

Doctoral Dissertation

Cultural Policy and Peruvian National Identity Building:
A Study on Perspectives of Diversity Inclusion of Young
Nikkei

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Cultural Policy and Peruvian National Identity Building:
A Study on Perspectives of Diversity Inclusion of Young
Nikkei

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Abstract

The Nikkei community in Peru continues to struggle to be included in the imagined national identity. Recently, there is also evidence of a shift in the definition of Nikkei identity by the younger generation compared to traditional perspectives. There are several studies about the Nikkei identity formation and its evolution within the Latin American context, including Peru. However, few studies focus on understanding new experiences of the Nikkei identity, particularly among young artists. This study posits the following research question: *As cultural producers, how do young Nikkei artists (re)interpret the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity?*

This research aims to provide a more complex understanding of the contemporary Nikkei community including evidence of their needs and expectations regarding their participation in the citizenship project based on the state's current stance on cultural diversity. Thus, this study seeks to clarify the needs of minorities that do not fall under the "vulnerable" classification in the context of the intercultural approach adaptation for diversity management in Peru.

The present research followed a mixed methodological approach which included an online survey with 43 respondents, 6 group interviews with 15 participants, and 2 individual interviews. During the data analysis, the main concepts investigated were collective identity, ethnic identity, national identity, sense of belonging, social relationship, and representation. The online survey produced general findings regarding the above-mentioned concepts. Later, an in-depth analysis of those concepts was performed through a content analysis of the

interviews which focused upon linguistic aspects such as lexical units, argumentation schemes, and syntactical means.

The following are the main findings of this research. The analysis of the data indicates that participants feel fully entitled to call themselves Peruvian without disregarding their Japanese heritage nor any other component of their multiple background. Their position in the diversity-based Peruvian national identity is as a component of the complex diversity of the country. Participants' involvement in the Peruvian diverse society as ethnic minorities is not as a closed, isolated group but open to establishing kinship connections and participating in the Peruvian mixture of cultures. Moreover, participants established meaningful connections of respect with other Peruvian minorities' traditions by studying these other groups' art techniques and history to create projects that explore and spread their knowledge among the audience. Through their artwork, participants are also creating awareness of other minorities. Considering themselves legitimate Peruvians and participating in the Peruvian society in such an interconnected way appears to encourage these young Nikkei artists to pursue a narrative of the Peruvian identity that includes the Nikkei minority uniqueness.

This robust identification with the Peruvian national identity and the relationships built between participants and other social stakeholders contrasts with participants' perception on broader Peruvian society and the government not having a correct understanding of the Nikkei minority participation in the Peruvian national diversity. The misunderstanding from the broader Peruvian society is perceived to come from a lack of knowledge and the prevalence of stereotypes about the Nikkei community in society. In the government's case, some allocated the lack of attention to a perceived advantageous societal situation of the Nikkei community compared to other marginalized communities. In this context, as producers of identity narratives about the Nikkei community, participants identified a positive impact of art in reshaping the audience's perception of the Nikkei community. Therefore, participants

considered being a “Nikkei Artist” implied a social commitment to open the dialogue regarding topics of interest concerning the Nikkei community. It suggests art as a political action for visibility and an action of representation of the younger generations in the discussion about Nikkei identity and Peruvian identity. This plus the general agreement on the importance of creating more awareness about the Nikkei community among Peruvian citizens, emphasized in the necessity of including the Nikkei community in the state’s reflections on minorities’ challenges beyond the economic participation and the access to fundamental rights.

These findings suggest a context leading to a limited understanding of the Nikkei minority’s needs by the Peruvian state. The study indicates that the government’s current intercultural approach overlooks the broader challenges faced by minorities like the Nikkei. The findings highlight the significance of analyzing the social participation of ethnic diversity beyond economic participation and fundamental rights, urging a reexamination of diversity enhancement policies. This study also emphasizes the role of art in creating alternative narratives for overlooked minorities, suggesting it is a valuable tool for enhancing social relations and encouraging cohesion within and among minority groups. Finally, these results imply a theoretical contribution to studying art as a tool for shaping collective narratives and its potential impact on national identity construction.

This research findings led to the next recommendations. The government should revise its adaptation of the intercultural approach to the Peruvian context. Thus, it will develop a more exhaustive comprehension of all the different minority communities’ experiences as part of the diverse Peruvian society, beyond their economic situation and more focused on their relationships, which is necessary to work on policies for diversity enhancement, inclusion, and social cohesion. On the other hand, since these results suggested that art reinforced Nikkei group identity and encouraged people to continue exploring and complexifying the representation of the Nikkei community through their artwork, it is recommended that the state

promotes projects that invite people to create cultural products by drawing into their reflections on national identity. In this way, the dialogue produced in the community will allow them to find common ground and become more aware of the different voices within society. This could be done through the creation of contests for funding this type of specific projects or through the creation of categories that encompass this type of projects in the contests for funding that already exist, such as the “Economic stimulus for Culture” by the Ministry of Culture.

Lastly, as for future research, consideration should be given to employing a gender approach to analyze the self-perception of the Nikkei minority in the context of a Peruvian diversity-based national identity building. The gender aspect was a cross-cutting topic in several interviews; however, it was not analyzed in this opportunity because it was beyond the focus of this study. Future research to account for the particularities of the female experience regarding the misconceptions and stereotypes the Nikkei minority endures, as well as future research analyzing the intersections among non-normative gender identities, the Nikkei ethnic identity, and Peruvian identity are needed. These kinds of research findings would contribute to a better understanding of the Nikkei minority and, in general, would give some insights into the complexity and particularities of minority identities in Peru. This is essential for thinking about strategies for integrating and promoting intergroup relationships.

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List of Abbreviations

APJ	Japanese Peruvian Association
INEI	National Institute of Statistics and Informatic of Peru
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MINCUL	The Ministry of Culture of Peru
PNC	National Policy of Culture until 2030 by the Ministry of Culture of Peru
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YNAH	Young Nikkei Art Hall (project)

Chapter I. Introduction

1.1. Problem Set Up

In the early 2000s, my parents traveled to Japan to work and left me in the care of my *obaachan* (grandmother), a *Nisei* (二世, Japanese descendant of second generation) born in Lima in 1923, who insisted that my brother and I embrace our “Japanese identity”. *Obaachan* constantly told us we were Japanese and should learn to behave accordingly. Thus, lessons on *enryo* (Japanese manners) and words like *itadakimasu* (humble expression for accepting food) and *ittemairimasu* (humble expression for letting the person who is staying at home know that you are going and coming back) were mixed with the Spanish at home. Japanese classes, our participation in the activities of the Kumamoto prefectural club and activities such as Matsuri (festival organized by the Nikkei sports club Estadio la Union Association every year) and Japanese Culture Week (organized by the Peruvian Japanese Association), were part of our Japanese identity formation. However, we never truly thought of ourselves as Japanese. Our *butsudan* (Japanese Buddhist shrine) was full of pictures of Peru’s local saints and our Japanese language skills were limited to some greetings. In addition, we had never been to Japan and, in telephone conversations with our parents working in Japan, the Japanese were always the “others”, never “us”.

The customs learned at home only worked in the privacy of our house or in Nikkei (日系人, person of Japanese descent)¹ circles. The school we attended was not a Nikkei institution; therefore, our names, habits, and features were perceived as “weird” by the rest of the students. At this point, I can say that I was very conscious of practicing two different cultural codes, one within the Nikkei community and one outside of it. This feeling of living between two parallel

¹ Detailed definition of *Nikkei* in the Key Terms section.

worlds also surfaced during history classes. Teachers talked about the Independence of Peru, Spaniards, indigenous people, and afro-descendants, sometimes and for a few seconds about enslaved Chinese people, but never about the Japanese. When it was time to discuss World War II, my history teacher narrated the events involved as if they were distant, without impacting Peru. Meanwhile, at home, *obaachan* used to tell us how the Peruvian state captured our relatives (Japanese and Peruvian of Japanese descent) as prisoners of war and took them to concentration camps in the United States.

While my name and appearance were “exotic” and the history of my ancestors was unknown, the Nikkei community celebrated 100 years of Japanese immigration to Peru. However, outside the Nikkei community circles, I was still congratulated for Japanese achievements as if I were Japanese and not Peruvian. Therefore, I felt the urge to explain myself (name, features, costumes) early on. Over the years and during my studies in literature in Peru, I came across testimonies by the poets Doris Moromisato and José Watanabe in which they mentioned feeling being exoticized or out of place. There were also stories about Peruvian Japanese descendants who faced the questioning of their national identity in Augusto Higa’s novels and more testimonies from other Nikkei people more contemporary to me who also dealt with the constant questioning of their national identity by non-Nikkei Peruvians. This situation led me to reflect on why the Nikkei, unlike other minorities in Peru, were still perceived as permanent foreigners, apparently excluded from the narrative of Peruvian national identity.

Peru is a highly culturally diverse country hosting a broad form of ethnicities, such as *mestizo* (European and indigenous mixed race), Caucasians, African descendants, Indigenous groups (such as Quechua, Aimara, Amazonian, Ashaninka, Awajun, Shipibo Konibo), Asian descendants (such as Nikkei or Japanese descendants and Tusán or Chinese descendants), and others (INEI, 2018, p. 214). This diversity enriches the country but simultaneously presents

the government with a complex situation regarding constructing a national identity. According to Hamman, López Maguiña, Portocarrero, and Vich (2003), there is a “desire for community” or “desire to be a nation” in the construction of the various collective imaginations of Peruvian society (p. 10). Nevertheless, Peru has not created representations that integrate all citizens (Hamman et al., 2003, p. 10).

The Peruvian state struggles with a history of structural, historical, and systematic discrimination towards indigenous and Afro-Peruvian communities, the consequences of which continue to manifest today. For example, in the last national census (2017), the lowest salaries and the least access to health and education were identified as problems for Afro-Peruvian and indigenous communities (INEI, 2018). Similarly, the Peruvian state has recorded a low appreciation of the country’s cultural diversity by citizens. Data from the Peruvian state shows that 42% of the Peruvian population thinks it would be better if all Peruvians shared the same traditions (MINCUL, 2020, p. 45). Consequently, the possibility of collective identification is inhibited, while excluding practices are encouraged (MINCUL, 2020, p. 45). This context, among other factors, has caused the social cohesion to deteriorate in Peru, manifested through intolerance, lack of dialogue, and ignorance of others, triggering multiple social conflicts.

Within this complex context are other minorities, such as the Nikkei community (Japanese descendant community), a product of more recent historical migrations, with even lower demographic indexes and relative economic stability that face challenges in other dimensions of social participation. In the case of the Nikkei community, it still struggles to be identified as a member of the Peruvian national identity (Takenaka, 2004; Fukumoto, 1994; Moromisato, 2019; Wang, 2021). 124 years after the massive migration of Japanese to Peru, the Nikkei community still endures stereotypes and misconceptions, such as being a homogenous and closed group of foreigners in Peru which is not involved in national matters.

As for the misconception of the Nikkei community being a foreign group, Takenaka (2004), Moromisato (2019), and Melgar (2019) analyzed racial categorization as a mechanism which denies national belonging to the Peruvian Nikkei. In a 2004 article, Takenaka mentioned that Nikkei “continue to be treated primarily in racial terms, such as ‘Asian,’ ‘Oriental,’ or ‘Chinese’ [and] treated as aliens.” As for the homogenous stereotype, Melgar (2019) proposes that Peruvian society believe that Nikkei “form a homogeneous social class” (Melgar, 2019, p. 116). Meanwhile, some testimonies of Nikkei, for example, in the YouTube channel “No Somos Chinos” [We are not Chinese], address the homogenous stereotype toward the Nikkei community, which essentializes them and reduces their culture to a caricatured image.

On top of that, within the Nikkei community, the definition of Nikkei identity is experiencing visible changes among the younger generations compared to traditional perspectives. According to this study’s findings, the young Nikkei’s new experiences transformed the understanding of the Nikkei identity community from a rigid blood-based heritage one (Takenaka, 1999) into an apparently broader and more porous culture. Consequently, many young Nikkei are also questioning how their *difference* is incorporated into the narrative of the Peruvian nation and discussing how they want to be represented. Nowadays, younger generations of Nikkei are voicing their discontent and frustration with other Peruvians stereotyping them and questioning their national belonging while expressing the complexity of their Nikkei identity through different means, including art, as it is one of the most popular and rich formats for doing so.

Meanwhile, the Peruvian state has shown a growing interest in cultural diversity in recent decades. In the 21st century, the Peruvian state created cultural policies promoting the recognition of the cultural diversity of the country. Certainly, these policies contrasted with previous approaches that emphasize one “authentic” national culture (Marcos-Percca, 2020, p.63) or the nationalist archetype of “cultural miscegenation” (Marcos-Percca, 2020, p. 61)

instead. Peruvian contemporary initiatives are created within the global concern about “conflicts that threaten respect for diversity, inclusivity, and fundamental rights,” where “strengthening social cohesion has become an imperative” (UNPD, 2020, p. 9). However, the approach of these initiatives is still limited at the epistemic level to understand Peruvian diversity in its totality.

In 2010, with the creation of the Ministry of Culture of Peru (MINCUL) and its Vice ministry of Interculturality, the Peruvian state reaffirmed its understanding of Peruvian citizenship based on cultural diversity. In this sense, the goals for the upcoming policies were to achieve a higher knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the country’s cultural diversity and create a national identity that does not exclude any citizen of the country:

To promote the construction of policies that allow us to get to know each other better and that we recognize the diverse cultures that exist in our country and that their respect and appreciation allow us to build intercultural citizenship [and] avoid any exclusion or discrimination of the different peoples of the country, ensuring the construction of a national identity (Law for the Creation of the Ministry of Culture in Peru, 2010).

This law interprets Peruvian diversity as a privileged condition that must be protected with policies which foster the appreciation of cultural diversity, thereby increasing social cohesion and promoting development and innovation. These policies’ guidelines involve the formation of intercultural citizenship, meaning the creation of a citizen with 1) a positive attitude towards diversity, 2) who knows and respects the culture that coexists in Peru, and 3) who engages in horizontal dialogues with members of other cultural groups different from their own (MINCUL, 2020).

The intercultural approach Peruvian cultural policies claim appeared in a context where the multicultural approach was not capable to solve social cohesion issues. The multicultural approach had been criticized for conceptualizing diverse communities as homogenous and rigid

(Degregori, 2000, p. 58) as well as for ignoring their dynamism and the social importance of interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds (Zapata-Barreto, 2015, p. 4). In this context presenting deficits in social cohesion and concerning regarding global security (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, pp. 493-494), the intercultural approach proposed enhancing contact among different groups (relational orientation) to foster social cohesion (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 495).

However, two of the latest public policy publications aimed at promoting and defining the country's cultural diversity (the National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach and National Policy of Culture until 2030 (PNC)) contradict the fundamental relational orientation for social cohesion of the intercultural approach, by mentioning only superficially certain minorities, such as the Nikkei (Japanese descendants). In the National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017), Nikkei is not mentioned at all, while in the PNC (2020), Nikkei is just addressed but not considered in the policies' design, nor in their socialization process. Despite acknowledging the Nikkei community, these policies do not allocate for this community's robust participation apparently because the Nikkei community is not considered to be in a vulnerable situation.

The absence of the Nikkei community's participation in the policies' design reinforces stereotypes that depict the Nikkei minority as foreigners who are not included in the national imagination. According to the United Nations (UN), the narratives of “Who are we as a nation?” represent a collection of symbols, stories and well-worn events that define and shape a society and its values, traumas and aspirations”, turning into an “important aspect of defining social cohesion” (UNDP, 2020, p. 45). Therefore, constructing an exclusive and conflictual national identity contributes to intolerance and enmity (UNDP, 2020, p. 36).

The officialization of a national identity based on cultural diversity (Law for the Creation of the Ministry of Culture in Peru, 2010) and the consequent desire to implement the

intercultural approach in public policies for diversity promotion in Peru require rethinking: how does the Peruvian state understand national diversity? how does it define its goals for the intercultural approach? and how does it establish its target groups? So, no group is left outside. The aim of this research is to encourage the state to rethink its intercultural approach to public policy so that all minorities are included, particularly Nikkei minority. In addition, this paper proposes that the state, in its plans of building a diversity-based national identity, progresses beyond focusing upon minorities' necessities in terms of economic participation and access to fundamental rights to incorporate the development of other social dimensions essential for achieving social cohesion as well, for example, sense of belonging or social relationship. In a highly diverse country such as Peru, it is vital to analyze how the involved minorities want to participate in society and the specific challenges each minority endures.

1.2. Overview of the Important Literature

For this research, the corpus of literature consulted was built around three themes:

- The conceptualization of Nikkei identity (within the Nikkei community and from the outside).
- The construction of a diversity-based national identity in Peru through the public policies for diversity with an intercultural approach.
- The influence of art in challenging diverse societies' believes and shaping their idea of nation.

Studies that dealt mainly with changes in the conceptualization of the Nikkei identity over time were consulted. Regarding the formation of the Nikkei identity, there are a significant number of studies from different approaches, such as a mix of historical, anthropological, and sociological approaches (Adachi, 2006; Arakaki, 2002; Fukumoto, 1994; Morimoto, 1999; Materson, 2006; Fonseca, 2010; Moromisato, 2019; Takenaka, 1993, 2004), that explore the Nikkei community incorporation into the Peruvian national identity, and the difficulties that

the Nikkei community has been facing in its process of integration into Peruvian society. Studies especially relevant were those that described a growing identification of the Nikkei community with the Peruvian identity over time by comparing the paradigms of the Nikkei identity of two different generations (Arakaki, 2002; Moromisato, 2019) or those addressing the *dekasegi* phenomenon² during an economic crisis in Peru (Takenaka, 1999; Fonseca, 2010; Melgar, 2019). Likewise, these studies provide particular insights into stereotypes towards the Nikkei community in different contexts with the Nikkei community as the foreigner stereotype being a particularly enduring one.

Regarding the construction of the diversity-based Peruvian national identity, important concepts such as identity (ethnic and national) and social cohesion were first defined, as well as their importance in accessing to a dignified life. Then, Peruvian national policies for diversity and cultural policies such as the PNC (2020), the National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017), and the Law for the Creation of the Ministry of Culture (2010) were reviewed. Although all of them acknowledged that social cohesion in Peru required a greater acceptance of diversity, that principle is not shown in the policies since the concerns related to some groups, basically non-vulnerable³ groups, are not being addressed robustly in the diversity management initiatives.

Regarding art, studies observing art as an instrument for minorities inclusion in the national narrative (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Machida, 2015), and for challenging stereotypes (Ghani & Fiske, 2020) were consulted. Those studies addressed art as a safe space for people to create freely and as an instrument for people to communicate and bond. These studies provided information on minority artists' perspectives on the possibilities of art and the

² Detailed definition of *dekasegi* in the Key Terms section.

³ Detailed definition of *non-vulnerable* in the Key Terms section.

influence of artists on the construction of collective identities. Likewise, they served as a guide to explore the perception of the target group of this study.

1.3. Research Gap

Previous work on identity formation among young Nikkei generations has followed anthropological (Ley, 2008), communicational (Cárdenas, 2021), historical (Wang, 2021), and linguistic (Vargas, 2021) approaches. However, after conducting research through eJournal databases, Google Scholar, the university library, and even Google search, analysis focusing on the Nikkei minority and oriented to cultural policies with an intercultural approach developed were not found. No studies discussing on the inclusion of the Nikkei community in the cultural policies for diversity enhancement were found.

Regarding Peruvian Nikkei studies, most researchers have focused on general social and historical aspects of the Japanese immigration process. A recent innovative proposal is to analyze the Nikkei identity formation in Peru through the lens of art. Researchers looking for the discourses about Nikkei identity presented in the artistic expression of Nikkei artists, such as the literature production of Nikkei writers (Le Moyne, 2010; Tsurumi, 2012; López-Calvo, 2013; Muth et al., 2022) and dance (Matsumura-Vásquez, 2015). However, studies utilizing artistic production as a lens through which to analyze the formation of the Nikkei identity and the Nikkei community challenges within the Peruvian context have not focused on the perspective of plastic and audiovisual art producers. Considering that the plastic arts is the field that brings together the most significant number of outstanding Peruvian Nikkei artists, it is unusual that this is the case. The lack of research is even more peculiar if one considers other contexts where art production was central to the integration process of communities of Japanese descent. For instance, the art of Asian descendant communities in the United States (or Asian American art) had a relevant social impact on the visibility of those groups (Machida, 2015, p. 13).

According to unofficial records by the Peruvian artist Haroldo Higa, young Nikkei artists number approximately 300 people out of a total of 22,534 people self-identified as Nikkei in Peru (INEI, 2018, p. 214). Young people are recognized as essential actors in the process of enhancing social cohesion (UNDP, 2020, p. 51).

Filling the gap of knowledge on how the younger Nikkei generations perceive the Nikkei identity, and the relationships among the Nikkei community, the broader Peruvian society, and the state gives central insights into new ways to understand Nikkei community's position as an ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity. Likewise, participants' perception of art as capable of influencing those relationships and the artists' responsibility in that matter give insights into how they understand their position as cultural producers of a minority identity. Both cases provide fundamental information for designing public policies integrating the Nikkei community into the diversity discussion.

In designing public policies with an intercultural approach, studies on the formation of the Nikkei identity acquire new relevance. Since the Peruvian government has started to build policies to enhance diversity and pursue a citizenship project in which every Peruvian should participate, full comprehension of the Nikkei identity's current perspectives, expectations, and unique necessities regarding social participation is necessary. Thereby, the relevance and necessity of more active participation of the Nikkei community in the national project of intercultural citizenship can be evaluated.

1.4. Research Aim and Objectives

This study aims to contribute to the discussion about minorities and their participation in the diversity-based national identity building of the Peruvian State. The case of the Nikkei community draws attention to overlooked minorities that, as happens to the Nikkei community, might be facing challenges invisible to the state. Likewise, this research reveals the necessity of a more complex approach to the cultural diversity of Peru, i.e., discussing the

cultural diversity of Peru concerning dimensions beyond the access to economic participation and fundamental rights to become fully inclusive.

This research aims to show the importance of the participation of all the country's cultural communities in the citizenship project, not only because it is the right of each one to do so (including the rights of citizens as individuals), but also because, precisely from an intercultural point of view, the experience of all communities can provide new perspectives on how to achieve social cohesion, mutual understanding, and citizen participation (with citizens as agents of development). Peru is a highly culturally diverse country in terms of building its national identity and designing its public policies with an intercultural approach. Within this context, this study advances the understanding of the long-lasting Nikkei minority community that may represent the situation of other less visible cultural groups.

The objectives of this study are RO1) To identify how Nikkei youth understand their position as an ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity. To do so, it is crucial RO2) to get a better understanding of their conceptualization of Nikkei identity concerning Peruvian governmental and societal narratives and how Nikkei perceive diversity in Peruvian society. Likewise, this study proposes a third objective: RO3) to identify what participants, as cultural producers, think of art as a mean to express dynamic ethnic minority identities within the Nikkei community and to the broader Peruvian society. Overall, this study aims to encourage the Peruvian state to rethink its conceptualization of the intercultural approach so it can address the entire complex diversity of the country.

1.5. Significance

The findings of this research are expected to provide new perspectives in approaching diversity management in the highly culturally diverse society of Peru, useful for rethinking the cultural policies and, in general, the public policies for diversity enhancing. Specifically, this research will benefit the following: draw attention to the omission of certain groups in the

cultural policies design and its possible negative consequences in society, especially in terms of social cohesion. Through exploring the Nikkei case, it is expected to uncover how poorly attended minorities' relationships within their own community member and with other society stakeholders are. In addition, it is expected to uncover the Peruvian state's limited perspective to understand its complex diversity and reflect on the options for broaden it, which will be beneficial in future discussions on ethnic diversity and its management in Peru. Understanding how minorities construct their social relationships and identities helps to better understand how they wish to participate in society. Not counting with a wide understanding of the complexity of Peruvian diversity could affected citizenship project of enhancing diversity of the Peruvian state. Lastly, this study aims to add knowledge on the important role of art for collective identity formation, group identity strengthening and relationship building. From this, it is possible to discuss the importance of art promotion for social bonding or cohesion, and the accuracy of incorporate this knowledge into future projects for diversity management.

