immigrants arrived to Peruvian coastal ports at the very end of the nineteenth century. Since then, more than 200 vessels crossed the Pacific Ocean, carrying new immigrants who were lured with tales of success of the early immigrants, family members, relatives and same-hometown friends and acquaintances to be reunited with those who open the path for immigration in the host society, and finally the picture brides who along with their immigrant husbands raised the second generation of Peruvian-born Nikkei. As family reunification became widely common, the Japanese extended their period of stay and began to put down roots in Peru, the immigration was turning into a permanent settlement, and the outbreak of WWII truncated definitively the longing for coming back home. The diversity of the mobility pattern of the Japanese can be evidenced in the register of foreigners provided by each Peruvian local government, with significant Japanese population (Regional Archive of Lambayeque several years). In that document it can be observed that many Japanese immigrants went back home for good after being in Peru until the end of their contracts, others never went back home, while other immigrants kept their condition as sojourners and engaged in circular migration. Others decided to settle down in Peru but went back home to visit their families and hometown.

The animosity against the Japanese and their descendants was exacerbated during the global conflict, due to the strategic alliance between the governments of the United States and Peru, which responded to the economic and international affairs policies of both countries. The Japanese and their descendants built a relatively solid, comprehensive and tight-knit Nikkei society. Although it is difficult to have a grasp of the number of *Nikkeijin* in Peru, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, it is estimated that there are 100,000 Nikkei Peruvians in Peru and other 50,000 living in Japan, totaling 150,000, which represents approximately 0.5 percent of the entire Peruvian population. According to Morimoto (1991) the areas of larger concentrations

of Nikkei Peruvians lie along the coast, particularly in the capital city, Lima and surrounding areas, such as the Constitutional Province of Callao and the so-called Norte Chico (valleys located north of the capital city, Lima, and encompasses some provinces of the department of Lima), and the northern cities of Chimbote, Trujillo and Chiclayo.

Current and structural changes across the Pacific Ocean in the new millennium have had an impact on pull and push effects between Japan and Peru. Three decades ago the economic conditions in Peru operated as a push force that motivated the Nikkei Peruvians to emigrate to Japan, where pull forces worked synchronically. This flow of Nikkei immigrants was an initial household response to the economic, political and social crisis faced by all the Peruvians by the end of the eighties and beginning of the nineties. Some Nikkei stayed in Japan for less than 5 years until they reached their saving goals, others shuttled between the two countries due to family commitments in the country of origin, and some others decided to stay back in Japan. As they settled and reunited with their families in Japan and the second generation was born or raised there, occasionally, some children or one spouse went back home, because he or she could not adjust to the Japanese society. Family disruption has been one negative characteristic of the Nikkei Peruvian households in Japan.

Afterwards, on the one side the protracted economic crisis in Japan, the financial crisis of 2008, and to a lesser extent the triple disaster of March 2011, and on the other hand, one decade of sustained economic growth in South America, have turned these two forces to work in the opposite direction. As a result the number of Nikkei Peruvians in Japan has shown a continuous declining trend in the last decade.

These three different consecutive movements in opposite direction have led to both, immigrants who temporarily settled down in the country of destination, and immigrants who permanently settled down in the country of destination, simultaneously.

**1. The ethnic thread**

Despite these three opposite-direction movements of people of Japanese origin between Japan and Peru happened in more than a one-century span, the ethnic component of this ICM has served as the thread that connect all three flows, regardless distance and time. They encompass the Japanese diaspora, term that is defined as “...emigrants and their descendants who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still maintain affective and material ties to their countries of origin” (Agunias and Newland 2012). In the case of the Nikkei Peruvian migration and their descendants, these transnational ties are the basis for the creation of networks that have transcended time and the space beyond Japan and Peru, that now more than ever are of crucial significance in a globalized world. Besides the movement between Japan and Peru, there were other destinations that attracted some Nikkei Peruvians, such as US, Spain and Brazil.

As it was mentioned above, Agunias and Newland (2007) proposed a typology of circular migration, in which both permanence and temporariness are included, in the point of departure and return. Since this paper does not include a statistical analysis, there is no need to specify chronologically the term “temporary,” which makes this typology very useful for the analysis. It can be applied to the different flows of Japanese and Nikkei migrants, between Peru and Japan over the last century. Permanent migrants and permanent return (type A) could be the case of the Nikkei Peruvians who emigrated from Peru to Japan and stay in Japan.