This study is expected to draw attention to the importance of incorporating young voices to the discussion of identity within minority groups. Acknowledging the diverse expectations of social participation from the Nikkei minority by younger generations creates a cohesive community with a strong group identity that can demand a more robust inclusion in the cultural policies and projects for diversity enhancement of the Peruvian state.

As for the Peruvian society, this study, through the case of the Nikkei minority, proposes a reflection on the challenges for inclusion beyond the economic situation and the level of access to basic rights that other minorities may be experiencing, including the very minorities considered vulnerable. Similarly, this study is expected to provide some insights into how diversity is being configured in Peru, and new perspectives on the discussions that Peruvian society must address in the collective construction of a national identity that integrates everyone.

The Nikkei community is not the only minority that is not represented robustly by the Peruvian government in its policies for the diversity management of the Peruvian government. Thus, the results of this study can shed some light on ways to incorporate other minorities' concerns in cultural policies and public policies for diversity enhancement in the future.

1.6. Research Questions

This context has led to the following main research question:

As cultural producers, how do young Nikkei artists (re)interpret the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity?

The following sub-questions are meant to be answered too,

- a. *How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society?*
- b. *How effective is the state's responsiveness to diversity issues in the country?*
- c. *What kind of potential does art have to express dynamic ethnic minority identities?*

1.7. Hypotheses

Based on the literature review, the following hypotheses were formulated:

H1: Concerning the participants' self-perception of their ethnic identity, it is expected that they register a high level of identification with the Peruvian national identity by the participants.

Participants will strongly identify with a Peruvian national identity.

H2: Participants will be keen on diversity, as proposed by the intercultural approach framework.

H3: Concerning the participants' perception of the Peruvian government and society's conceptualization of Nikkei identity, it is expected that the Nikkei perception is that they are not being fully addressed as part of the national diversity. Participants will feel that their Nikkei identity is not adequately recognized as part of the national diversity by the Peruvian government and society.

H4: Art will be considered a communicational tool to spread diverse and more complex images of the Nikkei community within the Peruvian society.

1.8. Conceptual Framework

This study analyzes the participants' perception of two main concepts: Nikkei identity and art. This analysis is limited to the following: understanding in greater depth how young Nikkei artists perceive the place of the Nikkei community as a Peruvian minority concerning Peruvian society and the state, and how they consider that art can influence these relationships. Thus, it explores how participants perceive the Nikkei identity, how it is integrated into the Peruvian national identity, and how the broader Peruvian society and the Peruvian state conceptualize it. At this point, exploring diversity is inevitable since it is very present in the participants' conceptualization of Nikkei and Peruvian national identities. Lastly, the concept of art is explored in the participants' discourse. It seeks to understand the possibilities that they assign to the artist and art in the inclusion of the Nikkei minority group.

The conceptualization of the Nikkei identity by the various social actors (Peruvian Nikkei institutions, Peruvian society, Peruvian government, and the participants of this study) was identified mainly through the testimony of the participants and the analysis of government documents regarding the management of national diversity. This also allowed for identification of how the participants perceived their relationship with the broader Peruvian society. Indicators of social cohesion were taken as references to analyze participants' perceptions regarding the relationships between the Nikkei community and the Peruvian mainstream society. The indicators of the dimensions of belonging (feeling of acceptance and belonging and feeling that culture/way of life is recognized, for example) and social relationship (acceptance of diversity, perceptions of the value of diversity, experiences of discrimination, for example) to measure the social cohesion were employed as sub-concepts.

The indicators of the legitimacy dimension (perceptions of state responsiveness and feelings of being represented) were mainly observed to analyze the participants' relationship with the state. Next, the concepts of visibility and representation regarding the relationship of the state and the Nikkei community in the context of diversity enhancement promoted by the intercultural approach were further investigated. Regarding the concept of art, the participants' perceptions were mainly explored regarding the possibilities of the impact of art and the artist in reconfiguring national identity narratives, creating sense of belonging, and enhancing relationships.

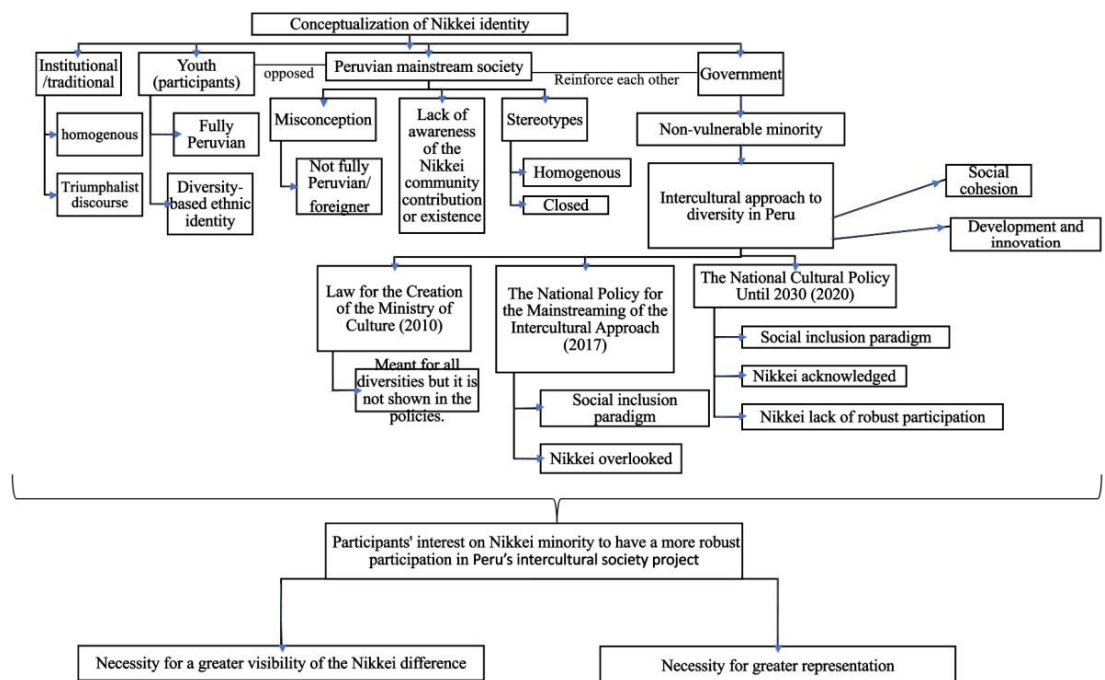


Figure 1. Conceptual framework

1.9. Theoretical Framework

This study follows an intercultural perspective; thus, it considers that diversity management to achieve social cohesion requires promoting and strengthening community ties between people within cultural groups and among diverse cultural groups. Likewise, this study confirms that the absence of positive relationships between fellow citizens and the construction

of a non-inclusive national identity are detrimental to achieving the desired social cohesion of the country.

In addition, this study follows postmodern theoretical proposals on identity formations in a globalized world, mainly those formulated by Stuart Hall (2019) and Landowski (2016). Of these theoretical positions, the following are especially central. First, individuals are multidimensional, meaning they have a diverse cultural background not limited to identification with a single cultural group (Hall, 2019). Second, identity, whether national or ethnic, is a discursive construction capable of being transformed (Delanty, 2003; Landowski, 2016; Hall, 2019).

According to Landowski (2016), groups establish unique characteristics, or marks of belonging, that differentiate them from the rest and legitimize members as part of the community. In this manner, the identity narrative about a community is born. It is called a dominant narrative when it has a greater spread capacity (Plummer, 1995). However, no group is entirely homogeneous; therefore, there are diverse perspectives on the markers of group membership, which shape alternative narratives. Alternative narratives are non-dominant perspectives on the identity characteristics of a community (Plummer, 1995). Dominant narratives are sometimes exclusive. Consequently, groups that feel excluded from the dominant narrative of the community use different means to create their alternative narratives thanks to which, despite of not fulfilling all the requirements set by dominant narratives, they can still claim their belonging to the community.

This re-creation of a group's narrative also occurs in cases where a group feels stereotyped or misunderstood. The dominant narrative built on stereotypes is questioned by the alternative narrative created by subjects with a lower capacity to reach the audience but intending to reverse said misconceptions. The process of ignoring groups as part of the

construction of national identity as well as the presence of stereotypes and misconceptions concerning those groups denote problems in intergroup communication.

Specially, in this study, cases were reviewed in which minority communities claimed presence in the discourses on national identity of the state through art (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Machida, 2015) or cases in which minorities questioned the dominant stereotypical narratives that had been constructed towards them (Ghani & Fiske, 2020). This dynamic also includes communities of Japanese descent (Machida, 2015). These theoretical concepts allow us to understand the complexities of the Nikkei identity's formation process and the obstacles in its understanding as part of Peruvian national diversity by all.

After defining identity as a discursive construction capable of transformation, this study identifies art as a cultural tool that can influence said transformation. As a cultural device, art creates narratives of identity (Organization of Ibero-American States, 2016), producing alternative narratives about collective identities (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Machida, 2015; Ghani & Fiske, 2020). As a communicative tool, art allows interaction in a safe space (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Martiniello, 2015), where the special co-creative relationship between the artist and the audience is enhanced (Ghani & Fiske, 2020). It means that art is not a unidirectional message but a bridge where people can meet to engage in meaning-building.

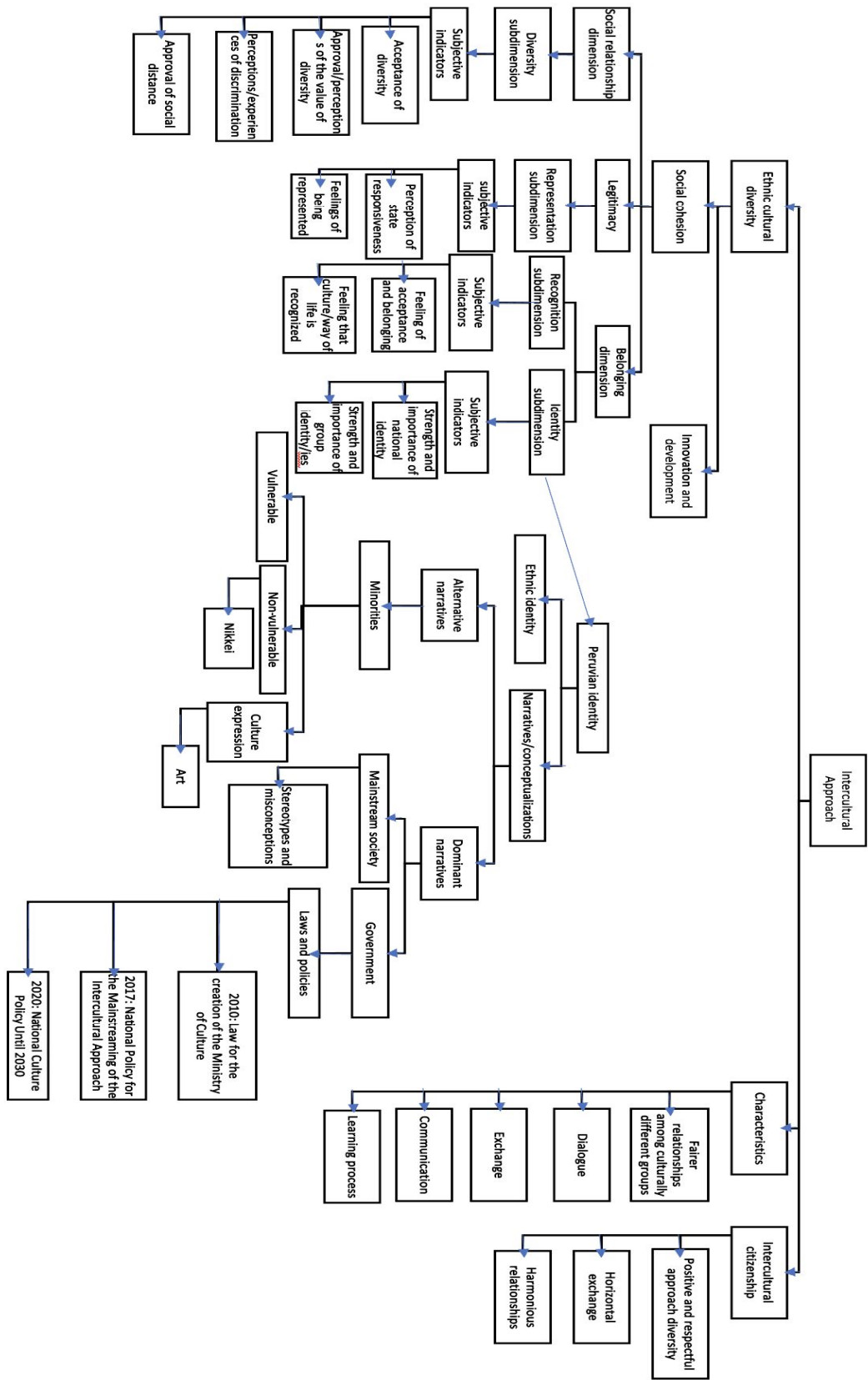


Figure 2. Theoretical framework

1.10. Methodology

This research is a mainly qualitative study based on primary data collection. The decision to utilize primary data was made because this is a novel, little-explored study which explores perceptions.

The target group of this research consists of the 63 artists who participated in one of the six annual exhibitions of the Young Nikkei Art Hall (YNAH) project by the Peruvian Japanese Association. The YNAH project aims to promote discussion about the different ways of understanding Nikkei identity. To do that, the organization set workshop meetings where artists and curators can share their ideas about Nikkei identity and show the progress in their art pieces. Finally, a free-entrance exhibition is held.

The artists of the YNAH project were chosen as the target group because they exhibit characteristics of interest for this study. Firstly, they are people who, due to their ties to art and mainly their experience in the YNAH project, express their conceptualizations of the Nikkei identity through their artistic pieces and involve the audience in the process of reflection on migration, the Nikkei community, being a cultural minority in Peru, Peruvian national identity, and so on. Secondly, the artists of the YNAH project are young people. This characteristic is of particular interest since, according to the literature consulted, the younger Nikkei generations are the ones that have been showing a more politicized attitude regarding their participation as a cultural minority in the national citizenship project.

This research's methodology is mixed: data was collected by survey and interviews. From 63 artists with experience in the YNAH project until 2022, 43 answered the online survey. Later, 17 artists were taken to six group interviews of two or three people and two individual interviews to deepen the topics addressed in the survey. After reviewing the seven YNAH project catalogs,

the artists who presented an innovative discourse regarding Nikkei identity were chosen for the interviews.

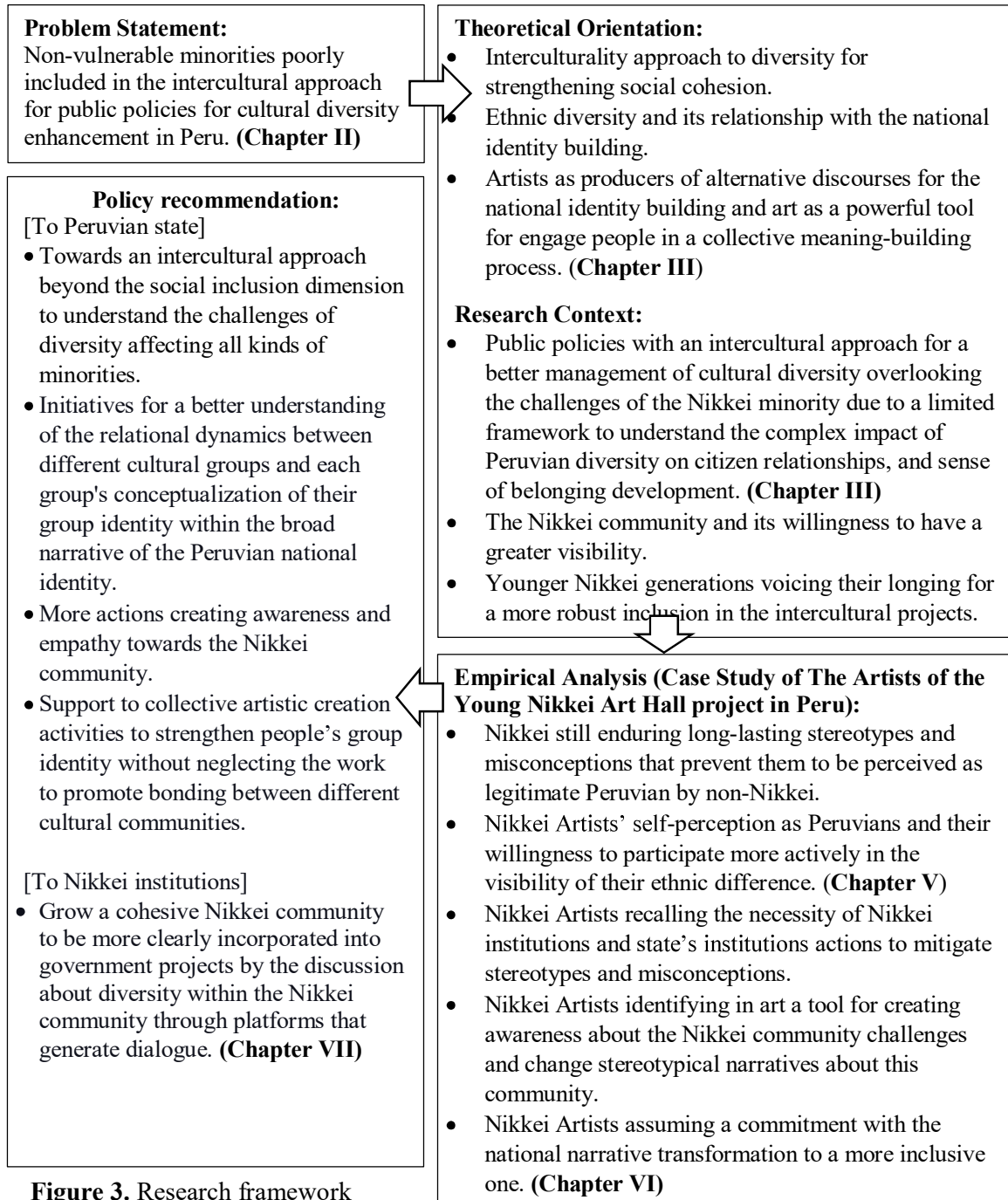


Figure 3. Research framework

1.11. Structure of the thesis

The first chapter is an introduction to the thesis. The research problem is explained, and then an overview of the most relevant literature on the subject is provided. Next, the research gap, the research aims, and the significance of the research are presented. After the research questions and hypotheses comes a summary of the most relevant aspects of the theoretical framework, then the conceptual framework is detailed, and the methodology is briefly explained.

The second chapter presents studies on the formation of the Nikkei community in Peru and the changes in the Nikkei community's identity narrative. It also analyzes the Nikkei community's current situation as a minority ethnic group concerning the broader Peruvian society and the state's conceptualization. Particular emphasis is placed on social stereotypes and how artists have been critical participants in discussing these social issues through their works.

The third chapter deepens valuable concepts for analyzing the Nikkei case within the Peruvian national identity formation, such as national identity, ethnic identity, minority, diversity, and social cohesion. Later, two topics are discussed: how the Peruvian state understands those concepts in designing its public policies for promoting diversity from an intercultural approach and how the Nikkei community is considered in those policy designs. Therefore, the objectives of the intercultural approach for the design of public policies are presented, discussed, and connected to the adaptations that the Peruvian government is making to them. Lastly, this study discusses how Nikkei have employed art to present diverse experiences, spread new conceptualizations of Nikkei identity, and challenge the discussion of ethnic diversity in Peru. The fourth chapter details the methodologies followed for the data collection and analysis. Also, a brief description of the participants is made.

Chapter V and Chapter VI present the analysis of the data. This analysis has been divided into two main concepts: 1) Nikkei identity as a minority community within the Peruvian national identity and 2) art for Nikkei and national identities transformation to make them more inclusive. The first concept explores the participants' self-perception as Nikkei and how they perceive the Nikkei identity as conceptualized by the broader Peruvian society and the state. This analysis includes the participants' perceptions of diversity in Peru and within the Nikkei community. The second concept explores the artists' and art's role in the context of the perceived lack of representation of the Nikkei community and the prevalence of stereotypes and misconceptions towards this community. Chapter VII summarizes the main findings, and presents the implications, contributions, limitations, recommendations, and future research.

Key Terms

Nikkei

The term Nikkei derives from Nikkeijin (日系人), which is an ethnic category created by the Japanese government at the end of the 20th century to name the descendants of Japanese born outside Japan, and, simultaneously, a migratory category that promotes the migration of descendants of Japanese to Japan (transgenerational return⁴) (Melgar, 2019) as “long-term foreign residents of Japanese descent” (Takenaka, 2020, p. 1131). Japanese descendants in Latin America began to use the term Nikkei as the ethnic category that reinforced a sense of belonging and differentiated them as a cultural group (Melgar, 2019; Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020) and harmonized the two cultural heritage (Japanese and Peruvian) they had (Peruvian Japanese

⁴ “It is about the return, no longer of the migrant, but of his descendants: children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren [...]” (Durand, 2004, p. 105).

Association, 2020). This term not only differentiates them from other Peruvian ethnic groups but also marks a differentiation from Japanese identity (Takenaka, 1999; Morimoto, 1999). Like any other ethnic category, the marks that identify this group have been reshaped over time. For example, some sources also include Japanese immigrants in later definitions of the “Nikkei” category (Nippon Foundation, n.d; Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020). Meanwhile, the Peruvian government defines the Nikkei identity as a “group descended from immigrants” (MINCUL, 2020, p. 184) next to the Tusán (Peruvians of Chinese descent) community and other non-specified groups, differentiating it from the other two groups: “indigenous or native peoples”, and “Afro-Peruvian people” (MINCUL, 2020, p. 184). In this study, the word Nikkei is used as an ethnic-cultural category to name Peruvians of Japanese descent of any generation and with a multiple heritage who self-identify as such.

Nikkei Ethnic Minority and Nikkei Community

In this study, “Nikkei ethnic minority” is going to be used in the cases where emphasizing the Nikkei group situation within the broader Peruvian society is needed. Most recently publication of the Council of Europe (2021) defines “minority” as a “group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State and in a non-dominant position” (p. 7). In 2017, the Peruvian national census registered 22,534 people who ethnically self-identified as Nikkei (INEI, 2018), which forms the 0.1% of the Peruvian population. Therefore, it can be said that Nikkei people form an ethnic minority in Peru. On the other hand, “Nikkei community” is going to be used in the cases where emphasizing in the condition of the Nikkei as an organized group with own social networks is needed. Some Nikkei gather in social circles formed by civil organizations (i.e., sports clubs, dance groups, youth organizations) that are identified as the Nikkei community by the members.

Dekasegi

Those Nikkei who migrated to Japan for economic reasons were called *dekasegi*, which means “to go out to get money” (Fonseca, 2010). This migration was encouraged by the creation of the Nikkeijin migratory category in the 90s allowed Japanese descendants up to the third generation to enter Japan with a work permit (Fonseca, 2010).

The *dekasegi* experience had a substantial impact on Latin American community, which, 20 years after the beginning of this process, became the third minority group (formed mainly by Peruvian and Brazilian Nikkei) with the largest population in Japan (Fonseca, 2010). Migrating as *dekasegi* was so common in Peru that Materson (2006) addressed it as one of the causes for the Peruvian Japanese Association’s considerable reduction in its membership. The migration of Peruvian Nikkei to Japan also impacted the Peruvian economy. In 2017, it was identified that 7.3% of the remittances that entered Peru came from Japan (INEI, 2020).

Regarding the identity formation of the Nikkei community in Peru, the *dekasegi* experience was central to changing the paradigm. The actual interaction with Japanese nationals soon influenced a self-perception of the Nikkei as different from the Japanese (Takenaka, 1999) and led them to accentuated more their Peruvianess (Melgar, 2019). In a context where most Nikkei perceived themselves as strongly related to a Japanese blood heritage, the *dekasegi* experience was a shocking moment for the Nikkei who thought that, in addition to working, they were going to reconnect with their ancestry living in Japan (Fonseca, 2010).

Non-vulnerable Ethnic Minorities

“Indigenous or native peoples” and “Afro-Peruvian people” are addressed as vulnerable by the Peruvian government (MINCUL, 2020, p. 31) due to the historical marginalization that nowadays impacts their access to fundamental rights and economic participation. This

categorization sheds some light on how the Peruvian state understands vulnerability and sets its priority attention accordingly. In the National Policy of Culture until 2030 (PNC) (2020), the Nikkei ethnic minority is classified in “Group descended from immigrants”, differentiated from “Indigenous or native peoples” and “Afro-Peruvian people”, meaning that the Nikkei minority is not considered vulnerable or, at least, not as vulnerable as those other two groups. Therefore, in this study, the concept of non-vulnerable and vulnerable will be used when discussing the paradigms that the state follows to include minorities in its policies. When these terms are used, they will refer to the state’s differentiation based on access to fundamental rights and the economic participation of cultural groups.

Interculturalism

The intercultural approach is a perspective that certain national and local governments assume to manage the dynamism of diversity to “ensure equality and cohesion in culturally diverse societies” (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 8). The former appears as an option for multiculturalism, which was harshly criticized for thinking of communities as self-enclosed entities sharing territory and incapable of indicating the benefits of interaction between people from different communities (Degregori, 2000; Zapata-Barrero, 2015). Therefore, interculturality highlights the importance of interaction, relationships, and exchange between citizens to build a healthy coexistence. For the intercultural approach, diversity is an opportunity for development, so people are agents of development in addition to being agents of rights. According to a systematic review of the use of this concept in academic articles between 2000 and 2017, this conceptualization of the cultural approach is also the most popular (Markus & Kirpitchenko, 2007).

Diversity

In this study, diversity will refer to cultural diversity and, more specifically, to ethnic diversity since that is the research scope. UNESCO (2001) explains that diversity “is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind.” The Peruvian state has recognized its national identity as one based on diversity. It also has shown interest in knowing its population’s diversity to generate “a better response to the needs of citizens” (MINCUL, 2015, p. 9).

From the intercultural approach in the international arena, diversity is potentially beneficial for innovation. UNESCO describes it as a “source of exchange, innovation and creativity” (UNESCO, 2001). Its benefits could be reached if policies “unlock the potential of diversity while minimizing the risks related to human mobility and cultural diversity” (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 8).

Social cohesion

Social cohesion is the ultimate goal of the intercultural approach (Council of Europe, p. 2021). This study understands that a cohesive society implies that all citizens feel part of the same community, meaning sharing values and feeling that their goals and challenges are common to all. According to the Local Government Association (2002), there also should be appreciation and value of diversity, the positive interaction between groups, and the access of different cultural groups to the same opportunities (Local Government Association, 2002). Additionally, this study will consider aspects such as the sense of belonging, feeling of acceptance, perception of discrimination, and others listed in the framework for social cohesion addressed by Lefko-Everett (2016) for the case of the highly diverse continent of Africa, detailed in Chapter III.

Political representation

Political representation is a “public institutionalized arrangement involving many people and groups operating in the complex ways of large-scale social arrangement” (Hendricks (2009, p. 693), which results in the existence of various agents involved in the development of public policies. Political participation is an indicator of social cohesion (Lefko-Everett, 2016), the ultimate goal of the intercultural approach for diversity management.

This study aims to deepen the understanding of the perception of the young Nikkei generations regarding their position as ethnic minorities within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity through the case of the Nikkei artists from the Young Nikkei Art Hall project of the Peruvian Japanese Association. For this reason, Chapter II presented an analysis of the formation of the Nikkei ethnic identity in Peru, the changes in narratives about the Nikkei identity among the members of the community, Nikkei cultural expressions, mainly through art, and the interaction of the Nikkei community with the broader Peruvian society. In Chapter III, valuable concepts for analyzing collective identity formation, such as national identity, ethnic identity, and social cohesion, were discussed and defined in the context of highly diverse societies. Next, it was analyzed and discussed how the Peruvian state understands those concepts in designing its public policies for promoting diversity from an intercultural approach. The findings were contrasted with theoretical proposals on interculturality to understand how the Peruvian state has been adapting this approach to the country’s reality, focusing on the state’s conceptualization of the Nikkei ethnic minority.

Chapter II. Expressions of Nikkei Identity

In this chapter, the context of the Nikkei community is presented in relation to its incorporation into Peruvian society and its consequent conceptualization in the national imaginary. The aim of this chapter is to explore how Nikkei perceive themselves as part of the Peruvian society and how the Peruvian society views them. This chapter starts by providing a brief historical context on the causes for the formation of the Nikkei community in Peru. Subsequently, a literature review on the development and transition with reference to the conceptualization of Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community is presented. It is highlighted how younger generations of Nikkei are expressing innovative ways to understand their ethnic identity as Peruvian. Since the self-perception is affected by others' perceptions of an individual, the findings of the literature review on the self-perception of the Nikkei community regarding its place in the Peruvian identity imaginary contrasts with the perception of the Nikkei community by the broader Peruvian society. Based on previous studies and Nikkei testimonial documents, this part of the literature review highlights long-lasting stereotypes and misconceptions that Nikkei perceived and endure from the broader Peruvian society. Lastly, a literature review on how art has been used by minorities to create new national identity narratives that include them is presented especially in the case of Asian descendant communities in the American continent. The section also discusses about Peruvian Nikkei artists who use the art platform to create an alternative narrative about Peruvian national identity in which the Nikkei can fit in.

2.1. Nikkei Participation in the Peruvian Society

Japanese immigrated to Peru from 1899 until the early forties. During this time, they built a community, created different institutions for the Japanese descendants to gather, and underwent a process to incorporate themselves into the Peruvian society. During the first half of the 20th

Century, the Japanese immigrant community in Peru dealt with diverse discriminatory practices. The Japanese and their descendants faced xenophobic treatment from the Peruvian State and other citizens during their settlement process. The ones living in Lima struggled with a growing anti-Japanese sentiment causing the historical riot in 1940 that destroyed many businesses owned by Japanese immigrants and their descendants. Shortly after, the Peruvian government created laws that affected Japanese immigration (Morimoto, 1999).

During World War II, the Peruvian government captured and sent Japanese citizens and their Peruvian descendants to concentration camps in the United States. At the end of the war, some of them returned to Peru while the associations of Japanese immigrants and their descendants in Peru were reactivated, and messages promoting a greater insertion of the Japanese and their descendants into Peruvian society appeared in the *Nikkei* newspapers (Yamawaki, 2002). Meanwhile, *Nisei* (Nikkei of second generation) dealt with the fact that the Peruvian government sent them to internee camps instead of protecting them as legitimate nationals.

Years later, a more significant presence of *Nisei*, who “embraced their Peruvian identity without disregarding their Japanese cultural heritage” -as the *Nikkei* writer Augusto Higa (Carranza, 2008) would say-, was addressed. An example of that is the change of name of the Japanese Central Society to the Peruvian Japanese Association of Peru in 1984 (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020). Likewise, *Puente* magazine, founded in 1980 by the Tamashiro brothers, reported the constant reflections of the *Nisei* on their identity and level of integration into Peruvian society (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).

Despite that, studies carried out during the 90s mentioned that the *Nisei* did not feel fully recognized as legitimate Peruvians by other non-*Nikkei* Peruvians (Fukumoto, 1994; Takenaka, 1999). Fukumoto (1994) argued that “differential insertion” is partially the result of immigrants’

endogamy and the short Japanese presence in Peruvian society, while other studies (Lesser, 1999⁵; Takenaka, 2004; Melgar, 2020) have also mentioned the physiognomy and the process of racialization that comes with it as aspects that complicate the inclusion of Nikkei community in the Peruvian identity imaginary.

Conceptions about Japanese immigrants as a solid and cohesive group that served its empire (the *yellow peril* narrative from the first years of the migration) and early year's Nikkei community endogamic practices (for example, *Shashin kekkon* or arranged marriage between Japanese men immigrants in Peru and Japanese women in Japan) might have led the way to the formation of an image of Nikkei community as an endogamic and close racial group. The hermetic level is exaggerated to the extent that some non-Nikkei claim a Nikkei ethnic solidarity in the political field still to this day. In the year 1990, Nikkei associations had to release some public announcements to deny ethnic solidarity to a Nikkei candidate since Nikkei people were facing racist and xenophobic attacks by non-Nikkei Peruvian citizens (Melgar, 2020).

The questioning of the belonging of Nikkei to Peruvian nationality is a situation that has yet to disappear from Peruvian society and a big part of that challenge must be covered by Peruvian national cultural and intercultural policies. There are still Nikkei who report having been singled out because of their features and questioned about their Peruvian identity due to their Japanese surname or physical characteristics (Gibu, n.d). Even though the Japanese descendant community started a process “[...] to open up and become integrated into Peruvian society after the ‘racial riot’ by Anti-Japanese movements in the 1930s” (Takenaka, 2004, p. 93),

⁵ Lesser refers to the Brazilian context, but it can be generalized to the Peruvian case since other studies point out that the racialization is a big part of Nikkei's being setting apart.

a stereotype about the Nikkei community as a close group that does not establish meaningful relationships with other national cultural groups seems to persist in society.

In 1952, diplomatic relations between Peru and Japan were reestablished, the Japanese Central Society (predecessor of the Peruvian Japanese Association) restarted operations in 1955. Ten years later, The Japanese Central Society received a 10,000 m² land from the Peruvian Government in compensation for the expropriation of the Japanese schools in Peru during World War II (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020) (Table 1). In 1984, the Japanese Central Society changed its name to the Peruvian Japanese Association of Peru, which highlights their sense of belonging to Peru. Later, in 1990, a Nikkei, Alberto Fujimori, is elected as president of Peru (Table 2). These events, coupled with the not so unfavorable economic conditions of the Nikkei community in Peru could generate the perception that the Nikkei were already cohesive with the broader Peruvian society. However, the Nikkei community kept facing prejudice, stereotypes, and misconceptions.

Table 1. Timeline: Relevant events in the Nikkei community history (1950s and 1960s) related to this research

1952	1954	1955	1961	1964	1965
Diplomatic relations between Peru and Japan are reestablished (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The case of the Peruvian athlete Teofilo Toda: he is prevented from representing Peru in a South American tournament in Uruguay. Because of his Japanese heritage, the	Japanese Central Society restarts operations after being halted during the World War II (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The AUNP (Nisei University Association of Peru) is created (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Some <i>Nisei</i> studying at San Marcos public university create <i>Generación 64</i> (Generation 64 in English) group (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The Japanese Central Society received a 10,000 m ² land from the Peruvian Government in compensation for the expropriation of the Japanese schools in Peru during World War II (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).

	government refuses to grant him a passport (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).				
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Table 2. Timeline: Relevant events in the Nikkei community history (1980 ~ 1990) related to this research

1980	1984	1989	1989	1990
<i>Puente</i> (Spanish word for “bridge”) magazine is founded (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The Japanese Central Society changed its name to the Association Peruvian Japanese of Peru (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The rise of the <i>dekasegi</i> . Phenomenon starts (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The Peruvian Government establishes this date as Japanese-Peruvian Friendship Day (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Alberto Fujimori wins the presidential elections (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).

2.2. Stereotypes and Misconceptions Towards the Nikkei Community

Social stereotypes toward the Nikkei community usually camouflage a more complex experience of the Nikkei, which contrasts with the complex Nikkei experience portrayed by artists within the Nikkei community. Stereotypes are social categorizations (Espinosa et al., 2007) that are produced images that “set a pattern of behavior and/or pattern of perspective in the human mind” (Velarde, 2003, p. 160). Taking Stallybrass’ ideas, Espinosa explained that these images are highly simplified concerning the true nature of the stereotyped group and are also popular images accepted by a large sector of the population (Espinosa et al., 2007). Stereotypes blur the complex image and foster an extremely simplified narrative of a group (Espinosa et al., 2007), which blocks an accurate understanding of the stereotyped subject and harms intergroup

interaction. At the same time, stereotypes or misconceptions suggest a lack of knowledge of the stereotyped group, which might be generated by the lack of exposure and proximity between the stereotyping and the stereotyped groups.

It is logical to think that stereotypes perpetuating negative characteristics against a group will be detrimental for the stereotyped group in society. However, considering stereotypes against Asian descendants' communities around the world, especially Japanese descendants, they will be judged as "positive" mostly. A study carried out in 2007 with 81 Peruvian participants (49.4% male and 50.6% female, and 53.1% of the sample between the ages of 20 and 25 and 46.9% of the sample between the ages of 44 and 56) identified Peruvians of Asian descent were only associated with positive stereotypes, such as being hardworking, responsible, capable, honest, and successful (Espinosa et al., 2007).

Contrary to what some might think, this is only partially beneficial. For example, as Adachi (2014) pointed out for the Brazilian Nikkei community, positive stereotypes make their community's struggles invisible or difficult to identify, particularly when it comes to cases of racism. Nikkei face stereotypes highly tolerated by Peruvian society, apparently because their implications don't seem to be negative (like in Espinosa's research mentioned above). For instance, comments racializing Nikkei would be overlooked as though they were invisible to most of the people. Yet stereotypes, either positive or negative, label and pigeonhole the Japanese descendants, and reduce them to physical features (Adachi, 2006). Nevertheless, the struggles generated from this oversimplified generalization might be overlooked.

Thus far, in Peruvian case, the author has not found a study employing "Positive Ethnic Minority" construct. However, the specialist on Peruvian Nikkei community Mary Fukumoto in her book, published in 1997, presents a conclusion that reflects the mentioned social phenomenon,

“[Third generation Nikkei] do not perceive themselves as discriminated people, but envied and experience a high burden of achieving success⁶” (Fukumoto, 1997, p. 555 - 556). These findings suggest the existence of a generalized idea of the Nikkei as successful people within the Peruvian society, which pressurizes them into meeting unrealistic expectations.

The existence of positive stereotypes might be perceived as indicators of the acknowledgment and appreciation of the Nikkei community by the broader Peruvian society, and, therefore, the integration of the Nikkei community as a peer in the mainstream Peruvian society. However, being singled out by these stereotypes generates an uncomfortable feeling among Nikkei, as they do not perceive themselves as “exactly on par with the members of the majority” (Adachi, 2006, p. 65). In fact, Espinosa’s study also showed that, despite Asian Peruvians being the only group related to positive characteristics by the participants of the study, they were the group the participants identified least with⁷, which was positively correlated to a lower level of empathy on the part of the participants towards the Asian Peruvians (Espinosa et. al, 2007). According to Wilson and Secker (2015), the way persons feel is central to judging how socially included they are. Therefore, “individuals are [...] not socially included unless they feel included” (Wilson & Secker, 2015, p. 54).

Although the Peruvian Nikkei community is not considered a vulnerable minority since its members do not have limited access to economic participation nor fundamental rights (INEI, 2018), yet they grapple with stereotypes that label them, set them apart, and, on the top of that, hide the negative social consequences they generate for the Nikkei community. To have a better

⁶ Original in Spanish: No se sienten discriminados, pero sí envidiados y experimentan una alta carga de responsabilidad en alcanzar el éxito.

⁷ Other options were Mestizo Peruvians, White Peruvians, Andean Peruvians, Black Peruvians, and Amazonian Peruvians.

understanding of this complex situation, two of the most prominent stereotypes and misconceptions about the Nikkei community are going to be explored next, the foreign group misconception and the homogenous stereotype. questioned by Nikkei artists are introduced: the foreign group misconception and the homogenous stereotype. These widely spread stereotypes and misconceptions confirm the limited understanding of minorities' identities, which appear to be understood mostly as rigid structures instead of the dynamic entities that they are.

2.2.1. The Nikkei Community Racialization and the Foreign Group Misconception

In May of 2021, the “Alerta contra el racismo” [Racism alert] project by the Ministry of Culture of Peru (MINCUL), held a conference called “El camino a la ciudadanía en los 200 años de República” [The Path to Citizenship in Two Hundred Years of Republic]. The invited investigators were Doris Moromisato, Humberto Rodriguez Pastor, Luis Rocca, and Rodrigo Campos, nationally well-known for their academic work related to Peruvian minority communities such as Afro-Peruvian, Tusán, and Nikkei. Regarding Nikkei community, Moromisato expressed that Nikkei have always struggled for the recognition of their citizenship, which is “unjustly questioned” by some Peruvian non-Nikkei. This statement matches with Tiffany Wang’s observation: Peruvian society sees Asian descendants as foreigners, never fully tied to Peru (Wang, 2021).

Recently, again as part of the “Alerta contra el racismo” [Racism Alert] project, the Nikkei activist Caroline Gibu published an article exposing the normalized insults and stereotypes against the Nikkei community that Peruvian social media and communication media reinforce (Gibu, n.d.). According to Gibu, one of the words people use the most to essentialize and simplify Nikkei people (and Asia descendants in general) is “Chinese”. Even though most of the people believe they use it as a friendship expression, Gibu stands that it is an imposed label that denies the Asian

descendants to express their own identity. In fact, the word “Chinese” is mostly used to address Asian descendants’ distinctive features, which also implies sometimes that the “Chinese” person does not belong to Peru.

Takenaka (2004) and Melgar (2020) have analyzed racial profiling as one of the mechanisms for denying Peruvian belongingness. According to Takenaka (2004), Nikkei “continue to be treated primarily in racial terms—as ‘Asian,’ ‘Oriental,’ or ‘Chinese’ . . . [and] treated as foreigners” (p. 94). In a testimony by the Peruvian Nikkei writer Doris Moromisato (2019), the relationship between the idea of race and the denial of belongingness is recalled: “the characteristics of this Nikkei minority—Asian, no White—have been the causes for the exclusion of the idea and project of the Peruvian nation” (p. 127). In a similar context, Lesser (1999) mentioned that “[Japanese descendants] physiognomy often allows instant categorization” as non-national in Brazil.

This misconception of the Nikkei as a foreigner mainly based on a process of racialization appear to influence the self-perception of the Nikkei. For instance, in the context of the *dekasegi* community in Japan, Nikkei started differentiating themselves from the “legitimate Peruvian” by using words such as “Peruvian-Peruvian” or “pure Peruvian” to refer to Peruvian with no Japanese ancestry (Melgar, 2019, p. 123). Considering the studies on Nikkei community consistently growing their identification with their Peruvian identity, the fact that Nikkei refer to non-Nikkei Peruvians as “pure Peruvian” suggests the internalization of the dominant discourse of Peruvian society on national identity where national ethnicities such as the Nikkei are considered not as legitimate as others.

During an interview with the German radio and television channel Deutsche Welle (DW) in 2023, Nikkei artists Tamie Tokuda, Nori Kobayashi and Sachiko Kobayashi expressed their experience as Peruvian Nikkei with racial profiling and the impact it had on their self-perception.

Tamie Tokuda, with some discomfort, referred to a question and some statements she always endured as a Nikkei that made her question her identity: “the same question they sometimes ask you, right? Hey, but [...] I mean, you look Japanese [...] Something Asian; you look Chinese” (Tamie Tokuda). Likewise, in an interview in 2021, the Nikkei artist Ken Motohasi stated “when we [Nikke] are in Peru, people see us as Japanese” (Gonzales, 2021).

These comments affect Nikkei, who start feeling ashamed of their heritage, such as Nori Kobayashi: “[at school] they made fun of my physical appearance [...] I didn't want to be treated differently [...] As a child, I felt a lot of shame” (Nori Kobayashi). The mockery on the physical features is sometimes extended to the Japanese names. Gibu (n.d.) recalled the name mocking as a usual disrespectful practice against the Nikkei community in Peru. It is usual in current Peruvian society—like it was in the beginning of 20th century within the popular music⁸.

On the top of that, comments like those might also complicate the Nikkei identification with the Peruvian nation since, in the broader society's discourse the quoted artists experienced, the Peruvian nationality is built on certain specific racial categories that do not include “Asian” looking. This is shown in Sachiko's comment, “there was a certain feeling in me that [...] Peruvians don't look like me” (Sachiko Kobayashi) (Delgado, 2023). As explained by Takenaka in 2004, this racial profiling affecting the perception of the Nikkei as part of the Peruvian national identity is not new. There are other cases of *Nisei* addressing a perceived contrast between being Peruvian and having “Asian lookings.” In the speech of prominent Nikkei, such as the painter Eduardo Tokeshi or the journalist Alejandro Sakuda, one can appreciate the reference to an “Asian” phenotype questioning the Peruvian legitimacy of the Nikkei,

⁸ For more information regarding this topic, I suggest reading *Lima, el vals y la canción criolla (1900-1936)* [Lima, Waltz and Creole Music (1900-1936)] by Gerard Borrás, edited by Institut français d'études andines in 2012.

Peruvians of Japanese descent feel integrated into the country and identify with what is Peruvian, *although* the physical appearance may not say that. (Sakuda, 2009)

The use of the adversative coordinating conjunction “although” marks the recognition of a contradiction between feeling integrated and “looking like integrated subjects.” This same perspective is identified in a phrase attributed to Eduardo Tokeshi by Sakuda: “We are a bottle of sake full of Inca Kola⁹” (Sakuda, 2009), meaning Japanese on the outside (looking) and Peruvian inside (sense of belonging). This same perspective is identified in a phrase by Amelia Morimoto (researcher) and José Watanabe (writer) in their book *La Memoria del Ojo* (1999) [Memory of the Eye] and quoted by the Peruvian Japanese Association in its web page to define the Nikkei identity as a Peruvian identity, “behind these ‘masks’, the Nikkei know that their identity is Peruvian” (Peruvian Japanese Association, n.d.-a). The idea of a foreign recipient/appearance/features (the mask, the sake bottle), which echoes race, containing a Peruvian national spirit (sense of belonging) is recalled again.

Nowadays, Keiko Fujimori, former President Alberto Fujimori’s daughter, is a visible presidential candidate. For the past three elections, she, and her brother (Kenji) have been visible faces in Peruvian politics. Either with the aim of ridicule and discredit or the aim to make them more fun and appealing to the voters, TV shows allow actors to employ yellow facing to impersonate them. At the same time, some candidates use nationalist speeches implying Keiko, as a Japanese descendant, is not Peruvian and has no sense of belonging to Peru.

⁹ Inka Cola is the most famous best seller soda in Peru.

“El wasap de JB”: Jorge Benavides anuncia parodia de la boda privada de Kenji Fujimori

El cómico peruano no dejó pasar el momento y afirmó que su producción ya está preparando el 'sketch' para este sábado.

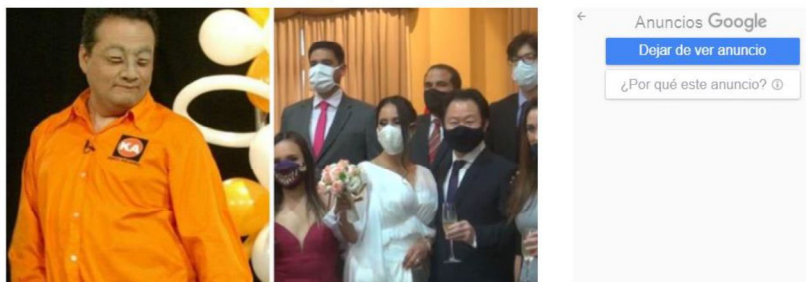


Figure 4. Kenji Fujimori depiction in a comedy show in Peru

Here two ideas were reinforced. First, Nikkei identity is on occasion reduced to physical features, which, to Peruvian society, evidence the Nikkei as sort of belongingness to an Asian nationality. Second, Nikkei culture and the physical features related to it are not considered a part of the Peruvian national diversity. Even though the Japanese descendant community started a process “to open up and become integrated into Peruvian society after the ‘racial riot’ by Anti-Japanese groups in the 1930s” (Takenaka, 2004, p. 93) and nowadays Peruvian Nikkei citizens have a diverse cultural background, thinking about the Nikkei in racial terms and as a foreigner is a long-lasting misconception that still prevails in society. It has impacted into the self-perception of the Nikkei community identity, whose members, in some cases, have assumed that “Asian” phenotypes are not perceived as Peruvian as “African,” “indigenous,” and “white” phenotypes are. In addition, the Nikkei feel ridiculed for their uniqueness.