Temporary Return	Type C: Nikkei Peruvians who emigrated from Peru to Japan at the beginning of the nineties and went back to Peru during the second half of the same decade	Type D: Japanese migrants who went to Peru until 1923 and came back to Japan right after their three-year contract expired, and renewed it, so they could go again to Peru as contract laborer
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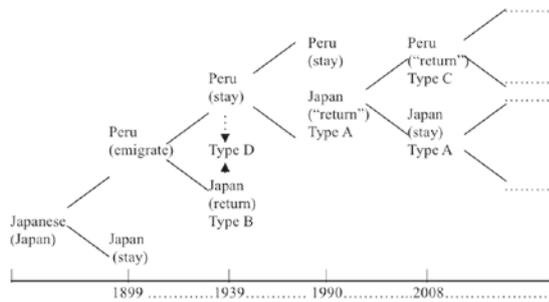
Source: Adapted from Agunias and Newland, 2007.

Temporary migrants and permanent return (type B) encompassed the Japanese migrants who went to Peru as sojourners and after their contracts’ expiration, they returned to Japan and never went back to Peru again. Permanent migrants and temporary return (type C) is represented by those Nikkei Peruvians who emigrated from Peru to Japan at the beginning of the nineties and went back to Peru during the second half of the same decade. Finally, in the category of temporary migrant and temporary return (type D) are the Japanese who went to Peru until 1923 and came back to Japan right after their contracts expired, and renewed it, so they could go again to Peru as contract laborer. While types B and D are represented by the movements of the Japanese immigration or *issei*, types A and C can be exemplified by the movements of the Nikkei Peruvians in the last 25 years. Regarding the latter type, it is also important to add that there is mobility of other Nikkei Peruvians that can be considered into type C. For example, the young Nikkei who are enrolled in higher education institutions in Peru, and during holidays go to Japan to work and save to pay their tuition fees, or the young Nikkei who after being economically independent decide to go back to Japan to work or study after their parents brought them back from Japan. Hence, the ICM of the Japanese and their descendants between Japan and Peru has gone through different stages, which can be framed into the Agunias and Newland (2007) typology, which is of capital importance in explaining circulation migration to the extent that it considers potential movements even after an apparent “permanent” return, which is a very realistic approach of the research topic.

**Table 1**  
**The Japanese and Nikkei Peruvian Migrants’ Typology**

	Permanent Migrants	Temporary Migrants
Permanent Return	Type A: Nikkei Peruvians who emigrated from Peru to Japan from the beginning of the nineties and stay in Japan until now	Type B: Japanese who went to Peru as sojourners and after their contract was finished, they return to Japan

**Figure 1**  
**The Japanese and Nikkei Peruvian Migrants' Decision Tree**



Source: Adapted from Vadean and Piracha, 2009.

Figure 1 shows a chronological outline of the migration decisions of the Japanese and their descendants. Japan and Peru has created a common space for this long-term mobility that extends across 100 years and that can go on permanently, as long as its ethnic, cultural or legal ties exist. After each migratory movement, although unintended and unplanned, people of Japanese ancestry were able to settle down in the host society, in which they had to negotiate or renegotiate with its members, in order to find their own space in societies permeated by racist or classist sensitivities. The difficulties associated to their negotiation process and its success depended greatly on the host country's historical and current circumstances, and most importantly on the perception the host society had on people of Japanese ancestry. To each migratory destination the people of Japanese origin has carried with them their own cultural legacy, which has been transformed by negotiating with the host society, and diverged from its original form due to their acculturation or adjustment to the host society. "Return" is a word inextricably associated with ICM and the nature of its movements. However, what it is called "returnee" in the current literature refers usually not only to the first generation who migrated and who are coming back to the homeland, but also to their descendants, to whom the homeland is as foreign as any country and different from the land they were brought up. Furthermore, the flows of the Japanese and their descendants between Japan and Peru in the last century have been characterized by long intervals

of inactivity, such as the half-a-century hiatus between 1939 and 1990, and the occasional trans-migratory movements of the Peruvians once settled in Japan.

## 2. Circular migration as household economic strategy

Over the years, the Nikkei Peruvians in Japan have tried several household economic strategies that have allowed them to adjust to the changes in the global economy, and at the same time satisfied the material and emotional needs of their own household members. The initial *dekasegi* Peruvian immigration to Japan was composed by a heterogeneous group of Nikkei Peruvians, regarding their socio-economic and educational backgrounds, but homogeneous in their motivation to work in Japan. For almost all of them, working in Japan was part of a household plan that was expected to alleviate the effects of the ups and downs of the Peruvian economy, and to avoid the social and political conflict derived from the fragile economy. After one year, and later on, after a couple of years, *dekasegi* workers returned home to visit their families, and came back to Japan, usually accompanied by other adult family members, friends or acquaintances. Most of them were single or married but their spouses remained with the children in the homeland. Therefore, they were motivated by the remittances they could send back home and could be used there to cover for their families' living and educational expenses, primarily, or for purchasing real estate or other large-scale assets such as vehicle, or setting up a business. This was very beneficial to them, as they could take advantage of high wages in Japan to be spent in an economy with lower-price level. After the second half of the nineties, there were two groups, the Nikkei Peruvians who went back home and the ones who stayed put in Japan. The former, as they reached they saving goals, went back home after 5 years or so, and rejoined the Peruvian job market or invested in a family business; while the latter brought their families with them, and the visits to the homeland dwindled, but yet for many of them this migration was temporary, and saving was still the main motivation.

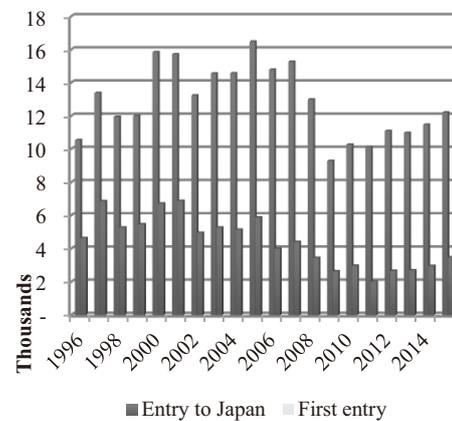
However, deferring consumption was more difficult to achieve than before, as they have to incur in family expenses that were done in Japan.

By the second half of the 2000s, as many Nikkei Peruvians extended their period of stay in Japan and changed their visa status from long-term resident (*teijūysha*) to permanent resident (*eiijūsha*), the flow of Peruvians returning home became more evident. This apparent contradiction can be explained by the household strategy of keeping open the possibility of coming back to Japan, just in case things did not go as expected when they were back to their homeland, such as work opportunities for the first generation of Nikkei Peruvians immigrants, most of them *nisei* and *sansei*, and a favorable school environment for the second generation, the children of the Nikkei Peruvian immigrants, most of them *yonsei* and *gosei*, who in most cases have spent most of their developmental years in Japan. Since mid 2000s, there was a visible process of long-term residence in Japan that was shaken by the events at the end of the first decade of the millennium, when for the first time the number of Peruvians in Japan decreased. This period of “return” migration was triggered by the protracted economic crisis that was exacerbated mainly by the Lehman shock at the end of 2008. The triple disaster (earthquake, tsunami and nuclear accident) of March 2011 have had limited effect among the Nikkei South Americans in Japan, because they do not concentrate in the affected areas. Besides the long economic stagnation in Japan and the better economic scenario in Peru, there were other personal or family reasons that drove the return of the Nikkei Peruvians. Family circumstances such as elderly care and illness, or children education were other reasons for the return. It was not uncommon to see children who were sent back home with one parent, in almost all cases with the mother, or even unaccompanied to be taken care upon arrival by a relative, who in the best case scenario could be the grandparents or parents’ siblings, or their own siblings. Children were sent back to their homeland, because they could not adjust to the Japanese educational system or Japanese lifestyle, or

because their parents preferred them to receive their homeland education.

Figure 2

Peruvians in Japan



Source: Ministry of Justice of Japan.

Nevertheless, the decline in the number of Peruvians in Japan has been far less severe that among Brazilians in Japan. In general, Nikkei Peruvians have tended to be less prone to move. In March 2009, as a response to the massive layoffs in the Japanese industrial sector caused by the global financial crisis of the previous year, the Japanese government, through the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, provided an economic aid for the relocation of the Nikkei South Americans in their homelands. Looking at the statistics, it would become apparent that this economic aid that was available until March 2010 had very little effect. Only around 12 thousand foreign households applied for it, from which 93 percent were Brazilians and only 4 percent, Peruvians. That means that just 1.2 percent of the Peruvians living in Japan were interested in receiving that monetary support. The number of Brazilians and Peruvians who went back to their countries between 2009 and the beginning of 2010 could reach 20 percent and 2 percent of the total population of these nationals in Japan, respectively (Matsumoto 2010).