2.2.2. The Homogenous and Closed Group Stereotype

The racialization of the Nikkei community appears to be due to its perception of being a homogenous and closed group. During the first half of the 20th Century, the Japanese immigrant community in Peru dealt with diverse expressions of discriminatory practices. They were identified as the yellow peril, which was related to the idea of the Japanese as a racialized solid and cohesive

group that served its empire. This idea, together with their endogamic practices (e.g., arranged marriages between Japanese male immigrants in Peru and Japanese women in Japan) may have led to the image of the Nikkei community as an endogamic and closed racial group that is associated closely with Japan than it is to Peru.

Thinking about a community as a homogenous group might come as a default, because, usually, the concept of community “minimizes dissimilarities” (Vo & Bonus, 2002, p. 33). The Peruvian Nikkei community is not exempt from this depiction. In Peruvian society, it is believed that Nikkei “form a homogeneous social class” (Melgar, 2019, p. 116) and —as it was addressed by the YouTube channel No Somos Chinos— they share stereotypical Japanese behaviors, such as all Nikkei (or Asian descendants) eat rice, know martial arts, and play video games. No Somos Chinos YouTube channel has even received comments from a section of the audience who are of the opinion that Asian descendants are all “the same.” To the broader Peruvian society, Nikkei community appears to be homogeneously Japanese.

One context where the homogenous stereotype is perceived strongly is in the political field. Some people continue to claim the existence of a Nikkei ethnic solidarity, which was the case during the 90s. In an interview with the Deutsche Welle (DW) channel, Nori Kobayashi mentioned next,

there are people who come up to you and [...] say positive things about [Alberto] Fujimori, thinking that because you are a Japanese descendant you are a Fujimori’s follower, and it is not [*laughs*] it is not like that. (Delgado, 2023)¹⁰

¹⁰ Original in Spanish: “hay gente que se acerca a uno y te comenta... hablando cosas positivas sobre Fujimori, pensando que por ser descendiente de japoneses eres fujimorista y no es [se ríe] no es así” (DW, 2023).

These two stereotypes are just examples from a larger list, but they serve to illustrate that Nikkei perceive that the Nikkei community is not fully considered as part of the Peruvian identity by the broader Peruvian society. Those oversimplify the conceptualization of Nikkei and place the Nikkei community closer to Japan and far from Peru. Interestingly, Takenaka (1999) mentioned that some Nikkei institutions may also be fueling this perception by highlighting some “Japanese inherited values” as shared ethnic characteristics among Nikkei community.

Even though the stereotypical and racist depiction of the Nikkei is present in media, the Culture Ministry has not created programs focus on solving this social problem. Projects such as “Amo mis raíces” [I love my roots] and “Alerta contra el racismo” [Alert against Racism] have not had a great impact in solving this issue. This situation of exclusion also can be noticed in the Intercultural Resources Center, where there is no information regarding Nikkei community besides the one collected by the last census. In the informational pamphlet called *¿Cómo somos? Diversidad cultural y lingüística del Perú. Cartilla informativa* [¿How are we? Peruvian Cultural and Linguistics Diversity. Informational Pamphlet] published in 2019, there is not one single mention of the Nikkei community despite of announcing in the introduction that this is a material that exhibits ethnic self-identification results of the 2017 National Census.

2.2.3. Positive Ethnic Minorities

Minority is a “group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State and in a non-dominant position” (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 7) and is different from the mainstream in terms of their race, religion, or political beliefs (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). The United Nations adds the subjective factors to that definition, which indicates that the existence of a minority also depends on people self-identifying as part of a minority group. In addition, for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the “minority”

concept is linked to marginalization and vulnerability. The mentioned organization defined “minorities” as “marginalized or vulnerable groups that live under the shadow of the majority populations, which have a different and dominant cultural ideology” (2014, p. 76).

However, the experiences of minority communities –as defined by the Council of Europe and the Cambridge Dictionary– are very complex. For instance, in the case of Japanese descendant communities, which are not considered vulnerable marginalized communities excluded from the economic and social participation, the concept of “Positive Ethnic Minorities” is usually recalled. The positive Ethnic Minority concept implies that the minority group referring to is acknowledged and are not excluded from the participation in society in terms of economic participation, but still singled out.

Nevertheless, “the people who are marked [...] [as such] do not feel exactly on par with the members of the majority by the very fact that they are singled out” through “positive” stereotypes (Adachi, 2006, p. 65). Positive stereotypes still label and pigeonhole people, sometimes even reducing them to physical features, situation that can be interpreted by the stereotyped group as struggle for inclusion since “[...] individuals are [...] not socially included unless they feel included [...]” (Wilson & Secker, 2015, p. 54). Therefore, “positive” stereotypes make struggles for inclusion invisible to most of the people since their negative impact is not easily perceived. On the other hand, positive minorities are also addressed as groups with a greater capacity of manifestation compared to other minority groups;

many of the model or positive minority diasporians have successfully established their social position in the society of their adopted nations through education, economic advancement, and political achievement. This has given them a degree of confidence and security unknown by previous generations. They can voice their grievances over current or

past inequities or mistreatment. They have the power to ensure their political rights. In other words, unlike incipient and displaced diasporians, the model/positive minority diasporians have many advantages as citizens of their adopted nations. Besides the obvious benefits for day-to-day living, this has also given them a more important power: the ability to control their own historical image and to construct their own historical narrative (Adachi, 2006, p. 13)

Nikkei minority community falls under the “positive minority” category in the Peruvian context. This might be partially influenced by the worldwide known positive stereotypes towards the Japanese society that affects the perception on its diaspora even years after the migration process. Diasporic communities are the result of people’s transfers, which is a highly common experience in a globalized world. Hall (2019) states that “diaspora” redounds in the idea of “the dispersal of a chosen people from their homeland and origin; the preservation of their ethnos—their strong sense of cultural difference—in the face of all adversity; [...] the transmission of tradition through the lines of kinship and descent” (p. 138). Despite that narrative, the reality is that diasporic communities are not homogenous. They “include diverse subtypes based on the particularities of the [...] situation of its members and its relations to each other” (Adachi, 2006, p. 7). In addition, as with any other identity construction, they experience changes over time and undergo permanent negotiations (Hall, 2019). It means the diasporas’ cultural identities “cannot, in subsequent generations, just be a repetition of themselves” (Hall, 2019, p. 140).

Hall suggests that these groups should be open to negotiation instead of rejecting differences and persisting in rigid and fixed identities (Hall, 2019). By accepting diasporas’ changing nature, the authenticity narrative can be broken. Therefore, diasporic communities will be able to shed the burden of being “continually suspended between a traditionalism of the past—

to which they cannot return, impure and corrupt as they are— and modernity of the future, equally impure and inauthentic, which they are forbidden to enter” (Hall, 2019, p. 143). In that sense, Hall interprets diasporas as a “metaphor for the discursive production of new interstitial spaces” resulting from globalization (Hall, 2019, p. 139). The new identities of the globalized world can only be fully understood by considering the multiplicity that crosses them (Hall, 2019) and the constant negotiation and reformation they undergo (Bauman, 2011).

Societies are made up of groups that have a diverse and dynamic culture, and that intend to live together. In a context of pursuing intercultural integration, “the effective, positive and sustainable management of diversity, on the basis of reciprocal and symmetrical recognition” falls “under an overarching human rights framework” (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 8). In such a diverse context, international organizations, such as UNESCO has acknowledged that the respect for cultural diversity, “tolerance, dialogue and cooperation in a climate of mutual trust and understanding” are the best guarantees for the preservation of international peace and security (UNESCO, 2001). For this reason, including all the diverse cultural groups in the citizen participation guarantees “social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace”, necessary characteristics to live in democracy (UNESCO, 2001).

The Nikkei community is the result of historical migrations, which had and still have an important impact on Peruvian society, which is sometimes invisible (Vásquez-Luque & Aguilar-Lluncor, 2022) generating misconceptions. In a recently published study entitled *On the Contributions of Migration to Sustainable Development* (2022) by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean of the United Nations, Vásquez-Luque and Aguilar-Lluncor not just indicated that Asian descendants communities such as the Nikkei and Tusán community (counting 4,307 Tusán according to the last national census in Peru (INEI, 2017)) are long-lasting

ethnic groups in Peru, but also pointed out that Asian immigrants (Japanese and Chinese) and their descendants (Nikkei and Tusán) have been relevant actors in the economic development of the country through their bilateral connections, remittances, investments in certain businesses naturally; also through their cultural contribution in the form of new modes of entrepreneurship and creative production impacting in the national art scene and the Peruvian identity building,

the history of the Peruvian economic transformations has important actors the Chinese, Japanese and European immigrants that since the end of the s. XIX [...] have contributed in different ways to the creation of the Peruvian development profile. The qualitative approach of the study has made it possible to identify and describe the role of the Chinese, Japanese and Italian immigrant communities in the expansion of trade, the colonization of the Amazon regions and the urbanization in these regions and in the coastal regions. It allowed the emergence and development of economic institutions such as banks and business associations. As a result of this migration, a type of Peruvian “entrepreneurship” was formed, creating spaces for economic and cultural exchanges in the cities of arrival of the migrations. Likewise, it has fostered the development of important sectors of the Peruvian economy such as the food industry and restaurant services. It has also acted as a bridge between the communities of descendants and the governments of origin of the historical migrations, generating constant bilateral solidarity for development, investments in local development and in human capital. Finally, as part of the development of Peruvian cultural industries, it has enabled the emergence of a second generation of creators who uphold Peruvian identity and art with all its variants. (Vásquez-Luque & Aguilar-Lluncor, 2022, p. 323)

The categories “positive minority” and “diasporic community” are useful to understand the way in which Nikkei are currently perceived as a foreign group by a large part of the Peruvian population and as a non-vulnerable group by the Peruvian state.

2.3. The Nikkei Identity Generational Shift: New Approaches to Their Citizenship

Currently, there are 3.8 millions of Japanese descendants around the world and 60% of them are in Latin America and the Caribbean (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, n.d.). In Peru, the latest census (2017) counted over 22,000 people who self-identified as Nikkei, which represents 0.1% of the total population of the country (INEI, 2018). However, extraofficial records count over 100,000 Japanese descendants in Peru (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, n.d.) and 30,000 Peruvian Japanese descendants currently living in Japan (APJ, 2020, p. 79).

The word “Nikkei” is an ethnic category adapted from the “Nikkeijin” ethnic -and later migratory- category created by the Japanese government (Melgar, 2019, p. 111). Nikkeijin, as a legal category, identifies eligible candidates for applying as “long-term foreign residents of Japanese descent” (Takenaka, 1999) by the Japanese government at times of economic crisis in Latin America and urgency for labor in Japan. As an ethnic category created by the Japanese government, the said term names Japanese descendants who were born abroad. In Latin America, the ethnic category “Nikkei” became popular in the 1980s among Japanese descendant, who adopted the term to “reaffirm a community sense of belonging” (Melgar, 2019, p. 111).

According to Takenaka (1999), the migration process to Japan as a working force (*dekasegi* experience) during Latin America’s economic crisis meant an actual encounter with Japanese citizens, which resulted in greater recognition of differences than similarities for the Nikkei (p. 1462). Therefore, Nikkei went from self-identifying as Japanese to assuming themselves as Nikkei (p. 1465). From that experience, the Peruvian Nikkei community

underwent a generational shift that consisted in going from identifying as “Japanese based on blood-based ethnicity” (p. 1462) to “emphasize its successful process of settlement in Peru” (p. 1465). According to Melgar (2019), this migratory process of Peruvians of Japanese descent to Japan resulted in a more forceful reaffirmation of the Nikkei’s Peruvian identity. Before this process, “the Peruvians were the others” (p. 121); later, the Nikkei also began to consider themselves Peruvians (p. 121). In that sense, the Japanese ethnic identity of Japanese immigrants and their descendants, over time, morphs into the Nikkei ethnic identity. According to Takenaka (1999), said transformation “is the key for maintaining, and even strengthening, this later generation immigrant community despite its growing distance from Japan” (p. 1465).

Recently, new transformation of the perception of Nikkei identity have been registered. For the internationally well-known Peruvian Nikkei artist Haroldo Higa-Taira, the Nikkei identity “can be understood as the various ways of feeling Nikkei, which in turn is not independent of our Peruvian identity, but rather part of it”¹¹ (Ryochi Jinnai Gallery, 2021, n.p). In the same line, young Nikkei are voicing their thoughts about the Nikkei identity while showing a growing reaffirmation of their Peruvianess that appears to follow the tendency marked by the shift during the *dekasegi* experience. A public demonstration that echoes how younger generations of Nikkei want to be addressed far from the stereotypes that picture them as a foreign group not related to national affairs they usually endure was the one on the streets against the actions of Nikkei politicians. After the 2021 elections, young Nikkei and Tusán (Chinese descendants) were coordinating street manifestations through Twitter to express their disagreement with some Nikkei (and Asian descendent) politicians involved in a campaign to

¹¹ Original in Spanish: “puede entenderse como las variadas maneras del sentir nikkei, el cual a su vez no es independiente de nuestra peruanidad, sino más bien parte de ella.”

discredit the election's results. Apparently, as happened during the 1990 elections, the Nikkei (although not institutionally this time) denied the long-lasting stereotype of ethnic solidarity toward Nikkei politicians that remains in Peruvian society.

Another political expression that gives some insights in how young Nikkei want to be pictured as part of the national affairs is the most articulated and visible movement on this issue, the “Proudly Peruvian, I am Nikkei” campaign, which informed the Nikkei community about the new question on ethnic self-identification of the 2017 national census. In a context where the Peruvian state did not consider “Nikkei” as one of the seven ethnic categories¹² displayed as options for the self-identification question, a group of Nikkei organized to inform the Nikkei population about the option number 8, “Others”, which provided the opportunity for the Nikkei community to participate of the statistics by writing Nikkei on the blank space (see Appendix G, Figure 21). This was a “community political reaction to the state's invisibility or denial” of the origin of the Nikkei community and “statistical invisibility” (Melgar, 2019, p. 115). The Nikkei action had repercussions on other Asian-descendant communities who were overlooked as an option, such as the Tusán, which, inspired by the Nikkei community, started its own campaign in the same context.

These political reactions echo the Nikkei community generational shift towards a greater intention of the younger Nikkei for the Nikkei community to be more active and participative within the national context. As it is addressed by the MINCUL through its Vice ministry of Interculturality, the creation of public policies must address and respond to its peoples' demands

¹² The options were 1) Quechua, 2) Aimara, 3) Nativo o indígena de la amazonía [Native or Indigenous Amazonian], 4) Pertenciente o parte de otro pueblo indígena u originario [Member of Another Indigenous or Native People], 5) Negro, moreno, zambo, mulato/pueblo afroperuano o afrodescendiente [Black/Afro-Peruvian People or African Descendant], 6) Blanco [White], 7) Mestizo [Mixed Race], and 8) Others.

(MINCUL, 2017). Moreover, this respond becomes more urgent in a social context where the ethnic diversity of Peru does not “play a positive role” in the construction of national identity (Espinosa et al., 2007, p. 322).

Just as young people show dissatisfaction with the stereotypes and misconceptions about the Nikkei community that predominate in Peruvian society and speak up for a reformulation of those preconceptions, also, within their ethnic community, young Nikkei identify narratives about the Nikkei identity they do not fully agree with.

Young Nikkei voices have publicly given some insights on how they want (or do not want) the inner narrative about the Nikkei community to be. During the 2020 coup attempt in Peru, a letter signed by “A Group of Young Nikkei” who “identify with Peru” was reposted by several young Nikkei via social media (see Appendix G, Figure 22). Through this letter, a group of “young Nikkei” criticized the perceived Nikkei institutions’ indifference toward the political crisis the country was facing and called on Nikkei institutions to pronounce on the national situation. This action suggested a desire for a more decisive involvement in the country’s affairs.

Some generational changes can also be identified in the Nikkei ethnic identity definition. For example, blood-purity is recalled by Melgar as a one of those fading criteria to define the extent of legitimacy of belonging to the Nikkei community. Melgar explains that in the recent past “mixed race” Japanese descendants were “socially sanctioned, which manifested itself in acts of harassment and exclusion, as well as in the use of offensive names..., such as *injerto* (Spanish word for graft), *dojin* (Japanese word for primitive) and *ainoko* (Japanese term to refer to a child of a Japanese parent with a non-Japanese parent)” (Melgar, 2019, p. 121).

As the theory on the construction of identity explains, the marks of belonging of collective identities are modified by social and historical changes. Thus, in the case of the

"mixed-race" Nikkei, the "rejection decreased as the generations of Japanese descendants born in Peru advanced, while exogamous families increased" (Melgar, 2019, p. 121). For instance, there are even records of a process of resignifying the derogatory term *ainoko* - 間の子 or child-in-between through transforming it into *ainoko* - 愛の子¹³ or child-of-love. There is no further information to determine if it is an intentional reinterpretation of the term or a confusion that became popular. However, the fact that this second definition of the term *ainoko* (child-of-love) has become popular shows the positive attitude of the new generations towards diversity within the Nikkei community.

Nevertheless, some of the marks of belonging related to perceptions of older generations are still identified by young Nikkei in the dominant discourse of the Nikkei institutions. For example, the relationship with Nikkei institutions seems to be perceived as a criterion for claiming belonging to the group. Melgar refers that some descendants of Japanese prefer not to use the Nikkei denomination because they do not identify with the sports, cultural, educational, and financial associations of the Japanese descendant community or "do not keep Japanese surnames or an 'Asian physiognomy'" (Melgar, 2019, p. 121). In addition, according to Higa (2022, p. xxii), the younger generations of Japanese descendants perceive that Nikkei institutions still do not present a total openness to diversity within the Nikkei community, which makes it difficult for these young people to become involved in the institutions.

¹³ In Japanese, both ideograms 愛 (love) and 間 (in between) can be read as "ai" while の子 means "son/daughter of".

2.4. Art for Expressing Minority Cultural Identity

Collective identity is “a particular mode of imagining and experiencing social belonging as a communicative public happening” (Delanty, 2003, p. 26). This imagined narrative called collective identity can be built and rebuilt in many ways and through different means. Before in this section, it was addressed how the Nikkei collective identity has been built and reshaped over the years within the Nikkei community. Also, it was addressed how this identity has been conceptualized by the broader Peruvian society through stereotypes. Now, art, which is another form of expression that appears to be widely used among Nikkei to reflect the conceptualization of their identity, will be introduced.

Like stereotypes, art produces narratives about the depicted groups. Therefore, it can be said that cultural products, such as stereotypes and art depictions, “produce reality” (Vich, 2013, p. 130). Through cultural devices like art, artists produce a narrative for people to interpret their lives and imagine their places in society. Drawing on Althusser, Hall, Papadopoulos and Tsianos, Youkhana (2015) states that the cultural production or the “objects/artifacts of material cultural production” influence the sense of belonging of the person since this “increasingly derives from complex interconnections through mediating objects, including [...] signs” (p. 20). Therefore, the consumption of cultural symbolic assets, such as art, impacts in people’s daily life. In addition, the consumption of “cultural devices” or symbolic elements such as art is central to social cohesion and identity building in a country (Organization of Ibero-American States, 2016, p. 18).

In the context of national identity building, art (a cultural expression) can be a vehicle for changing the narrative of the nation, including certain groups in the conceptualization of the nation, which is central for people to be recognized as part of the same society,

[The nation is an entity] that produces meaning and constitutes a person's identification [...]. The nation's narrative help us imagining sharing, somehow, a general collective narrative. Therefore, our routine life connects with a great national destiny that existed before us and is going to survive us. (Pastor, 2016, p. 121)

Art can be a vehicle for creating a nation's narrative. The nation is a construction (or a narrative), which, according to Pastor (2016), depends on the creativity of the "tradition guardians, the intellectuals, politicians, military, writers, bureaucrats, artists, priests and historians [that] record, modify and transmit a large number of myths, symbols, memories, values and beliefs that become traditions revered by the citizens of a country" (Pastor, 2016, p. 121). According to the Organization of Ibero-American States, cultural assets impact on the social cohesion, identity construction and democratic exercise (Organization of Ibero-American States, 2016, p. 126). Therefore, art can join the negotiation process of creating, transmitting, and reinterpreting the characteristics that identify the legitimate members of a group, and the "values, attitudes, and convictions through which individuals and communities transmit the meaning they give to their lives and their development" (MINCUL, 2015, p. 36).

However, "how does the collective narrative affect social cohesion?", the UNDP points out that "narratives establish the underlying notion of the degree of exclusion and inclusion in society" (UNDP, 2020, p. 38). Therefore, within the context of national identity building, artists can express how they picture the nation and participate in the construction of the narrative of, "Who are we as a nation? [which] is an important aspect of defining social cohesion" (UNDP, 2020, p. 45). For example, art can produce narratives of social boundary (Youkhana, 2015, p. 16) and function as a tool for inclusion in the nation's identity narrative. Recalling Miller and Yúdice (2004), cultural products are "[...] legitimate basis from which particular groups can demand

resources, as well as inclusion in the national narrative, even if only to problematize it” (Miller & Yúdice, 2004, p.28). In the specific case of minority communities, art has been a field where artists have challenged the official narrative of national identity and included neglected communities in the national discourse (Naidu-Silvermann, 2015).

Art, in general, has been employed by minorities worldwide to include themselves within the national narrative (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Machida, 2015; Ghani & Fiske, 2020). Studies (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Ghani and Fiske, 2020) have shown the positive impact of art on the national identity–building processes of nations. Some illustrative examples of the contribution of art for integration are the ones exposed by Naidu-Silvermann in her study in post conflict countries, like Pakistan and Nepal. For instance, the project of Nepal Picture Library Digital Photo Archive is centered in spreading ordinary people’s stories to show the diversity of Nepali society, while presenting more inclusive narratives of a society that is not stuck in past crises but is looking to a peaceful future (Naidu-Silvermann, 2015). Likewise, in countries such as Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, with a postwar context where local ethnic minority groups were excluded from representation in the national identity, art has become a valuable tool for addressing minorities’ participation in society (Naidu-Silverman, 2015).

When creating an art piece, artists decide what is relevant to communicate to others (Mirza, 2012). Art is also used as a communicative instrument to challenge and transform fixed ideas regarding a group through the creation of alternative narratives (Machida, 2015; Ghani & Fiske, 2020). For example, Ghani and Fiske’s (2020) study on Afghan women showed how more complex representations through art challenge naturalized stereotypes that are drawn to justify powerful Western countries’ politics of intervention. Along the same lines, art has been used to build awareness about minorities’ contribution to their nation, which helps minorities be validated

as an essential asset and part of the nation in the eyes of their governments and the rest of society. In the United States, during the late 60s, the so-called Asian American Art served as a “platform for collective representation” (Machida, 2015, p. 13) that brought visibility to Asian descendants. Until then, “the experiences, history and cultural contribution by Asian groups” remained “obscured, neglected or even actively denied” (Machida, 2015, p. 13).¹⁴

In the consulted articles that explore the links between art expressions and immigrants/minority groups, it is highlighted that participating in the arts helps immigrant communities to integrate. The art production, as Semiotics understands, is a way to communicate ideas. In other words, it can be a vehicle to deliver and share information, such as the community’s cultural aspects, its history, and idea(s) of the Nation. In a country like Peru, where minority communities like the Nikkei one are excluded from the official narrative of the nation in the scholarly texts, the art field is one place where Nikkei can be part of that narrative. Within the context of national identity building, artists create a place for their community.

Moreover, the new and more complex narratives created by artists about their communities and the national identity reach the audience through a co-creative process through the means of art. In a social context where minorities face the over simplified conceptualization of their group identities due to the other’s ignorance, positive interaction enhance knowledge and reduces prejudice (Zapata-Barrero, 2015). The other, who lacked knowledge about the stereotyped group, is now creating new knowledge in collaboration with the stereotyped subject through the interpretation of the artwork of the latter. Art distinguishes from other tools for national narrative building because it engages stakeholders into a two-ways interaction bridge, a connection point,

¹⁴ Parts of these three paragraphs have been published in Sakata-Gonzales, Y. (2023). Art as a Mechanism for Spreading Alternative Narratives about Minority Communities. *Journal of Regional Information and Development*, (12), pp. 59-72.

where the experiences of artists and audiences find one another in meaning making (Ghani & Fiske, 2020). In terms of social cohesion, art brings participants (artists and audience) into interaction through a shared meaning-making process (Ghani & Fiske, 2020). Thus, the audience is not a passive spectator but an active meaning builder interacting with the artists. At the same time, the connection that is enabled through art is emotional; thus, it is a mechanism that generates a special bonding. Art provides a safe space for diverse people to interact in a horizontal exchange (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Martiniello, 2015) and to establish a fluid dialogue among them (Martiniello 2015). Therefore, art affects the individual and collective belonging senses (Organization of Ibero-American States, 2016)

Lastly, another unique characteristic that makes art and artists interesting scopes for analyzing social issues is that art reflects the most significant topics and discussions of a society (Ferraro and Andreatta, 2017). Art does not just influence societal narratives, but also is influenced by its context (Organization of Ibero-American States, 2016). For instance, the cultural production is influenced by events in the historical and political fields. In the case of minority communities' struggles for inclusion, attending to an art piece sheds some light on the collective identity dimensions that are been questioned and transformed within a community while acknowledging the relationships that those communities establish with other groups that surround them.

Art is defined as a cultural product, a communicational instrument, and a contact space. Art, as a cultural product, participates in the strengthening of the construction or transformation of collective identities. As a communication instrument, art can question fixed conceptions in society through the creation of alternative narratives. The particularity of art as a communication instrument is that it highly involves the viewer in a meaning-building act, meaning that art connects. Therefore, art is a place of contact and positive interaction for diverse citizens, which is central for

reducing prejudice, enhancing knowledge, strengthening social cohesion, and ensuring social inclusion (Zapata-Barrero, 2015).¹⁵ These characteristics make art a beneficial tool for minorities' inclusion in a group's belonging narrative.¹⁶

Martiniello (2015) demonstrates that, despite the existence of a great amount of literature regarding minority, inclusion and migration, the importance of art for the inclusion of immigrant and 'ethnicized' minorities is a subject that has not been explored by policy science nor sociology science. Although it is considered especially interesting working with art expression and immigrant's descendants due to the mixture of cultures that they experienced or the multicultural background heritage as a stimulating resource for their creations (Martiniello, 2015)¹⁷, there is not a large corpus of studies focusing on art production or artists within the Peruvian Nikkei community. Even in the few cases where researchers have approached artist as lens to understand how identities can and are (re)constructed through the discourse, they have focused on dance (Matsumura-Vásquez, 2015) or literature (Le Moyne, 2010; Tsurumi, 2012; Lopez-Calvo, 2013; Muth et al., 2021) mainly. Meanwhile, studies analyzing the Peruvian Nikkei identity building through plastic or audiovisual art/artists as lens are scarce.

2.5. Young Nikkei Expression Through Art

All the invisible struggles and challenges related to misconceptions and stereotypes Nikkei have endured can be partially addressed through the young Nikkei artists' artwork, which turns

¹⁵ These two paragraphs were published in Sakata-Gonzales, Y. (2023). Art as a Mechanism for Spreading Alternative Narratives about Minority Communities. *Journal of Regional Information and Development*, (12), pp. 59-72.

¹⁶ This fragment was published in Sakata-González, Y. (2022). Expressions of Minority Identity in the Peruvian Context: Challenging Stereotypes Through Art. *Policy Science*, 30 (2), pp. 39-57.

¹⁷ Although Martiniello is referring to daughters and sons of immigrants (second generation) in United States, it is possible to transfer this characteristic to other generations from countries like Peru, including the Nikkei. In Peruvian capital city, there are internal immigrant's descendants (from the Andean and Amazonian areas) whose artwork explores the ancestor's culture using contemporary techniques that are part of their identity as creators.

invisible issues into evident and relatable ones. In the last decade in Latin America, collective transnational art exhibitions have brought Nikkei artists together to spread awareness of the art production of the Japanese diaspora. Some of these exhibitions are Transpacific Borderland (United States of America, 2017), the international edition of Young Nikkei Art Hall (Peru, 2019), Nippon América (Japan, 2019; Colombia, 2020; and Mexico, 2022), and No Ocean Between Us (United States of America, 2022).

Most of the art pieces dialogue with society discourses that attempt to push the artists into rigid and fixed identities. Most of these art proposals challenged the imposed stereotypical and rigid identities that question the validity of their self-identification as Nikkei, Latin American, or Peruvian/Brazilian/Argentinian/Mexican/American. For instance, from the Transpacific Borderland exhibition, it was acknowledged that Nikkei artists reaffirm their Nikkei identity as a Peruvian identity (or Mexican or Brazilian) identity while dialoguing with an interlocutor who keeps forcing Japanese identity on them (Katz, 2018, p. 5). Similarly, the artists from the Nippon Américan exhibition described their proposal as “to examine a way to break the barriers that generate prejudices and that pigeonhole Others” (Nippon América 日本アメリカ, n.d.).

What these artists are doing find echo in studies about the function of art in society. As Naidu-Silvermann (2015) analyzed within the Sri Lanka and Bangladesh postwar context, art can be used to include neglected or overlooked minorities into the country’s national identity representation. In the same vein, art can be used to challenge naturalized stereotypes, such as Ghani and Fiske (2020) state in the case of the artwork of Afghan artists.

In the case of Nikkei communities in Latin America, artists are reshaping what being Nikkei in Latin America is, which also implies a reflection about what it is to be a Latin American or specifically a Peruvian, Mexican, and so on.

These artistic productions have opened up an opportunity to rethink Nikkei identity and its place in the construction of Latin American national identities and to highlight problems these minorities face within these contexts. According to Katz (2018), most Latin American Nikkei artists are currently raising a “discussion of a mestizaje” in Latin America that includes Nikkei. These new narratives influence academia, which has “moved away from fixed notions of bifurcated identity” when analyzing Nikkei cultural production (Katz, 2018, p. 5). Therefore, this kind of art proposes a starting point to rethink conceptions of minorities’ identities as rigid entities and begin understanding them in their dynamic and relational nature with the broader Peruvian society and among them (the minorities) (e.g., diverse subgroups negotiating a common identity). Alejandra Gómez, Director of the National Museum of World Cultures (Museo Nacional de las Culturas del Mundo; MNCM), upon seeing the Nippon América exhibition stated that “we should stop thinking in rigid identities that identify us just as Mexicans or Japanese and conceive other more complex identities” (Culture Secretary of the Government of Mexico, 2022).

In the specific case of Peru, apart from the different editions of the YNAH project (7 counting the international one), four other collective exhibitions stand out. In all cases, most of the exhibiting artists met during their participation in the YNAH project, and the topics addressed show reflections on cultural diversity, the coexistence of different cultural heritages, and the active participation of artists in the construction of their community narratives.

In January of 2019, the Japan Attack exhibition was inaugurated in Lima with the participation of eight female artists, of which four Nikkei artists had already participated in the YNAH project. The exhibition, besides showing the influence that Japanese culture had in Peru, alluded to Japanese immigrants and their Peruvian descendants. Thus, the artist Meche Tomotaki presented a piece made up of 15 masks that, according to the author herself, alluded to Japanese

migrants and symbolized unity (Viguria, 2019). Similarly, the artist Daniela Tokashiki presented the ceramic piece “ごちそうさま” [Thank you for the food] (see Figure 5), which referred to one of her favorite Japanese words she learned during her childhood (instagram post @inventariada).



Figure 5. “ごちそうさま” [Thank you for the food] by Daniela Tokashiki (Tokashiki, 2019)

Then, in December of the same year, “Komorebi” [Sunbeams that filter through the tree] exhibition was inaugurated with the participation of five Nikkei female artists. The exhibition is described as “a retrospective journey to reflect on their Nikkei identity based on memories, the stories of their families and the construction of their own experiences” (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2019). Here again reference is made to cultural exchange. The artist Nori Kobayashi gives context to her artistic piece “Equipajes Invisibles” [Invisible Luggage] (see Figure 6) in the following way: “memories, customs, traditions [...] become a kind of invisible luggage”, whose contents are sometimes “shared, merged and transform” (Kobayashi, n.d.).



Figure 6. “Equipajes Invisibles” [Invisible Luggage] by Nori Kobayashi (Kobayashi, n.d.)



Figure 7. “Akamine Mateo” by Gian Akamine (Gonzales, 2022, July 18)

In 2022, “Idealized Belongings” exhibition was inaugurated, where former participants of the YNAH project participated. In this exhibition, the art pieces were created from an “interpretation of the meaning of belonging”, where “rather than replacing one cultural identity with another, they end up merging” (Peralta, 2022). Likewise, it reflects on “cultural tensions” and seeks to “create new connection links [sic] with the other” (Peralta, 2022). The artist Gian Akamine declares the following in relation to his art piece for the Nikkei Plus web portal (see Figure 7):

Both [artist’s parents] were seen as demonized characters. We felt that, at that time, a certain part of the Nikkei community was not used to this Peruvian-Japanese fusion. Meanwhile, the Peruvian relatives on my mother side of the family did not like [...] my mom being related to a foreign descendant. That is why I ironically put [on the art piece’s characters] these little horns, to express they were frowned upon. (Gonzales, 2022)



Figure 8. “El tendal es memoria femenina” [Tendal is female memory] by Bugeisha group (Peruvian Japanese Cultural Center, 2023, March 14)

Lastly, in March of 2023, “Roots, memories, silences. Three Nikkei women tell” by Bugeisha group was inaugurated. This group is formed by Nikkei artists Adriana Miyagusuku, Harumi López and Tomiko Takagi, former participants of the YNAH project. The goal of this exhibition was to make visible the role of women within the Nikkei community and “generate spaces for dialogue and reflection” (Peruvian Japanese Cultural Center, 2023). The narratives about the community are presented as a collective construction. For example, in the piece “Tendal is female memory”, the artists invite people to work together into reconstructing memories regarding the female members of the family and share them. This art piece has a sign asking, “Do you have any memories of your grandmother, your mother, aunts or sisters?”

Nikkei community is the result of a historical migration that still has an important impact on Peruvian society, which is sometimes invisible (Vásquez-Luque & Aguilar-Lluncor, 2022). In a recently published study titled *On the Contributions of Migration to Sustainable Development* (2022) by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean of the United Nations, Vásquez-Luque and Aguilar-Lluncor pointed out that Asian immigrants (Japanese and Chinese) and their descendants (Nikkei and Tusán) have been relevant actors in the economic development of the country through their bilateral connections, remittances, investments in certain businesses, but also through their cultural contribution in the form of new modes of “entrepreneurship” and

creative production impacting in the national art scene and the Peruvian identity building through “the emergence of a second generation of creators who uphold Peruvian identity and art with all its variants” (Vásquez-Luque & Aguilar-Lluncor, 2022, p. 323).

2.6. Final Thoughts

Regarding the conceptualization of the Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community, it was found in this literature review that it has changed over the years due to historical, political, and social factors. Some of these changes have been analyzed by researchers. For example, the *Nisei*, compared to Japanese immigrants, embraced their Peruvian identity tighter (Arakaki, 2002), while the Nikkei community after the *dekasegi* experience started focusing more on the common story of migration and successful settlement over the heritage of the Japanese blood as milestones of their history (Takenaka, 2004; Melgar, 2019).

However, these changes in the self-perception of the Nikkei identity toward a growing identification with the Peruvian identity contrast with the perception of the broader Peruvian society about the Nikkei. In the early 90s, Fukumoto (1994) identified a “differential insertion” of the Nikkei community in the imaginary of Peruvian national identity possibly motivated by the Nikkei community’s endogamous practices (such as *shashin kekkon*), its short presence in society (less than 100 years) (Fukumoto, 1994), or the process of racialization of Asian descendant minorities.

Unfortunately, recent studies continue identifying this differential insertion. Takenaka (2004), Moromisato (2019) and Melgar (2020) have analyzed racial profiling as one of the mechanisms for denying Peruvian belongingness to the Nikkei subject. A very visible example of this is the case of the presidential candidate Keiko Fujimori within the context of presidential elections, when politicians from opposite parties point out her Japanese ancestry as a way to

discredit her. The intention was to delegitimize her as a possible representative of the nation by racial profiling her, creating an implied message of the Japanese descendant as a not-enough Peruvian or not Peruvian at all. The Nikkei community keeps facing prejudice, stereotypes and misconceptions that still label them, and set them apart, while the negative social consequences remain invisible. For example, researcher Caroline Gibu (n.d.) identifies the use of the term “Chinese” to refer to any Asian descendant as an oversimplification of Peruvian cultural diversity of Asian descent. Likewise, the frequent name mocking that the Nikkei endure is identified by Gibu as a type of aggression that threatens a person’s honor. All of the above is echoed in the state’s discourse, since documents such as How are we? Peruvian Cultural and Linguistics Diversity. Informational Pamphlet published in 2019 do not mention the Nikkei community despite the fact that there is recent data of its existence thanks to the last national census in 2017.

Another result of this literature review was the identification of the following stereotypes and misconceptions toward the Nikkei community. The Nikkei are perceived by the rest of Peruvians as socially homogeneous (Melgar, 2019). Likewise, part of Peruvian society continues to perceive the Nikkei as foreign instead of seeing them as compatriots whose difference is part of Peruvian diversity. This perception of the Nikkei as a foreigner seems to be linked to their physical appearance and therefore to the process of racialization that they endure. The comment by the artist Sachiko Kobayashi for a DW documentary in 2023 recalling her thoughts during her school days illustrates this very well, “Peruvians do not look like me.” In the same vein, Melgar identified that, within the *dekasegi* community in Japan, Nikkei referred to Peruvian with no Japanese ancestry as Peruvian-Peruvian or pure Peruvian (Melgar, 2019). A similar discourse was identified in other Nikkei authors, such as Sakuda (2009) and Watanabe and Morimoto (Japanese Peruvian Association, n.d.-a), who contrast their “non-Peruvian” appearance with their Peruvian sense of

belonging. From the above, it is concluded that Nikkei identity is sometimes reduced to physical features, which, to most of Peruvian society, evidence the Nikkei belongingness to an Asian nationality. Second, Nikkei culture and the physical features related to it are not considered part of the Peruvian national diversity. This has an impact on the self-perception of the Nikkei, who internalize that there are some more legitimate ways of being (or looking) Peruvian.

Based on this context, this literature review explored that in recent years young generations of Nikkei have shown attitudes that propose a very clear idea about the Nikkei identity as a legitimately Peruvian identity, which questions stereotypes, misconceptions of the broader Peruvian society, and which has been changing during the years closely to a tighter identification with the Peruvian identity. For example, Nikkei youth organized to demonstrate on the streets against Nikkei politicians who —from their perspective— were not having a democratic attitude towards the results of the last presidential elections. In this way, they not only questioned the supposed ethnic solidarity (one of the long-lasting stereotypes about the Nikkei community) but also, with their participative attitude, questioned the misconception of the Nikkei community as foreign and little involved with national events. Similarly, the campaign “Proudly Peruvian, I am Nikkei” within the national census of 2017, which represents a “community political reaction to the state’s invisibility or denial” (Melgar, 2019, p. 115), suggests a self-perception as legitimate Peruvians with the right to claim visibility in the state statistics. The demonstrations cited above suggest a more active and participatory Nikkei youth within the national context.

These changes in the perception of the Nikkei’s place in the narrative of Peruvian national identity also impact the conceptualization of Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community. For example, according to Higa (2023), the younger generations of Japanese descendants would like all the Nikkei community to have a greater openness to diversity, meaning that their

conceptualization of the Nikkei identity as a legitimate Peruvian comes with the recognition of the Nikkei imbued in the Peruvian diversity, maybe merged into the “mestizaje” (mixed) of the Peruvian identities.

Another way for the young Nikkei to (consciously or not so consciously) challenge stereotypes and misconceptions, as well as express their new and innovative conceptualizations of Nikkei identity was through art. This is not an isolated situation, but a common attitude among minority groups who are pushing for visibility within the narrative of national identity. For example, Naidu-Silvermann (2015) cited the cases of Sri Lanka and Bangladesh where art creates alternative narratives where subjects who have been ignored from the national narrative can be included. It is important to point out that the literature review indicates that these specific actions looking for a greater visibility impact in the social cohesion of a country, because when the construction of that national identity is exclusive and conflictual, it contributes to intolerance and enmity (UNDP, 2020).

Through the creation of more inclusive narratives using art, artists can express how they picture the nation and participate in the construction of the narrative of, “Who are we as a nation?” [which] is an important aspect of defining social cohesion” (UNDP, 2020, p. 45). The accuracy of art in these matters is identified in art theory. Several studies have revealed that art provides a safe space for diverse people to interact in a horizontal exchange (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Martiniello, 2015). It is a resource to tighten the social tissue and to be recognized as a legitimate basis for particular groups to demand resources and inclusion in national narrative (MINCUL, 2020).

In the case of the art produced by younger Nikkei generations, in this literature review, an understanding of Nikkei identity has been identified as a constituent element of Latin American miscegenation, which challenges dominant narratives about Latin American identities that have

failed to incorporate the difference of the descendants of Asians as a constituent part of diverse national identity. In the same way, the alternative stories produced by these artists question the traditional discourses about a homogeneous Nikkei community spread within the Nikkei community and show a plurality in their identity composition, which is an asset in society since it “greatly increase[s] the possibilities for peace, tolerance and cohesion, by building relationships across many divides” (Cantle, 2016, p.134). Since stereotypes are reproduced thanks to the lack of knowledge and connections among groups, art is the bridge that connects people in a co-creative way. Through the interpretation of an art piece, the audience and the artists connect and produce new knowledge together.

This chapter synthesized information about the condition of the Nikkei community in the Peruvian context. It began with a brief review of the formation of the Nikkei identity in Peru and its changes over time. From the sources, a progressive growing identification with the Peruvian identity on the part of the Nikkei was identified with the passing of the years and the different generations of Nikkei. This was reinforced by the active participation of young Nikkei in questioning stereotypes and misconceptions, and in recent political events where they showed their willingness to have greater participation in national affairs. This was contrasted with a stereotyped perception full of misconceptions on the part of broader Peruvian society towards the Nikkei community. One of the stereotypes that Nikkei identify as prevalent is the belief that Nikkei are foreigners. In this context, attention is drawn to the artistic production and statements of young Nikkei people in whom this willingness to participate in the national imagination is appreciated, as well as the discontent with the long-lasting stereotypes that the Nikkei community continues to endure.

The situation described above is understood in the following way. There is a sector of the Nikkei community that self-identifies as legitimate Peruvians. However, the narrative about Peruvian national identity has not yet incorporated the uniqueness of the Nikkei into their list of marks of belonging. Within this context, the art produced by young Nikkei artists functions as an alternative narrative that allows reshaping community narratives, that is, collective identities, including the Peruvian identity. Why is the production of alternative narratives important? The theory indicates that exclusive national narratives undermine social cohesion. On the contrary, art, as a space for the production of alternative narratives, allows for an encounter between the broader society and minorities where stereotypes are confronted, and new narratives are co-created. Therefore, a deeper connection among groups and a more inclusive conceptualization of the Nikkei community is created as a consequence of art. In that sense, the cultural producers, especially artists, have a pivotal role in the production of identity discourses within a community.

Chapter III. Theory on National Identity Building on Highly Diverse

Contexts¹⁸

National identity is a discursive and dynamic creation. Countries have different cultural groups with different cultural identities that form the country's national cultural diversity. Each group establishes a narrative about their unique identity that sets them apart from others who share the same territory while sharing some common characteristics as well.

For some time, diversity was interpreted only as a risk for social cohesion by governments around the world. In last decades, with the emerge of the intercultural approach, most countries have gone from understanding diversity as a risk for social cohesion to understand it as a possibility of social innovation and development when diversity is well managed. Regarding this, De Cillia et al. address the following:

[1] Empirical results tend to show that demographic diversity may reduce social cohesion and increase the probability of socio-emotional conflict. However, when demographic diversity correlates positively with cognitive diversity (a variety of skills, preference, and knowledge), the benefits more than outbalance any costs. (De Cillia et al., 1999, p.157)

To preserve social cohesion, one of the central proposals of the intercultural approach in the design of public policies is the promotion of positive interaction (relationship) among different cultural groups,

interculturalism is a policy model for ensuring equality and cohesion in culturally diverse societies. It encourages mixing and interaction among people of different origins, cultures,

¹⁸ Some sections of Chapter II and Chapter III were published in the academic articles "Expressions of Minority Identity in the Peruvian Context: Challenging Stereotypes Through Art" (Sakata-Gonzales, 2022), and "Art as a Mechanism for Spreading Alternative Narratives about Minority Communities" (Sakata-Gonzales, 2023). See the reference list for the complete reference.

and backgrounds to build a collective identity that embraces cultural pluralism, human rights, democracy, gender equality and non-discrimination. It is based on the simultaneous application of the principles of equality of rights and opportunities, diversity as an advantage, and positive interaction as a way to mobilise the contributions of all residents for the development of their society. (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 8)

In this section, some categories, and concepts central for the public policies for diversity management necessary for this study, such as culture, national and ethnic identities, social cohesion, minority, and vulnerability, were discussed and defined consistently in relation to the Nikkei community situation and the Peruvian context. Meanwhile, in the theoretical level, the importance of culture and collective identity for the well-being of the individual was presented, as well as the importance of national identity for the cohesion of the population. Likewise, a description of the intercultural approach, its context of emergence, its challenges, and its application to the Peruvian context especially considering the case of the Nikkei community was discussed. It was explored how the Peruvian state conceptualizes the national ethnic diversity of the country within the creation of its policies for diversity promotion from an intercultural approach. Through the Nikkei case in relation to Peruvian policies to promote diversity in Peru, this section explored how the way national identities are discursively produced dictates the way in which they are incorporated into the management policies. According to De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak (1999), “discourses influence social and political reality” (p.157). Lastly, a balance of the main discussions of this section will be presented and some alternatives to complement the proposal of the intercultural approach to diversity management by the Peruvian state will be discussed.

3.1. Culture, Identity and Social Cohesion in Diverse Societies

Identity is a narrative of belonging “that depends on border effects of the discourse markers” (Hall, 2019, p. 74). Those markers separate the in-group – the group to which we belong – and the out-group, or the others, providing markers for inclusion and exclusion, shaping the collective identity of a community (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). Those borders are defined by culture. Therefore, different cultures mean different collective identities, forming the diversity of a country, which, from the intercultural perspective, is considered beneficial when managed properly (UNESCO, 2001; Council of Europe, 2021). But what is culture? Culture is every object a human possesses, every idea in that human’s mind and every behavior pattern he/she practices that get meaning inside a group, as members of the common cultural group (Ferraro and Andreatta, 2017).

Nowadays, culture and cultural differences specifically are central in debates regarding identity and social cohesion (UNESCO, 2001), as well as human rights and social development. For instance, the right of cultural difference is recognized as part of the human rights and a marker of social development. The right of every different culture to exist, as well as its positive impact in society, is highlighted by UNESCO in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity,

[cultural] *diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations* (UNESCO, 2001).

According to Mirza (2012), the use of the word “culture” by political discourses in advanced industrial societies has increased in the past two decades. At the same time, researchers started paying more attention to this matter, causing the emerging of academic publications

regarding cultural policies internationally. This discussion was also enriched by concerns related to minorities, heterogeneity, and internationalism (Mirza, 2012).

Each one of the cultural groups of the country's diversity are recognized as subsets of the broader culture and receive the name of subcultures (Ferraro and Andreatta, 2017). Subcultures share features with the mainstream group but keep its uniqueness from preserving its own unique features (Ferraro and Andreatta, 2017). The subcultures' diversity encompasses multiple dimensions of the human being, meaning that "identities and affinities evolve and overlap" (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 10).