In the last decade, Nikkei Peruvians have been immersed in a trial and error process, in an attempt to find the best transnational household strategy that can satisfy its members’ material and emotional needs.

This, along with the limitations in the demographics of the Nikkei in Peru, could be the reason for higher circularity among Nikkei Peruvians. Figure 2 shows the annual entries, the total and the new entries, of Peruvians in Japan since 1996. It can be observed that until 2000s the new entries accounted for more than 40 percent of the total entries, in the next decade the same ratio fell to 30 percent in average, registering a significant fall of 20 percent in 2011, and from then until 2015 shows a steady recovery, reaching an average of 25 percent. In other words, in the last ten years in average more than 70 percent of the Peruvians in Japan has been going back and forth between Japan and Peru, for several reasons and for different lengths of stay. This quantitative evidence of circularity points out the significance of framing Nikkei Peruvian migrants' movements into ICM and the necessity of analyze it into a more dynamic perspective, in terms of space and time.

### 3. Circular migration as a vehicle for self-realization

Komai (2001) called the Nikkei Latin Americans in Japan "people in search of self-actualization," because they were not only attracted to Japan for economic reasons, but for the search of their own roots, for example. Similarly, Tsuda (1999) mentioned that rather than "absolute deprivation," it was "relative deprivation" that drove Nikkei Brazilian populations to escape from unfavorable economic conditions in their country of origin that threatened their socio-economic status as lower-middle class, middle or even upper-middle class, which can be extrapolated to the Nikkei Peruvians as well. The Nikkei Peruvians went to Japan, leaving their white-collar jobs, their small businesses, their studies at prestigious private universities, or their offices and consultation rooms in the case of the professionals (Tamashiro 2000), thinking that Japan was not only their ancestors' country but also theirs. During the first years of the *dekasegi* phenomenon, the Nikkei Peruvians succeeded in convincing themselves that it was not really an economic migration, but an opportunity to go back to "their" roots. Nevertheless,

more than 25 years have passed, and while continuing to endure downward mobility because they work as blue-collar workers in Japan, the evidence that supports that Nikkei Peruvian migration was driven by self-actualization seems to have faded over time.

On the other hand, many of the second generation of Nikkei Peruvians who are back to Peru, potentially could be "people in search of self-actualization" in either country, depending on their education and language competence, certainly. After the second half of the nineties, when family reunification took place or Peruvian families have more children in schooling age, there were not few children who could not adjust to the Japanese educational system due to the lack of language proficiency or because they just could not fit into the Japanese education system. The alternative to Japanese public schools was long-distance education or sending them back to Peru under the care of a relative who in the best case were the grandparents. Peruvian schools were an alternative only for those who lived in certain areas, such as Hamamatsu city in Shizuoka prefecture or Isesaki city in Gunma prefecture. Since the beginning of the 2000s it could be observed isolated cases of "returnee" students from Japan, many of them continued studies at *Nikkeijin* schools or public and private schools in Peru. By mid 2000s this trend kept growing, and once scattered cases became waves of "returnees" from Japan who have changed *Nikkeijin* schools' education, and have had an impact on Nikkei society and its institutions, particularly regarding Japanese language education. These Peruvian children who have spent significant part of their developmental lives in Japan, after returning to Peru, their parents' homeland, had their first contact with Peruvian society through their nuclear and extended family, friends, and then in many cases through the Nikkei society, by attending *Nikkeijin* schools or events organized by its different institutions.

The returnee children of the last ten years differed from those from late nineties to the first half of the 2000s mainly in their Japanese language abilities. As it was mentioned above, the first returnees were back to

Peru precisely due to their lack of Japanese language proficiency or poor adjustment to the Japanese schooling system. The last batches of returnees were back mainly for exogenous reasons (economic crisis, triple disaster, elderly care) that precipitated a sudden return while they were enrolled in Japanese schools. Therefore, they were back to the homeland with a high level of Japanese language proficiency. There is evidence that some of them, yet very few, after graduating from secondary education go back to Japan to enroll in institutions of higher education, so they can join their parents or father who stayed put in Japan, and also help the household budget by engaging in part-time jobs. Also there is another group of second-generation Nikkei Peruvians who after graduating from Japanese higher educational institutions decide to go back to Peru, where by using their language skills and professional credentials, work there. Finally, there is another group who while studying at universities and professional schools in Peru, applied for scholarships to Japan, or they think of applying upon graduation. Certainly, for this second generation of Nikkei Peruvians, as their ethnicity allows them, there is the possibility to move freely between Japan and Peru, so they cannot only take advantage of the economic opportunities at both countries, but also achieve self-realization by the full use of their talents than can help them fulfill their own potential in the country that offers the conditions for that to happen. Currently, up to the Nikkei third generation, who are able to provide proof of their Japanese ancestry, are granted visas as Japanese descendants. The fourth and fifth generations can also obtain visas as Japanese descendants, if a member of the previous generation also applies or holds that visa.

#### 4. Triple-win outcome

Additionally, there is another positive aspect of circular migration that brings extra benefits to the migrants themselves and that is connected with the triple-win effect explained above. Agunias and Newland (2007) in their definition of circular migrants refer to the migrants as "... not just passive participants

but active agents of their own mobility." Certainly, as their ethnicity allows them, Nikkei Peruvian migrants are able to move freely between Japan and Peru, so they can take advantage of the economic opportunities at both countries. However, the definition of Agunias and Newland also implies certain degree of freedom to choose among several options, according to their capabilities and volition that support each other in the design of a plan that leads to pursue their personal and professional goals, which are framed in their own system of values and beliefs (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2011). For instance, in times of economic downturn in the country of origin, migrants can move to the country of destination, and conversely, they can move back home when the economic environment does not offer the best conditions for their wellbeing. It also applies for their moral or emotional wellbeing.

The first generation of Nikkei Peruvians are only active to the extent they choose what kind of course of action to take, but in most cases they are not able to plan their mobility, they respond passively to the circumstances, to the ups and downs of both economies, due to their lack of capabilities and credentials that can allow them to take the opportunities these two countries offer, in Japan they are unskilled workers, and in Peru, even if they speak the language and possess a degree, they became outdated human resources. Contrastingly, the second-generation Nikkei Peruvians can develop the ability to build highly meaningful career paths that overlap with their personal lives, that can help them to attain their goals, which are conceived within their own scheme of Japanese and Peruvian values. Hence, the second generation can be true agents of their own mobility.

Besides, according to Newland et al. (2008), "... circular migration denotes a migrant's engagement in both home and adopted countries; it usually involves both *return* and *repetition*." Engagement can only be achieved by offering the migrants a clear path not only for attaining material wellbeing but also emotional wellbeing that can be conducive to self-realization. In that sense, the first-generation Nikkei Peruvians cannot be engaged in both countries equally, as their

motivation is mainly driven by material wellbeing, while members of the second generation would be more prone to really engage to both countries.

#### IV. Final remarks

The Japanese and their descendants in Japan and Peru have built a common transnational space between these two countries, in a span of 100 years, in which temporariness and permanence have become key components to help us understand better the diversity of choices taken by each one of the migrants. The encompassing and dynamic typology introduced by Agunias and Newland (2007) served as a methodological tool, in which the mobility of the Japanese and their descendants has been analyzed. These authors in their seminal article proposed permanence and temporariness at two different points, during migration and at return, considering that there is always the possibility of coming back home or moving to a third destination.

By using that typology four different periods of the Japanese diaspora were captured and identified: the early Japanese immigrants who went back to Japan and never came back to Peru, the early Japanese immigrants who shuttled between the two countries, the Nikkei Peruvians who immigrated to Japan and stayed back there, and the Nikkei Peruvians who immigrated to Japan but went back to Peru. All these broad categories can change over time, turning into permanent or temporary movements. The legal framework provided by both, the country of origin and destination, has allowed them to moved back and forward on their own driven by the achievement of better living standards.

This paper has shed light on how the high degree of mobility serves them as a household strategy or instrument of self-realization, as higher mobility extends their space in which they live, work and find economic and moral wellbeing. Within this scheme, in which the destination country, the sending country, and the migrant household itself benefit, triple-win outcomes are expected.

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## 日本とペルー間の100年以上に渡る循環移住

### ～「永続」と「一時」の両面性～

スエヨシ・アナ

#### 概要

100年間以上、日本とペルーにまたがる日本人移民と彼らの子孫は、国際・国内情勢により、家族政策として循環移住を行ってきた。「永続的」と「一時的」は全く反対の意味であるとされるが、相互に補足し合いながら、循環移住の動因となっている。

本論文は、AguniasとNewland（2007）の理論枠組を利用して「永続的」と「一時的」な要素を分析し、それぞれの要素が、100年間以上続く循環移住への持続性を付与していることを明らかにした。

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