Societies are formed by groups that have a diverse and dynamic culture, and that intend to live together. In a context of pursuing the integration of all these stakeholders, "the effective, positive and sustainable management of diversity, on the basis of reciprocal and symmetrical recognition" falls "under an overarching human rights framework" (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 8). In such a diverse context, international organizations, such as UNESCO has acknowledged that the respect for cultural diversity, "tolerance, dialogue and cooperation in a climate of mutual trust and understanding" are the best guarantees for the preservation of international peace and security (UNESCO, 2001). For this reason, including all the diverse cultural groups in the citizen participation guarantees "social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace", necessary characteristics to live in democracy (UNESCO, 2001).

Nowadays, the most accepted theoretical approach for working with diversity is the interculturalist approach. The interculturalism goal is to achieve equality and social cohesion in diverse societies (Council of Europe, 2021). It fosters intercultural interaction "as a means of building trust and strengthening the fabric of the community" (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 10). According to the Council of Europe (2021), the exposure to diversity brings the following benefits,

- 1) generates a wide range of perspectives on a problem.
- 2) makes the exposed people produce more analytical and critical reflections.
- 3) makes workers broaden their perspectives on a process and therefore be more productive.
- 4) makes subjects more "prosocial", meaning more open to diversity, which increases their concern for human rights. (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 11)

In fact, plural identities, meaning individuals with a diverse cultural background in their identity composition, “greatly increase the possibilities for peace, tolerance and cohesion, by building relationships across many divides” (Cantle, 2016, p.134). Addressing the benefits of diversity, the risks of a deficient management of diversity and the central role governments have in the matter, institutions such as the Council of Europe advise city managers to break diversity fault lines as a main goal for public policies by promoting cultural exchange among different cultural groups,

the role of integration and inclusion policies is to intervene so as to break (or avoid the formation of) diversity fault lines that might emerge endogenously from individual choices, or from spatial segregation. This requires action at different levels and in a multiplicity of domains - schools, workplaces and urban public spaces - to foster encounters and mixing across ethnic and other social boundaries. It is up to city managers and administrators to create the appropriate conditions to amplify the social and economic benefits of heterogeneous communities. Institutions, values and governance mechanisms have an important role to play in relating diversity to socio-economic outcomes. Overall, it appears that, when backed by efficient institutions, diversity can serve as a valuable asset for society. (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 13)

In a context full of barriers that condition the exclusion of certain groups of a fair participation in society based on their cultural differences, the intercultural approach proposes “emphasizing commonalities between individuals and groups from different backgrounds, and promoting contact and positive interaction between groups, promote cohesion and overcome some of the barriers leading to exclusion” (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 15). Therefore, to the intercultural approach, “persons are not just agents of rights, but agents of development” (Zapata-Barrero, 2015, p. 12).

In the case of cultural diversity, nine main categories are listed by the Peruvian government: “gender, disability, sexual orientation, age, customs/cultural practices, ethnic/regional/national origin, language, religion” (Zapata-Barrero quoted by MINCUL, 2020, p.21). However, this study only focused on the concept of cultural diversity in terms of ethnicity.

3.2. National Identity and Ethnic Identities

Currently prevalent theory on identity indicates that individual identity is dynamic (creative), and multiple (intersectional). It means that “people can have more than one identity at the same time and [...] these are not necessarily in opposition to each other, rather, they [...] represent different aspects of human relations” (Cantle, 2015, p.81). In other words, a person can belong to more than one cultural group or community. In the process of building one’s identity, people partially decide what dimensions are acting as an important part in their individual identity.

In addition, building the identity involves collective actions. As Claude Dubar explains, quoted by Bauman (2011), people stand “between the yearning for the individual freedom of self-creation and the equal strong desire for security that only the stamp of social approval countersigned by a community (or communities) of reference can offer” (p. 433). In the case of collective identities, which are “mode[s] of imagining and experiencing social belonging as a

communicative public happening” (Delanty, 2003, p. 26), the communities of reference (in other words, the communities the individual feel belongingness to) build their own admission rules or marks of social belongingness (Landowski, 2016) members must meet, sometimes intentionally overlooking the fact that homogenous groups do not exist. Usually, the concept of community or collectivity “minimizes dissimilarities and accentuates cohesiveness” (Vo & Bonus, 2002, p. 33). However, dominant narratives coexist and negotiate the marks of belonging with alternative narratives.

Inspired by Plummer (1995), this study understands the dominant narrative as widely disseminated and accepted discourse about a concept (for example, Peruvian nation, Nikkei ethnic identity) in relation to a community or a group (for example, a country’s population or an ethnic group). On the other hand, alternative narratives are the discourses created around the same concept by members of the community or group in a non-dominant position that totally or partially differ from the imposition of the dominant narrative. In a study dedicated to sexual identity and the discourses around the conceptualization of homosexual identities, Plummer (1995) opposes two kinds of voices: the dominant and the alternative. The dominant voices “claim the center” and are “heard much more readily than others” (p. 30), while alternative voices may be co-opted or pathologized (Plummer, 1995). Plummer (1995) redounds on the importance for people in a non-dominant position to tell their own story. Those alternative narratives give coherence to the experience of the subject who formulates them and to the sector that they represent.

National identity is a type of collective identity. The concept of national identity encompasses the nation’s unique marks of belonging (meaning the characteristics that determine if a subject is validated as a legitimate (more or less legitimate) group member) —for example, civic, territorial, ethnic, genealogical, historical and cultural elements— (Pastor, 2016) and set a

nation apart from others within the international context. The narratives of “‘Who are we as a nation?’ represent a collection of symbols, stories and well-worn events that define and shape a society and its values, traumas and aspirations”, turning into an “important aspect of defining social cohesion” (UNDP, 2020, p. 45).

The feeling of belonging to a national identity is key in the building of meaning for individuals. National identity is a collective identity that creates the narrative for people to connect their routine life “with a great national destiny that existed before us and is going to survive us” (Hall, 1999, p. 121). It helps citizens to “produce meaning” (Hall, 1999, p. 121) and perceive a historical destiny for them (Pastor, 2016).

Who produces the narrative of the national identity? Following Landowski (2016), the group’s collective identity (which can include national identity) is a narrative creation by a diffuse group¹⁹ that holds the group’s leadership and establishes the marks of belonging. It takes the place of the dominant narrative²⁰ because it is widespread. However, as much as the dominant narrative about national identity tries to pass as a given fact, national identity is not a fixed creation, static over the years. It coexists and negotiates the marks of belonging with narratives of the nation produced by other members of society (alternative narratives) due to the heterogenous nature of nations’ population (Habermas, 2007). Therefore, there is no one national identity but different “dynamic, fragile, ‘vulnerable’, and often incoherent” national identities (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 154) that are creating their own narratives of the nation and negotiating the marks of belonging of

¹⁹ De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak would mention intellectual, politicians and the media as examples of national identity narrative producers, who are constantly spreading and reinforcing their narrative through the education system and mass communication (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 153).

²⁰ Inspired by Plummer (1995), in this study, the dominant narrative is a widely disseminated and accepted discourse about a concept in relation to a community or a group.

the dominant narrative of the nation's identity, making national identity dynamic and in constant reformulation (Hall, 2019).

In the context of national identity building, ethnicity can also be set as a mark of belonging to a national identity (Pastor, 2016, p. 119). The national identity can be built over very specific features (including ethnicity and race) that legitimize certain groups and exclude others to the point that the national culture becomes a territory in dispute between the legitimate and the excluded ones. For example, in the case of the Great Britain, Hall (2019) recalls "black British" as a concept where "the first element receives a conflictive inflection from the second" (Hall, 2019, p. 92), meaning that, in the dominant narrative about the British national identity, the black features or black identity does not have a place. Likewise, in the United States of America's case, Lowe (2012) mentions "racial whiteness, nationalism, masculinity, and citizenship" (p. 67) as marks of belonging to the United States of America's national identity. Coincidentally, that narrative is exposed by the presence of racialized minority groups, such as Africans, Caribbean, Latin Americans, and Asian Americans (Lowe, 2012), whose presence challenge the definition of what is to be a United States' national.

In the current world scenario, countries' ethno-cultural composition has been becoming more diverse, and that diversity is growing over the years. However, the recognition of ethnic diversity has not always been part of the process of building a country's national identity, which has represented an issue for the countries' social cohesion in the context of globalization and massive migrations. According to United Nations, when the construction of a national identity is exclusive and conflictual, it contributes to intolerance and enmity (UNDP, 2020). In ethnically diverse contexts, one of the common factors that exacerbates conflict in societies according to

UNDP is the construction of a narrative of exclusive belonging and the permanence of negative stereotypes,

while national identity is increasingly defined in civic or inclusive citizenship terms in today's mostly multi-ethnic societies, nationalism can also be constructed in more exclusive, ethnic, racial or religious terms. How does the collective historical narrative affect social cohesion? Narratives establish the underlying notion of the degree of exclusion and inclusion in a society (UNDP, 2020, p. 38). According to United Nations, when the construction of a national identity is exclusive and conflictual, it contributes to intolerance and enmity (UNDP, 2020, p. 36).

However, what is ethnicity exactly? It is a type of cultural identity that refers to the origin of a group reaffirmed by shared stories as something naturally given (Hall, 2019). It is usually understood as "the place we originally came from, the one that first marked our original identity, from which we cannot escape" (Hall, 2019, p. 98). Same as other forms of identity, ethnic identities rely on their past to position themselves in the present from where a grand narrative that gives meaning to the community is produced. It means that members of an ethnic group recognize a shared historical experience (MINCUL, 2017) that partially justify their union as a group. Contrary to what the ethnic group's members usually think, that past is not fixed but discursively produced in the present and reinterpreted over time (Hall, 2019). Commonly, ethnicity is thought to be a cultural category that designates shared language, customs, traditions, and beliefs within a community. Nevertheless, the ethnicity concept also encompasses biological components (common blood, heredity, and ancestors) (Hall, 2019).

Within the context of globalization, ethnic identities are being reconfigured and "broader, more porous, more open, and increasingly hybrid forms of cultural identity," which problematize

former perspectives on “the local” and “the global” (Hall, 2019, pp. 106-107) having an impact on the way national identities’ narrative is built. According to Wimmer (2008), the boundaries of ethnicities are reshaped by political movements or even through the individual’s daily interaction. In the case of political actions toward the ethnic diversity management, Wimmer explained that the strategy of emphasizing ethnic differentiation in the composition of the nation is the most used (Wimmer, 2008).

In the Peruvian case, the discussion on diversity in the context of the creation of a national identity pays special attention to ethnic diversity. Proof of this is that the documents on public policies with an intercultural approach that were analyzed below are greatly focused on the ethnic-cultural diversity of the country.

In the Peruvian case, an official discourse about an ethnic-diversity-based Peruvian national identity coexists with the lack of knowledge of the national diversity by the Peruvian population. It means that the dominant narrative of the Peruvian identity overlooks the complex diversity that forms the Peruvian national identity. The Peruvian government, at least in official documents, considers diversity as the main characteristic of the national ethnic identity, pushing that narrative through different means. For example, documents on cultural policies and the intercultural approach recognize Peru’s cultural diversity as the characteristic that “unites us” (MINCUL, 2020, p.7). In addition, the Peruvian state recognizes in diversity a “privilege” (MINCUL, 2015, p. 9) and “an intrinsic value of our society and engine for development” (MINCUL, 2017, p.11).

Despite this official discourse about an ethnic-diversity-based national identity, the state’s understanding on national ethnic and cultural diversity seems to be bounded. Likewise, the Peruvian population’s attitudes toward this diversity are ambivalent. On the one hand, the Peruvian population recognizes diversity as a characteristic of the Peruvian population, but their

understanding of that diversity is not accrued. On the other hand, Peruvian population has not overcome stereotypes (MINCUL, 2020). In this context, there are some ethnic minorities that are little known or whose origins and customs are misunderstood.

3.3. Public Policies for Diversity and the Intercultural Approach in Peru

Peru is a highly culturally diverse country, whose diversity needs to be managed to tighten social cohesion and ensure everybody's participation in the nation's development. Therefore, when the Ministry of Culture (MINCUL) was created, one of the main aims was building a national identity avoiding exclusion;

to promote the construction of policies that allow us to get to know each other better and that we recognize the diverse cultures that exist in our country and that their respect and appreciation allow us to build an intercultural citizenship [...] [and] avoid any type of exclusion or discrimination of the different peoples of the country, ensuring the construction of a national identity. (Law for the Creation of the Ministry of Culture in Peru, 2010)

The guideline and policies created by the MINCUL to reach those goals later followed the intercultural approach. This approach, in its most widespread form, is the most recent and noted perspective for highly diverse societies' governance (Elias & Mansouri, 2020) and emphasizes on the goals of "management of cultural diversity in the absence of prejudice [...] with respect, equality and shared values [...], and individual transformation" (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 505). According to Elias & Mansouri (2020), the main purpose of the intercultural approach "is promoting shared values, fostering social cohesion and nurturing an ethos that prioritizes recognition of difference and peaceful coexistence" (p. 513).

The intercultural approach appeared as a new proposal to the multicultural approach and its politics of recognition in a context of perceived deficit in social cohesion, global security concerns (Elias & Mansouri, 2020), and within the debate on the need for new theories that go beyond the dichotomous “identity versus diversity, assimilation versus multiculturalism, and exclusion versus inclusion” (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, pp. 493-494).

Multiculturalism was heavily criticized for its essentialist way of understanding diversity, which consisted of thinking about communities as homogenous and rigid (Degregori, 2000), and for ignoring their dynamism and the social importance of interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds (Zapata-Barreto, 2015). Therefore, the intercultural approach is beyond just protecting diversity (justice and risk control), and encouraging the diversity exchange (creativity, innovation, and development) to create a “broader sense of we” (Cantle, 2015, p. 79).

In opposition to multiculturalism, interculturalism understands the complexity of diversity, vindicates the importance of the interaction between different cultures for the creation of a healthy coexistence among citizens [(“communities thrive only in contact with others, not in isolation” (Council of Europe, p. 2021, 10)]. Drawing on Zapata-Barrero, Elias and Mansouri (2020) who identified social cohesion and intercultural contact as “the two interlinked thematic benchmarks of the intercultural approach” (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 495), fostering social cohesion through enhancing intercultural contact is the goal (Elias & Mansouri, 2020). Another innovation of the intercultural approach is that it sees diversity as an opportunity for innovation, meaning that all cultures do not just have the right of participating in society and “contribute to the cultural landscape of the society in which they are present” (Council of Europe, p. 2021, 10), but also can be good assets in the development of society. Therefore, to the intercultural approach, “persons

are not just agents of rights, but agents of development” (Zapata-Barrero, 2015, p. 12) and “participate in forming the idea of the nation” (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 155).

Therefore, the intercultural approach focuses on the type of relationships citizens of different culture build (exchange and dialogue), “how they live well together despite differences pertaining to language, culture, religion, ethnicity and other socio-cultural orientations; how they resolve conflicts arising from cross-cultural misunderstandings; and how their daily encounter with diversity shapes their attitudes, behaviors and experiences” (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 492) with a greater attention at the small level of individuals (Elias & Mansouri, 2020). This special focus on the citizens relationships is what defines the intercultural approach as “a contact-based approach to diversity management” (Zapata-Barreto in Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 491). Therefore, it is a perspective for interaction, involving “proactive exchange and bi-directional engagement involving both minority and majority groups” (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 513).

As an approach that focus on interaction, the active participation of all the stakeholders is important. The intercultural approach “offers platforms for bi-directional transformation, where both minority and majority group members are willing to participate in mutual exchange and cross-cultural adaptation” (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 515). The interaction should lead to a deeper knowledge of each other, leading to transformation in the involved parties (Elias & Mansouri, 2020).

Despite its prevalence in the diversity management discussion, interculturalism conceptualization is not completely clear (Elias & Mansouri, 2020). Therefore, Elias and Mansouri (2020) developed a systematic review of studies on interculturalism, where four broad components common to most publications (11,712 specifically) theorizing on interculturality were identified, 1) relational, 2) normative, 3) transformative, and 4) integrative. These four broad components

classify the main concepts cited to define the intercultural approach in over 11, 000 sources published between 2000 and 2017. The relational component gathers words such as “interaction, dialogue, exchange, relationship, and communication”, while the normative component gathers words such “equality, recognition, acceptance, inclusion, and respect”. The normative component gathers “transformation, understanding, learning, knowledge, and attitude”, while the integrative component gathers “sharing, social cohesion, integration, coexistence, mutuality, and reciprocity” (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 508).

More recent publication, the interculturalism goal is to achieve equality and social cohesion in diverse societies (Council of Europe, p. 2021). It fosters intercultural interaction “as a means of building trust and strengthening the fabric of the community” (Council of Europe, p. 2021, 10) and promoting development. The Council of Europe considers positive interaction “as a way to mobilize the contributions of all residents for the development of their society” (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 8). In a context full of barriers that condition the exclusion of certain groups of a fair participation in society based on their cultural difference, the intercultural approach proposes promoting contact and positive interaction between groups (Council of Europe, 2021).

However, the concept of interculturalism is not new since it appeared before in different contexts and with different conceptualizations, such as in Europe, Canada and post-colonial Latin America (Elias & Mansouri, 2020). The intercultural approach in Europe became a way in which cities managed (and continue to manage) the dynamics of diversity (Zapata-Barrero, 2015) as an option to multiculturalism in a context of growing presence of immigrants (Caponio & Ricucci, 2015; Degregori, 2000). In the UK in 2001, “interculturalism has built upon the concept of community cohesion” (Cantle, 2015, p. 84) and challenged the multicultural model “following findings that White and Asian communities in some areas of England lived in ‘parallel lives’”

(Cantle, 2015, p. 84). In this context, “Community cohesion programmes represented the first real attempt in the UK to promote meaningful interaction between communities from different backgrounds and to promote trust and understanding and to break down myths and stereotypes” (Cantle, 2015, p. 84).

In Peru, the approaches implemented in diverse countries met the development of cultural policies based on a “popular nationalist ideology” that interpret the country’s culture as a unit (Marcos-Percca, 2020, p. 51). In the 70’s in Peru, a policy called Bases for the Cultural Policy of the Peruvian Revolution was published. The aim of this policy was enhancing the “internal exchange” among “the multiple groups with diverse cultural characteristics that coexist” (National Institute of Culture of Peru, 1975, p. 23), which at first sight appears aligned with the current intercultural perspective. However, the conceptualization of diversity by the state back then was very restricted. In Bases for the Cultural Policy of the Peruvian Revolution (1975), Peru was conceptualized in terms of biculturality, “officially bilingual Peru - Quechua and Spanish” (National Institute of Culture of Peru, 1975, p.15). Simultaneously, foreign cultural influence was demonized. Foreign influence was related to negative expressions, such as “depersonalization” (National Institute of Culture of Peru, 1975, p. 10), “deterioration of originality” (National Institute of Culture of Peru, 1975, p. 10) and “alienation” (National Institute of Culture of Peru, 1975, p. 11), and the state claimed for an “authentic culture” the national identity could rely on:

The state fulfills its main role regarding a cultural policy that encourages *the most authentic popular expressions* that lead to collective self-affirmation. (National Institute of Culture of Peru, 1975, p. 11)

Over the years, perspectives have changed, and at present the MINCUL assumes an intercultural approach (see Figure 9) conceptualized as a,

process of exchange, dialogue and learning that seeks to generate equitable relationships between various ethnic-cultural groups that share a space; based on the recognition and positive assessment of their cultural differences. (MINCUL, 2020, p. 135)

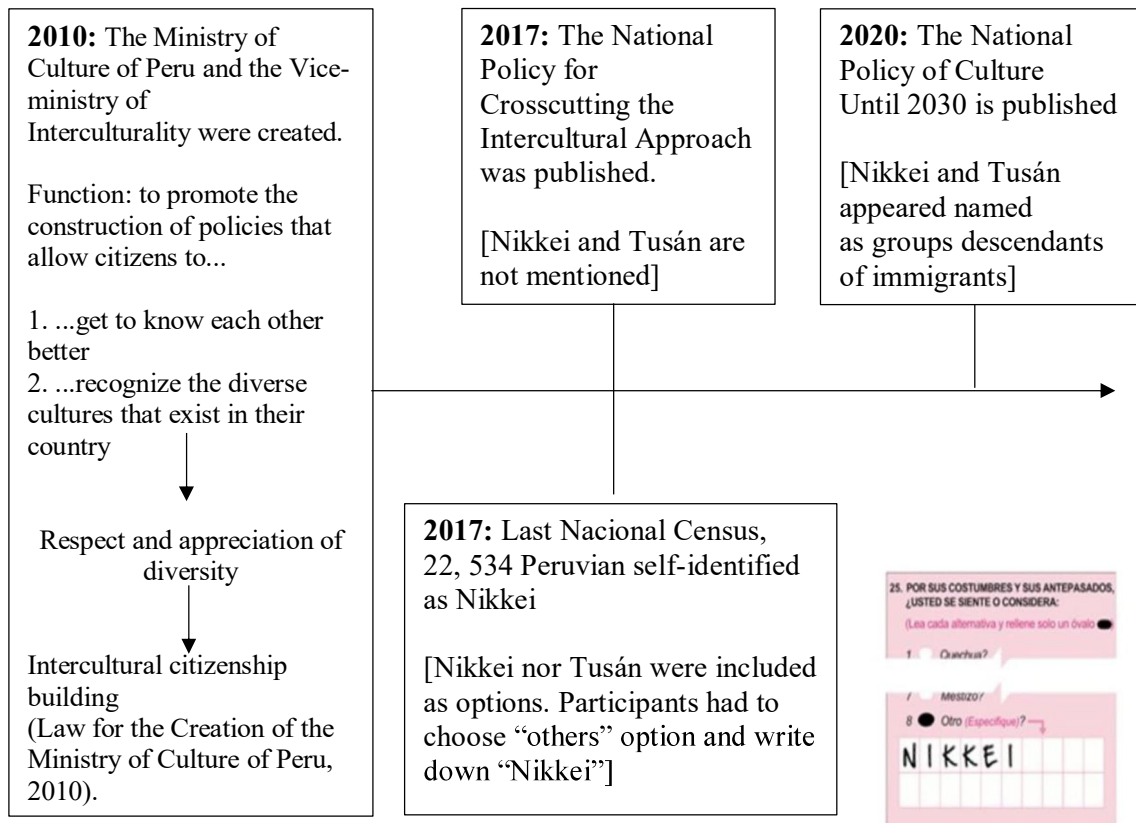


Figure 9. Timeline of the Nikkei minority formal inclusion in national policies in Peru

More recent documents —in contrast to the 70s perspective— emphasize the value of the cultural diversity of the country considering immigrants’ descendants (the so called “Groups descended from immigrants”) as part of the national diversity (MINCUL, 2020, p. 184). At the same time, they address that “the culture sector considers in its development all the cultural manifestations of the country that reflect multicultural and multiethnic diversity” (Law for the Creation of the Ministry of Culture, 2010). Even more, in the Law document, national cultural

diversity (“ethnic and cultural plurality of the Nation”) is not just acknowledged but recognized as one of the “programmatically areas of action” (Law for the Creation of the Ministry of Culture, 2010).

Until now, the ethnic diversity has been a central category in the national diversity discussion in Peru. The most recent state documents referring to cultural diversity based their focus on ethnic identity as it can be seen in the next extract from the National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017):

The National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach addresses the constitutional principles of the Peruvian State that establish the recognition and protection of the ethnic and cultural plurality of the nation; and gives special emphasis on the care of indigenous peoples and the Afro-Peruvian population, ethnic groups that are in a particularly vulnerable situation (MINCUL, 2017, p. 11).

Despite other state’s documents considering other categories, such as gender, within the conceptualization of cultural diversity, the most prevalent category of focus when it comes to Peruvian national diversity is the ethnic-cultural diversity. For instance, the document National Policy of Culture until 2030 (PNC) (2020), that acknowledges and considers the existence of other forms of cultural diversity, ends up giving a higher priority to ethnic-cultural diversity. This approach is expected, since ethnic-cultural diversity in Peru is allocated at the center of social disagreements.

A key moment for the discussion on ethnic-cultural diversity in public policies in Peru was during the 2017 general census, in which the Peruvian government added a question about self-ethnic identification to deeper understand the challenges certain racialized communities were facing. Regarding ethnic cultural diversity, the last general census (2017), where more than

23 million Peruvians aged over 12 participated²¹, showed a high diverse composition including the existence of Asian descendant communities for the first time, as well as 254,892 people who were grouped in “others” category. 13,965,254 (60.2%) perceived themselves as Mestizo; 5,176,809 of Quechua origin; 1,366,931 of White origin; 828,841 Afro-descendant; 548,292 of Aymara origin; 79,266 people perceived themselves as Native or from the Amazon; 55,489 people self-identified as Ashaninka; 37,690 people perceived themselves as Awajun; 25,222 as Shipibo Konibo, 49,838 people as part of another Indigenous or Native People, 22,534 people self-identified as Nikkei (descendants of Japanese immigrants) and 14,307 as Tusán (descendants of Chinese immigrants) (INEI, 2018).

Unfortunately, this high diversity coexists with stereotypes and practices of ethnic-racial discrimination among Peruvian citizens (MINCUL, 2020) and a perceived low value toward cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is mostly seen by the Peruvian population as an “exotic product”, related to dances, festivities, food, and clothing, overlooking other rich cultural expressions and assets of diversity (MINCUL, 2017, p. 46). Despite Peru being one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world (MINCUL, 2017), a majority of Peruvians are unaware of what this cultural diversity consists of. For example, 42% of the Peruvian population thinks that it would be better if all Peruvians share the same traditions (MINCUL, 2020).

The lack of a proper understanding and appreciation of diversity inhibits the possibility of collective identification and encourage discrimination and exclusion (MINCUL, 2020). In that context, the Peruvian state has seen a partial solution in the building of relationships based on

²¹ 771.26 people did not answer the question.

interculturality (MINCUL, 2020). However, studies point out that there are inconsistencies in the intercultural approach model adapted to the Peruvian context (Correa, 2011; Bautista-Cruz, 2022), in Peru and Mexico there are laws and public policies that claim to have the intercultural model as a theoretical framework. The truth is that in the analysis carried out, theoretical inconsistencies are identified since they also contain elements of the multicultural model. (Bautista-Cruz, 2022, p. 258)

Bautista-Cruz's statement is consistent with this study's findings regarding the treatment of the Nikkei and Tusán within the implementation of the intercultural approach in public policies for diversity management by the Peruvian state. Although the intercultural approach considers all stakeholders' participation as a key condition for the intercultural citizenship development, the Nikkei community is barely acknowledged, not included in a robust and active way. The documents on public policies for diversity with an intercultural approach focus mainly on indigenous and Afro descendant communities.

It is imperative that the stumbling block of lack of social inclusion that vulnerable groups, such as indigenous and Afro descendant communities endure in Peru are attended through public policies with an intercultural approach. However, to attend the complex composition of Peruvian diversity, it is necessary that the government widen its vision to address all the different experiences and challenges of its large diverse population. In 2011, Correa addressed that the main target minority for the intercultural initiatives were the indigenous population who were given priority over the Afro-descendant groups (Correa, 2011). Apparently, over the years, the state went beyond the ethnic binary white and indigenous (identified also in Peru's Cultural Policies in the 70s) and recognized that Afro descendant communities should be incorporated into the discussion of the ethnic diversity's challenges in Peru as well.

Nevertheless, there are still other ethnic minority groups, such as the Nikkei community, that are not part of the central discussion of diversity management. Why does that happen? Judging by the analysis of the policies and the literature review presented, this situation is related to the conceptualization of certain groups as vulnerable and non-vulnerable, and to the lack of a framework to analyze diversity in terms of social cohesion. First, the intercultural approach is presented within a context where the vulnerable groups need to overcome challenges related to structural discrimination. Although the policies mention that the challenges to be overcome are common to a large part of the population, the truth is that the experience they are starting from is that of the so-called vulnerable groups and do not necessarily involve other minority groups. Second, to identify vulnerable groups, the state appears to employ a framework mostly limited to objective indicators of economic participation and access to fundamental rights (such as education, health, sanitation). In the case of the Nikkei community, it faces other challenges, such as the questioning of their national belonging, which also is a matter to attend through the intervention of the diversity policies since it has an intelligible impact on social cohesion and that will remain unnoticed if the scope of the existing framework is not widened. In the case of the Nikkei ethnic minority in Brazil, Lesser addressed,

to judge social place only by economic or political position is a dangerous business. Public acceptance of hyphenated ethnicity [meaning immigrants descendants who preserve their unique culture inherited by their foreign ancestors] remains contested in Brazil, and the terms 'árabe,' 'turco,' and 'japonês' continue to be applied to those of non-European descent whether they are prominent ministers or local bookstore owners. (Lesser, 1999, p. 169)

According to the ratiocination of the Peruvian government, groups that do not present evident challenges in those dimensions (such as the Nikkei community) would not receive the classification of vulnerable (maybe not even minority) and, therefore, would not be a priority for diversity policies. However, as the intercultural approach explored here pointed out, an intercultural citizenship can only be achieved by all stakeholders' interactions.

3.4. The National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) and the National Policy of Culture until 2030 (2020)

To have a clearer perspective on how the Peruvian state understands the public policies regarding cultural ethnic-diversity through the intercultural framework, hereafter, main aspects of two recently published policy documents are going to be briefly presented and eventually the main ideas regarding how these documents are considering the Nikkei participation as part of the diversity management are going to be summarized.

Seven years after the creation of the Ministry of Culture of Peru (MINCUL) and the Vice ministry of Interculturality in 2010, the National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) was published. However, in that document, Nikkei were not named as part of the national minorities. The absence of the category of Nikkei from this policy became obvious after the 2017 census results were made public. Over 22, 000 Nikkei-self-identifying citizens gave statistical visibility to the Nikkei community in the state's records for the first time. However, it was only recently in 2020, in the National Policy of Culture until 2030 (PNC) (2020), the Nikkei community was officially included as a designated minority. They were recognized as part of the cultural diversity of the country, despite not having active participation in the policies. No representative of the Nikkei community participated either in the initial formulation of the policies nor in the process of their socialization and implementation. In addition, this policy does not have clear guidelines that understand the challenges faced by the Nikkei nor other minorities besides the

indigenous and the Afro-Peruvian communities within the Peruvian society, nor have consulted bibliography about the Nikkei community.

The PNC articulates the Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (MINCUL, 2020) and both follow the intercultural framework to approach the challenges of diversity in the Peruvian context. In both cases, the conceptualization of diversity ended up being narrowed down to ethnic-cultural diversity, and, in a very specific way, it focuses specially on the challenges indigenous and Afro-descendant communities face regarding the economic participation, access to fundamental rights such as housing, education, food, health and sanitation services, and discrimination,

to address this complex problem and properly serve indigenous and Afro-descendant citizens, guaranteeing their rights and in the search for a country free of ethnic-racial discrimination, the Peruvian state assumes the intercultural approach as an appropriate and necessary tool. We understand interculturality as an approach that proposes the recognition of cultural differences, without discriminating or excluding, seeking to generate a reciprocal relationship between the different ethnic-cultural groups that cohabit in a certain space. (MINCUL, 2017, p. 37)

Although Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) is structured based on four essential thematic axes, 1) to strengthen the intercultural management capacity of the Peruvian state, 2) the positive recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity, 3) the elimination of ethnic-racial discrimination, 4) the social inclusion of indigenous peoples and the Afro-Peruvian population, the narrow way to address diversity in the Peruvian context suggested that this policy was built to attend to the very specific situations of some minorities while disregarding other minority communities' experiences.

Meanwhile, the PNC released in 2020 became the first policy that explicitly addressed the Nikkei ethnic identity as part of the Peruvian national diversity composition. Unlike the Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017), the PNC (2020) do not focus exclusively on the management of the ethnic-cultural diversity of the population, but also attend to aspects related to the cultural industry as two faces of the same project: achieving greater access to cultural rights by the population, meaning access to cultural life, participation in cultural life and contribution to cultural life (MINCUL, 2020). However, since it is the first document mentioning the Nikkei community in terms of diversity management and considering that one of its main objectives is strengthening the appreciation of cultural diversity (MINCUL, 2020), it is considered here as a source for data on how the Peruvian state conceptualizes its national diversity.

The PNC (2020) begins by claiming the diversity of Peru with the sentence “diversity unites us” (MINCUL, 2020, p. 7) and pointing out the necessity for cultural policies to manage cultural diversity,

This diversity requires cultural policies, that is, a set of strategies and actions that aim to guide the proper management of the fields of culture to prevent and solve problems that are located in it. (MINCUL, 2020, p.7)

Now, what are those problems? The main problem involving diversity is the low appreciation of diversity in Peru, which prevents collective identification and promotes discrimination and exclusion (MINCUL, 2020). The low appreciation of diversity is connected to the lack of an accurate acknowledgement of cultural diversity by the Peruvian citizens, which is manifested in the following three ways. First, most Peruvians do not address “different peoples, languages and cultural practices that coexist in our country” or just acknowledge them “from a merely exotic position” (MINCUL, 2020, p. 45). Second, the contribution of the various cultures

and ethnic groups in the country is scarcely known by most of the Peruvian population. Finally, the PNC addresses that citizens are lacking of cultural identification and robust local identities.

Addressing those and other overlapping problems, the PNC (2020) document has set up six lineaments to achieve the main objective of strengthening the appreciation of cultural diversity (MINCUL, 2020, p. 120), which are:

1. Generate strategies to strengthen the cultural identity of citizens.
2. Develop mechanisms for the attention, prevention and punishment of racism and ethnic-racial discrimination in public and private entities.
3. Develop strategies for the incorporation of cultural relevance in public services.
4. Generate strategies for the production and dissemination of cultural content through television, radio and digital media.
5. Generate strategies for the intergenerational transmission and revaluation of intangible cultural heritage and traditional knowledge.

Next, to deeper understand how the state is conceptualizing the management of the country's cultural diversity, three aspects the two policies (the Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach, and the National Culture Policy) addressed as central topics to fighting challenges related to high diversity, such as the appreciation of diversity, citizen participation, and cultural exchange, are going to be discussed in relation to the Nikkei community situation.

3.4.1. Appreciation of Diversity

One of the central and transversal aspects of the Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) and the National Culture Policy (2020) is the work for the appreciation of diversity. Both policies propose to foster the awareness of diversity and promote the recognition

of diverse cultures. However, the only policy that has concrete proposals and indicators regarding this matter is the National Culture Policy until 2030 (2020).

This policy proposes as indicators to measure the appreciation of cultural diversity the followings, 1) the percentage of the population that has felt discriminated against in the last 5 years, and 2) the percentage of the population that, according to their ancestors and customs, self-identifies as part of a cultural collective. In the case of the latter indicator, the document argues that a greater number of people self-identifying as part of a cultural group is the result of a more favorable context for diversity, meaning a greater appreciation of diversity by the population (the MINCUL, 2020), which seems questionable if there are no other indicators to complement. When little appreciation of cultural diversity is found, this policy proposes central strategies, such as to develop awareness and appreciation programs for cultural diversity, strategies to strengthen the cultural identity of the population, spaces for intercultural dialogue between people of different cultural identities intercultural dialogue, and actions for the prevention and punishment of racism and ethnic-racial discrimination (MINCUL, 2020). In general, these indicators cover central aspects to measure the appreciation of diversity (ethno-cultural diversity specifically²²) from a subjective and objective approach. However, the framework still seems limited since there is no indicator to explore the feelings of participants toward diversity directly.

3.4.2. Citizen's Participation

The Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) and the National Culture Policy until 2023 (2020) put emphasis in the participation of indigenous or native

²² Although the indicator on the perception of discrimination does not specify the type of discrimination it refers to, the fact that the person responsible for the indicator is the Vice ministry of Interculturality suggests that it would be ethnic-cultural discrimination.

peoples, and Afro-Peruvians as target groups for the guidelines for managing diversity. That emphasis is consistent with the process of the National Culture Policy's guidelines design, where the lineaments were based on the Afro-descendant and indigenous communities' experiences mainly, while no Nikkei organization participated in the policy design process nor one single study about the Nikkei community was consulted,

the National Culture Policy promotes affirmative policies aimed at groups at greater risk or inequality, such as *indigenous or native peoples, Afro-Peruvian people*, women, and other groups of special attention. This way, the development of this intervention considers standards for the provision of goods and services to *excluded and/or vulnerable populations*. (MINCUL, 2020, p. 42)

In a conceptualization level, the two cited policies are differentiating an excluded/vulnerable group from a non-excluded/non-vulnerable group in the context of Peruvian ethnic diversity. The consulted policies consider the necessity to focus on "ethnic groups that are in a particularly vulnerable situation" (MINCUL, 2017, p. 11), meaning that the efforts to involve a group in a higher social participation will depend on its conceptualization as either vulnerable or non-vulnerable.

However, what does "vulnerable" mean to the Peruvian state? The Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations of Peru (n.d.) in its web site defines "people in vulnerable situations" as those who "find special difficulties to fully exercise their rights". In the National Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach, those difficulties are related to economic and social gaps, and access to rights due to structural processes of discrimination and exclusion (MINCUL, 2017). The way the vulnerable condition is measured by these Peruvian institutions matches with the indicators used by the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion of Peru to measure social

inclusion, all of them focused in economic participation and access to fundamental rights (poverty gap, extreme poverty, incidence of extreme poverty using autonomous income, homes with integrated packages of services, attendance of children from 3 to 5 years of age to regular basic education, chronic malnutrition in children under 5 years of age) (Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion, 2013).

In some sources, the concept of vulnerability is tight to the minority concept. For example, the Violence Observatory of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations of Peru (MIMP) lists “belonging to a minority” as a cause of vulnerability (MIMP, 2013). Likewise, UNESCO (2014) defines minority as “marginalized or vulnerable groups that live under the shadow of the majority populations, which have a different and dominant cultural ideology” (2014, p. 76). In fact, groups identified as minorities by the document “22 indicators of culture for development. Analytical summary” by UNESCO are named in the later published PNC²³ (2020) by the Peruvian state as vulnerable:

The existence of social gaps and inequalities that make it impossible for certain groups to access and/or develop their creative processes with equal opportunities and without discrimination. This occurs in *vulnerable populations*, such as women, *indigenous or native peoples*, *the Afro-Peruvian population*, people with disabilities, LGTBI populations, etc. (MINCUL, 2020, p. 31)

These findings suggest that, for the Peruvian state, the minorities to be attended are vulnerable groups in terms of social inclusion, meaning in terms of economic participation and access to fundamental rights. Concerning to this conceptualization, how to classify the Nikkei community

²³ The National Policies of Culture until 2030 (PNC) does not consistently use or define the term "minorities" (it is not in the glossary).

considering that they face their own challenges in a context of lack of a robust inclusion of its difference as a component of national identity by the Peruvian population?

The most recent publication of the Council of Europe (2021) defines “minority” as a “group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State and in a non-dominant position” (p. 7), avoiding the connection with vulnerability. However, the Peruvian state seems to be very clear in a definition establishing a correspondence between minority group and vulnerable group. Therefore, to the Peruvian state, a minority community seems to be a vulnerable community, meaning lacking social inclusion, consisting in lacking economic participation, access to fundamental rights and struggling with discrimination.

The definition of minority communities in terms of vulnerability (as the Peruvian government conceptualize vulnerability) might be overshadowing the challenges related to social participation non-vulnerable groups (as the Peruvian government appears to be conceptualizing it) that still are numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State and in a non-dominant position, like the Nikkei, face in other dimensions related to the context of cultural diversity in Peru. Meanwhile, the interculturality’s goals of social cohesion and development through the efficient management of diversity seem to be unachievable when the government splits the population in vulnerable and non-vulnerable to decide which cultural groups should participate of the policies for diversity management. As has been seen, the concept of interculturality has a very rich understanding of diversity. That approach understands society as an organism in motion and considers that all parts of that organism must work to have a positive impact on social cohesion. It is undeniable that the members of the communities are heterogeneous and that it is necessary to distinguish the unique challenges of each group to develop focused and accurate policies. However,

at the framework level, the intercultural proposal should not be limiting the participation of all vulnerable and non-vulnerable stakeholders.

National identity is an important part in the formation of the identity of individuals and cultural groups. It gives meaning to citizens' life by connecting them with a great national destiny (Hall, 1999). Therefore, in a context in which many minorities have been overlooked in the official discourse over the years, the appearance of policies that vindicate difference and promote diversity is encouraging in terms of achieving a national identity that represents all citizens and strengthening social cohesion. However, the Peruvian state seems to propose an intercultural citizenship project based exclusively on the representation and care of "vulnerable minorities". Such an approach would not only be ignoring the needs of other minority communities that do not qualify as vulnerable but could also be fueling feelings of exclusion from the project of national identity building on the part of "non-vulnerable" minorities. As indicated by the United Nations, the construction of an exclusive and conflictual national identity contributes to intolerance and enmity (UNDP, 2020).

Both policies understand the importance of building intercultural citizenship participation for democratic governance (the Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) and the National Culture Policy until 2030 (2020, pp. 39-40)), meaning the incorporation of "different cultures and sociocultural subjects as part of the political community" (MINCUL, 2020, p. 40). However, the efforts put in understanding the experience of Asian descendant communities, such as Nikkei and Tusán, and push for them to have a more robust participation in the citizenship project seems shallow.

3.4.3. Cultural Exchange for Social Cohesion

Drawing on Zapata-Barrero, Elias and Mansouri (2020) identify social cohesion and intercultural contact as “the two interlinked thematic benchmarks of the intercultural approach” (Elias & Mansouri, 2020, p. 495); therefore, fostering social cohesion through enhancing intercultural contact is the goal (Elias & Mansouri, 2020). According to Zapata-Barrero, “supporting the positive interaction” (Zapata-Barrero, 2015, p. 7) can enhance social cohesion and ensure “an optimal living situation and social inclusion” (Zapata-Barrero, 2015, p. 7). Both the Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) and the National Culture Policy until 2023 (2020) propose relational strategies.

For instance, the National Culture Policy until 2023 (2020) proposes the “intercultural citizenship skills training service” as a strategy for the strengthening of the cultural identity of citizens in general (MINCUL, 2020, p. 124), meaning that one of the central aspects the citizens are going to be trained is to develop horizontal dialogues and harmonious relationships²⁴ (MINCUL, 2020). This same document also proposes promoting “intercultural exchange and the transmission of cultural knowledge service” as “strategies for the strengthening of the cultural identity of citizens” directed to “indigenous or native peoples, Afro-Peruvian and other population that belongs to a cultural group” (MINCUL, 2020, p. 124). Meanwhile, Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) also promotes the training of intercultural citizens “through cultural exchange between the different social and cultural groups of the country, guaranteeing tools to improve communication and mutual understanding, as well as their interaction in intercultural dialogue” (MINCUL, 2017, p. 49).

²⁴ The other to characteristics of the intercultural citizenship are 1) assume cultural diversity in a positive way, and 2) respect and value all the cultures, ethnic groups and cultural groups that coexist in a territory (MINCUL, 2020, 133).

Unfortunately, these guidelines are stated in a very general way, which calls into question the appropriateness of the state’s approach. Likewise, when considering the context regarding cultural diversity in Peru described by both policies, it is to be suspected that there is no deep understanding on the part of the state of the unique challenges of all the ethnic-cultural groups in the country. Although the guidelines are aimed at improving the relationship between “the population that belongs to a cultural group” in an environment of respect for cultural diversity (see Figure 10), the lack of knowledge of the specific experiences of each cultural diversity limits the suitability of the final measure.

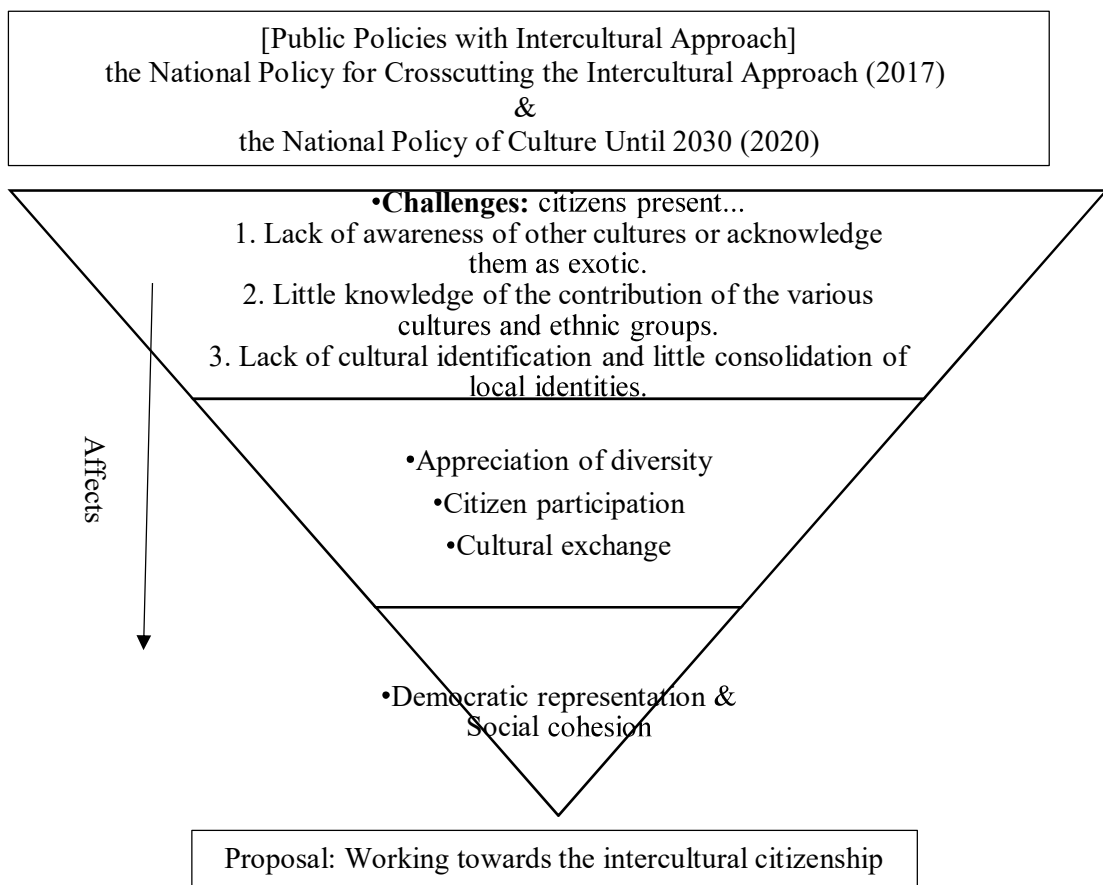


Figure 10. Conceptualization of the Management of Diversity by the Peruvian Government

3.5. Unclear Participation of the Nikkei in the Intercultural Citizenship Project

National identity helps citizens to “produce meaning” (Hall, 1999, p. 121) and perceive a historical destiny for them (Pastor, 2016). It creates the narrative for people to connect their routine life “with a great national destiny that existed before us and is going to survive us” (Hall, 1999, p. 121). Therefore, questioning the national belongingness to some groups or excluding their difference from the national identity building process is taking away their right to feel and be part of the nation’s project. In addition, from an intercultural approach, excluding peoples difference means losing the opportunities for innovation that diversity brings.

Certainly, the Peruvian government is showing a formal interest in the Nikkei community by acknowledging it in the National Culture Policy Until 2030 and by subscribing an Institutional Cooperation Agreement between the Identification and Civic State National Register (Reniec) and the Japanese Peruvian Association to exchange information and statistics for the quantification and identification of the Nikkei community in Peru (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2022). Nevertheless, there are no clear guidelines to understand the participation that is expected from the Nikkei community in the project of national identity and intercultural citizenship building, meaning a type of citizen who 1) has a positive attitude towards cultural diversity, 2) expresses respect and appreciation to all cultures and ethnic groups and cultural groups that live with them in the same territory, 3) and engages in horizontal dialogues and harmonious relationships.

Moreover, within the last census process in 2017, despite collecting specific information about Nikkei population, the data is not receiving the same attention as the one collected from other minority groups in terms of ethnic diversity perspective (INEI, 2018). In the *Peru: sociodemographic profile* report, the only document found where Nikkei data is desegregated, specialists just desegregated information related to ethnic-self-identification, health and education

access, and literacy conditions (INEI, 2018), aspects the Nikkei community not necessarily struggles with. More important, in the National Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) and the PNC (2020), the country's ethnic diversity is addressed as one of the main cultural assets to foster. However, the Nikkei community is barely acknowledged in the first and completely unmentioned in the latter.

In 2021, the Peruvian writer Doris Moromisato, in a conference named "The Path to Citizenship in Two Hundred Years of Peruvian Republic" which was part of the Independence Bicentennial activities by the Ministry of Culture of Peru (MINCUL), highlighted the struggles of Nikkei for the recognition of their citizenship, unjustly questioned by some non-Nikkei Peruvian. Apparently, the Nikkei ethnicity has not been included as one of the marks of belonging in the dominant narrative of the Peruvian national identity despite its long-lasting presence and contribution to Peruvian culture formation. This situation echoes the current context of Europe, where "descendants of migrants are sometimes wrongly referred to as migrants" (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 7). Even though Nikkei situation presents great difference with the European cases, the fact that Europe has built a theoretical approach (interculturality) to understand the urgency of working with diversity and ethnic minorities and beyond the paradigm of economic participation and access to fundamental rights, is useful to make visible and understand the situation of communities like the Nikkei in Peru. From the European perspective, understanding the sense of belonging and the perception of recognition of minorities is central to work for strengthening social cohesion.

In the Nikkei ethnic minority case, despite they are not struggling to access to economic participation nor fundamental rights, and mostly being associated with positive stereotypes, such as being hardworking, responsible, capable, honest, and successful (Espinosa et al., 2007), the

racialization they endure appears to confront them with the questioning of their belonging to the national identity by non-Nikkei Peruvian disregarding that studies and Nikkei representatives' comments suggest a close connection of the Nikkei with their "Peruvianess." The racialization process comes hand in hand with some preconceptions and stereotypes that complicate the recognition of the Nikkei as part of the Peruvian national diversity. Positive stereotypes make the struggles concerning racialization invisible or difficult to identify. The case of the Nikkei minority confronts Peruvian government and citizens with the reality that there are different, complex, and subtle ways in which national identity's construction elides certain types of citizens.

If the respect for cultural diversity, including "tolerance, dialogue and cooperation in a climate of mutual trust and understanding" (UNESCO, 2001) is achieved by getting a deeper knowledge on the other, ignoring the Nikkei minority of projects on diversity in favor of intercultural citizenship would only contribute to perpetuate the ignorance and stereotypes that the Nikkei community has faced for years. From the intercultural point of view, this would not only affect horizontal and respectful communication among all citizens, and the appreciation of national diversity, but would also deprive the Nikkei minority of its right to participate as a cultural minority in the national project.

3.6. A Framework Proposal

Considering minorities in terms of vulnerability and defining vulnerability in terms of social exclusion (understood as exclusion from economic participation and access to fundamental rights) limits the understanding of the complex diversity of Peru where various minority ethnic groups (in terms of quantity) face challenges in relation to other aspects that diversity entails. How to understand the challenges of the Nikkei community only from indicators of social inclusion? Likewise, how to explore the relational dynamics —a central aspect in the intercultural approach

that precisely distinguishes it from multiculturalism— of the different minorities without a framework that explores how a certain subject feels regarding other cultural groups of the same nation?

After the policies analysis, it is considered that Peruvian policies for fostering intercultural society, meaning a socially cohesive and highly relational society, follow a paradigm of promotion of diversity that has as its main goal the inclusion of the minorities in the economic participation and the access to fundamental rights while overlooking other dimensions of the social cohesion. The complexity of Peruvian diversity, where minority groups present varied and different characteristics from each other, evidences the need to include other dimensions in the work for the strength of social cohesion. Considering that the contact and the social cohesion are the main goals of the intercultural approach in diversity management, new frameworks that measure them at the same time as measuring social inclusion could be useful to make visible the experience of minority communities whose participation in social dynamics is affected in ways that cannot be identified or measured with the currently used indicators alone.

For this study, to delimit the analysis and obtain operable information in terms of social cohesion, the analysis was organized according to the belonging, social relationship, participation, and legitimacy indicators of social condition from the Social Cohesion Measurement Framework from the Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa by Lefko-Everett (2016) (Table 3), which are additional dimensions to the social inclusion and its economic participation and access to fundamental rights indicators, that the Peruvian government is already considering. It distinguishes six dimensions (Inclusion, Belonging, Social Relationship, Participation, Legitimacy, and Security) and 12 sub-dimensions (economic, social, identity, values, recognition, networks, trust, diversity, political, trust, representation, and security). The subjective indicators provided within

each sub-dimension helped to delimit the scope of this study analysis. In addition to helping with the delimitation and organization of the data, areas that must be reinforced in the case of the Nikkei community in the context of cultural policies designed to strengthen the social cohesion of Peruvian society can be identified. Similarly, the strengths of the Nikkei community for the project of diversity management for social cohesion in Peru will be identifiable.

Although the Peruvian state is developing strategies and indicators to understand and address the challenges of the country's ethnic-cultural diversity, its proposals are based mainly on its knowledge of the Afro-Peruvian and indigenous experience in relation to three main aspects that are overlapping: economic participation, access to fundamental rights (such as education, housing, sanitation), and experience of discrimination. Therefore, although they propose the formation of intercultural citizenship in general, a proposal generated in Europe in a context of great immigration from various countries, the proposals of the Peruvian state do not cover the challenges faced by other ethnic communities in relation to aspects such as the recognition of their belonging to the national identity, as happens with the Nikkei community. Recalling UNDP (2020), answering the question "who are we as a nation?" is an "important aspect of defining social cohesion" (UNDP, 2020, p. 45). Therefore, getting a deeper understanding on how minorities are understanding their participation in the national identity building is a central step on answering that question.

3.6.1. Social Cohesion and Social Inclusion in terms of cultural citizenship

Despite been the focus of theory and research since the late 19th century by philosophers and sociologists, social cohesion has no standardized definition internationally (Lefko-Everett, 2016). Social cohesion is a concept that has been and is defined in multiple ways. United Nations clarifies that "social cohesion is not a fixed endpoint but, rather, a dynamic and evolving state that

fluctuates with events, relationships and attitudes” (UNDP, 2020, p. 24). Therefore, the “ownership of the definition of social cohesion is essential to its acceptance” (UNDP, 2020, p. 24), meaning that each community has its own ideal of what social cohesion is.

Having said that, the United Nations recognizes two main dimensions of social cohesion from its action-oriented approach (Lefko-Everett, 2016). The first is “reducing disparities, inequalities, and social exclusion” (Lefko-Everett, 2016, p. 7) and the second is “strengthening social relations, interactions, and ties” (Lefko-Everett, 2016, p. 7). This same perspective is expressed by the Local Government Association as follows. Cohesive communities are “better able to address issues affecting the social and economic well-being of all their residents” and propose them to fight tensions created because of cultural diversity (Local Government Association, 2002, p. 4).

Achieving a cohesive society implies that all citizens feel part of the same community, meaning that their goals and challenges are common to all. At the same time, the cohesive society needs the reduction of inequality (wealth and income inequality) to be achieved (Markus & Kirpitchenko, 2009). Regarding diversity, the Local Government Association (2002) relates to cohesive societies with the appreciation and value of diversity, the access of different cultural groups to the same opportunities and the positive interaction between said groups (Local Government Association, 2002).

The importance of social cohesion lies on the positive impact it has in society. Cohesive communities are “stronger and safer communities” and better at dealing with tensions created because of cultural diversity (Local Government Association, 2002, p. 4). According to the United Nations, cohesive societies are more likely to have,

1. Better individual health outcomes

2. Greater income equality
3. More extensive social support and protection system

In addition, the United Nations considers that cohesive societies could present:

4. Stronger citizenship norms
5. Greater levels of institutionalized and responsive governance
6. Potentially, greater levels of support for democracy and popular participation (UNDP, 2020, p. 17)

Just as there is no definitive definition of social cohesion, the way to measure it also varies depending on the case of analysis. Lefko-Everett (2016) has identified these variations in terms of indicators to measure social cohesion on the African continent and, considering the needs of an extremely diverse region, has developed a framework that goes beyond the social inclusion dimension (Table 3). This could be useful in the Peruvian case since it is also an extremely diverse territory and does not appear to have indicators to measure the relational aspect of social cohesion among its inhabitants.

Table 3. Social Cohesion Measurement Framework from “The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa” in *Towards a Measurement of Social Cohesion for Africa* by Lefko-Everett (2016)

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Subjective indicators	Objective indicators
Inclusion	Economic	Perceptions of economic equality	-Gini coefficient -Population income share -Unemployment/employment rates
		Perceptions of access to economic opportunities	-Poverty levels -Average household income -Workforce equity policies in place Economic participation of women
	Social	Feeling that basic needs are met	-Literacy levels

		Perceptions of social equality	-Educational participation/achievement
		Approval of social protection measures (income support, redistribution)	-Health outcomes (life expectancy, infant mortality, HIV/AIDS prevalence) -Access to food and clean water -Access to basic services (electricity, housing, sanitation, transport) -Access to the internet -All data differentiated according to gender
Belonging	Identity	Strength and importance of national identity	
		Strength and importance of group identity/identities	
	Values	Shared norms and values	
	Recognition	Feelings of acceptance and belonging	
		Feeling that culture/way of life is recognized	
Social relationships	Networks	Strength of social networks	
		Civic organization membership	
		Emotional ties and feelings of interconnectedness	
	Trust	Interpersonal trust	
		Trust between groups (ethnic, racial, socioeconomic, language)	
	Diversity	Acceptance of diversity (ethnic, racial, religious, gender, sexual orientation, migrants, people with disabilities)	-% Foreign born population -National data/reports of discrimination
		Approval/perceptions of the value of diversity	
		Perceptions/experiences of discrimination	
		Approval of social distance (communication, friendship, intermarriage)	

Participation	Political	Perceptions/experience of political participation	-Voter turnout at elections -Elections considered to be free and fair
		Perceptions of political freedom	
		Approval/participation in protest	
		Political participation during/outside of election time	
Legitimacy	Representation	Perceptions of state responsiveness	
	Trust	Trust in institutions (government, police, justice system, conflict mediation)	
Security	Security	Feeling of safety from violence or crime (political, ethnic, social)	-National crime statistics -Media reports
		Perceptions about rule of law	

The concept of social cohesion is important for our study, since, as indicated by Markus & Kirpitchenko (2009), it makes the discussion about social well-being go beyond economic indicators,

[...] helps to shift the discussion of human well-being from the traditional frameworks of economic indicators, such as economic wealth, to other frameworks which are increasingly regarded as equally shaping the quality of life and which can be found in social, cultural, and ecological domains. (Kirpitchenko, 2009, p. 32)

It was identified that Peruvian policies for fostering intercultural society follow a paradigm that understands the inclusion of the minorities in the economic participation and the access to fundamental rights as the main goals of the diversity enhancement while overlooking other dimensions of the social cohesion. The complexity of Peruvian diversity, where minority groups

present varied and different characteristics from each other, evidences the need to include other dimensions in the work for the strength of social cohesion.

For this study, it was decided to work with the measurement framework for social cohesion provisional and proposed for the African continent by Kate Lefko-Everett and sponsored by the United Nations in 2016. It was decided to work with this framework because it was created from the recognition of the extreme diversity that the African continent has and the need for a useful framework to understand this diversity. In the Peruvian case, the current approach is limited, so a framework is also needed that provides the tools to have the broad vision that a correct understanding of the diversity that makes up Peru requires.

3.6.2. Representation

The paradigm that public policies follow respond to decisions made by government representatives. For minority groups to participate in decision-making and results, the democratic model highlights the importance of groups having political representation. Political representation is even taken as an indicator to measure the level of democracy (Hendricks, 2009). The representation establishes those who will be included or excluded in decision making (Hendricks, 2009).

Hendricks warns that political representation should not be confused with the individual action of a subject, but that it should be understood as “the overall-structure and functioning of the system, the pattern emerging from the multiple activities of many people” (Hendricks, 2009, pp. 690). Hendricks (2009) describes political representation as a “public institutionalized arrangement involving many people and groups and operating in the complex ways of large-scale social arrangement” (p. 693), which results in the existence of various agents involved in development of public policies.

There are two types of representation: formal and informal. In the case of formal representation, reference is made to democratically elected government representatives (Hendricks, 2009), while, in the case of informal representation, reference is made to a representative not elected by formal elections, but who has assumed (for example, NGOs) or has been given the responsibility of representing a group. Informal representatives can be substantive, like a lawyer, or descriptive, like an artist with a wide audience and a voice accepted by their community. In descriptive representation, “[t]he representative does not act for others, he ‘stands for’ them, by virtue of a correspondence or connection between them, a resemblance or reflection” (Pitkin 1967, 61 in Hendricks, 2009).

3.7. Final Thoughts

Currently, the cultural difference is recognized as a human right that must be protected. Highly diverse nations require from their states an accurate management of diversity based on “reciprocal and symmetrical recognition [...] under an overarching human right framework” (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 8). The respect for cultural diversity, including “tolerance, dialogue, and cooperation in a climate of mutual trust and understanding” guarantee peace, while including all the diverse cultural groups in the citizens participation guarantee additional social cohesion and the vitality of civilians (UNESCO, 2001).

The interculturalism goal is to achieve equality and social cohesion in diverse societies (Council of Europe, p. 2021). It fosters intercultural interaction “as a means of building trust and strengthening the fabric of the community” (Council of Europe, p. 2021, 10). In a context full of barriers that condition the exclusion of certain groups of a fair participation in society based on their cultural difference, the intercultural approach proposes “emphasizing commonalties between individuals and groups from different backgrounds, and promoting contact and positive interaction

between groups, promote cohesion and overcome some of the barriers leading to exclusion” (Council of Europe, p. 2021, p. 15).

In this chapter, a look at the intercultural approach in the international and Peruvian scenario was presented. This approach was defined as a political model that promotes closer relations between people of different cultural backgrounds in order to strengthen social cohesion and take advantage of the benefits in terms of social development that result from an adequate management of diversity. In the international case, mainly the European one, the intercultural approach has been developed to attend to the growing immigrant population that has been incorporated into the citizen dynamics. In the Peruvian case, the approach was proposed to address the problem of economic exclusion and limited access to fundamental rights that had led to the structural discrimination faced by vulnerable populations such as indigenous and Afro-Peruvian people.

How is social cohesion understood by the Peruvian state? Based on an analysis of public policies with an intercultural approach, such as the National Policies for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach (2017) and the National Policy of Culture Until 2030 (PNC) (2020), it was established that the strengthening of social cohesion in the Peruvian context is directed by the social inclusion paradigm. This means that the intercultural approach in Peru focuses on social inclusion as the central dimension in terms of diversity management. In this sense, other dimensions of social cohesion are ignored, and, with it, the challenges faced by other ethnic minorities considered non-vulnerable from the social inclusion paradigm, such as the Nikkei ethnic group, are overlooked.

The social inclusion paradigm forces the division of Peruvian cultural groups into vulnerable and non-vulnerable and identifies the former as the main target group of policies.

Likewise, this paradigm ignores needs that go beyond economic participation and access to basic rights of minority groups, such as feeling represented in the official discourse on national identity or experiencing that their cultural difference is known and recognized as part of the national identity. The case of the Nikkei community and other groups of “descendants of immigrants” suggest the limitations of the current Peruvian intercultural model. From this, additional dimensions were proposed to analyze social cohesion in highly diverse contexts following a United Nations study for the African context.

Chapter IV. Methodology

This study is placed in a context of government interest in promoting diversity and constructing a national identity through public policies with an intercultural approach to enhance social cohesion. In highly diverse societies, the intercultural approach encourages interaction among all citizens with different cultural backgrounds because it states that these kinds of interactions strength social cohesion. However, public policies in Peru from the intercultural approach focusing on ethnic diversity do not actively include ethnic minorities that they do not consider vulnerable in terms of economic participation and access to fundamental rights, such as the Nikkei minority. This kind of focus prevents the government from attending to other critical indicators for social cohesion, such as the feeling of belonging and the social relationship between different ethnic groups, which makes it simultaneously tricky to identify the challenges faced by ethnic minority communities concerning other social dimensions for social cohesion.

It is expected that the goals of social cohesion would be more attainable by broadening the target group of the intercultural approach and integrating ethnic minorities considered non-vulnerable into the scope of the intercultural approach in Peru. In that context, it is valuable to understand the perspectives of those minority cultural groups, for example, ethnic groups like the Nikkei community, and their current concerns. Given that communities are not homogeneous and have different expectations about their participation and representation in the nation project, it was decided to explore a sector's perception through the following questions:

As cultural producers, how do young Nikkei artists (re)interpret the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity? How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society? How effective is

the state's responsiveness to diversity issues in the country? What kind of potential does art have to express dynamic ethnic minority identities?

The adopted methodology is a qualitative approach based on a mixed methodology for primary data collection to answer the research questions. The instruments used to collect information were surveys and group interviews. It was decided to use primary data because this is a novel and little-explored topic.

In the beginning, a quantitative method was applied using a survey to get standardized data about the perceptions of the participants regarding their conceptualization of Nikkei identity, perspectives as an ethnic minority in Peru (level of identification with the Peruvian and Nikkei identities, perceived level of recognition by fellow citizens outside the Nikkei community), thoughts on art as an instrument for visibility, thoughts on policies to enhance diversity in Peru (feelings of being represented in decision making regarding promoting diversity in Peru) and the artists' level of trust in the state in the task for minority communities' visibility. The survey was released on November 5th through Google Forms and was closed on December 20th.

Next, a qualitative approach was again applied through follow-up group and individual interviews for data gathering. Interviews allowed for a deeper understanding of the perceptions first registered in the survey, for example, the artists' level of identification with the Peruvian and Nikkei identities, the artists' perception of the government's and Peruvian society's stereotypes and misconceptions towards the Nikkei identity and community, as well as the capacity of Nikkei Artists and Nikkei Art to challenge stereotypes towards the Nikkei community. The interviews started on August 30th and finished by November 21st (Table 4). They were held online using the Zoom platform since the participants of this study were outside Japan, mainly in Peru. The

interviews lasted between one and one and a half hours and were recorded through the Zoom platform and additionally recorded on audio by phone for backup.

Table 4. Interviews' schedule

Date	Interview #	Participants
August 30 th of 2022	Interview 1(group)	Artist 4 Artist 16 ²⁵
September 19 th of 2022	Interview 2 (group)	Artist 1 Artist 6 Artist 8
October 28 th of 2022	Interview 3 (group)	Artist 7 Artist 9 Artist 12
November 1 st of 2022	Interview 4 (individual)	Artist 14
November 2 nd of 2022	Interview 5 (group)	Artist 11 Artist 13 Artist 17
November 3 rd of 2022	Interview 6 (group)	Artist 2 Artist 15
November 20 th of 2022	Interview 7 (group)	Artist 5 Artist 10
November 21 st of 2022	Interview 8 (individual)	Artist 3

It was decided to work with the Young Nikkei Art Hall (YNAH) project's artists because that group meets this study's age and profession criteria. Why are age and the profession deemed relevant to this research? It was decided to work with Nikkei youth as the target group for two main reasons. First, international organizations identify youth as critical participants in social cohesion initiatives that "needs to be actively included" (UNDP, 2020, p. 51). Second, in the Peruvian context, the Nikkei youth has shown a greater willingness to voice their concerns regarding the conceptualization and participation of the Nikkei community in national citizenship projects. In the same vein, younger generations within the Nikkei community were found leading

²⁵ Artist 16 is the artist Val Eguche Bianchetti. She requested that her name be revealed.

new perceptions about the Nikkei identity, speaking out about issues related to the lack of understanding of their cultural diversity that affected them, or producing content that shows a more varied image of the Nikkei community (Chapter II).

Next, it was decided to further reduce the study focus for sample control. The decision was made to work with young Nikkei artists because they are active participants in collective identity building, and they are aware of social changes within their context. The theory on cultural production (including art) points out that art can influence the citizenry's perception (Youkhana, 2015; Organization of Ibero-American States, 2016). In fact, minority groups have used art as a space to create alternative national narratives where they are included (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). In the case of minority communities of Japanese descent, the artistic field had been and continues to be used by Nikkei groups around the world to express new ways of perceiving their ethnic identity and making visible the existence of their ethnic identity community within their broader national society (Chapter II). In addition, artists tend to be aware of the essential social changes around them. According to art theories, "art is often a reflection of society" (Baguley, 2015, p. 54), meaning that artists commonly address contemporary issues of their societies. Therefore, making art implies a complex reflection on the place of individuals in society.

The criteria for this study to define "young Nikkei" followed the parameters of the YNAH project where the average age of the participants is 29 years. However, in individual cases, it varies up to 42 (one case), 40 (one case), 37 (five cases), 38 (two cases), and 36 (one case), which exceeds the official age range for "young Nikkei" definition (between 18 and 35 years old) by the Nippon Foundation in collaboration with the Japanese American National Museum for "Global Youth Nikkei Research Project" (Nippon Foundation, n.d.). Initially, it was thought to focus on the fourth (*yonsei*-四世) and fifth (*gosei*-五世) generations, but it was later discarded. As it could be seen in

Chapter II, the immigration of Japanese to Peru was a lengthy process (from 1899 to 1939), so there may be Nikkei of the same generation not sharing the same age range. For this reason and because the UN indicates that the definition of young people varies according to multiple factors related to the context of the sample (UNDESA, n.d.), it was decided to relax the age limitations slightly and collect the survey data from any participant of the YNAH project. Meanwhile, in the specific case of the interviews, it was decided to limit the interviews to participants who were in their 20's and 30's at the time they participated in the YNAH project.

This study follows the intercultural approach, so special attention is placed in the relational dynamics: the analysis of the participants' conceptualization of their ethnic identity within the Peruvian context and their perceptions on how art and artistic activities influence the Nikkei community relational dynamics with the broader Peruvian society. The intercultural approach is grounded in the necessity of all diverse ethnic groups' active exchange and participation for enhancing social cohesion, which current Peruvian policies as missing. By employing this perspective, a wider range of challenges for social inclusion of overlooked ethnic minorities can be uncovered. For the data analysis, a thematic approach was followed analyzing the data based on "The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa" in *Towards a Measurement of Social Cohesion for Africa* by Lefko-Everett (2016).

4.1. Target Group

The YNAH project artists form this study's target group. This specific sector of the youth Nikkei population could provide valuable insights into the current conceptualizations of the Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community. They also can provide useful insights on the perception of the Nikkei identity conceptualization by Peruvian non-Nikkei and the Peruvian government. As cultural producers of minority identity, it was considered that these participants could provide their

perception on how art and artistic activities influence the Nikkei community relational dynamics with the broader Peruvian society.

As explored in the Chapter II, in recent years, many Nikkei youth have shown an interest in expressing their ideas about their new conceptualizations of Nikkei identity and how they want to participate in Peruvian society as members of an ethnic minority. When this research was being developed, Nikkei artists gained visibility as producers of narratives about their ethnic identity. Therefore, young Nikkei artists appeared as an option to access opinions based on a conscious work of reflection and communicative intention and as the perfect lens to analyze young Nikkei's thoughts regarding the research topic.

4.2. The Young Nikkei Art Hall Project Description

The national well-known Peruvian Nikkei artist Haroldo Higa has led a study of young Nikkei artists since 2016 when he organized the first Young Nikkei Art Meeting that convened 100 Nikkei artists. Thereafter, he created the YNAH project which consisted of six exhibitions. YNAH started to build networks and provide a platform for young Nikkei artists to show their work. Its premise has always been to gather, in a workshop, Nikkei artists with diverse artistic and cultural backgrounds to portray their reflections on Nikkei identity in unique art pieces for exhibition (see Figure 11 for an example).

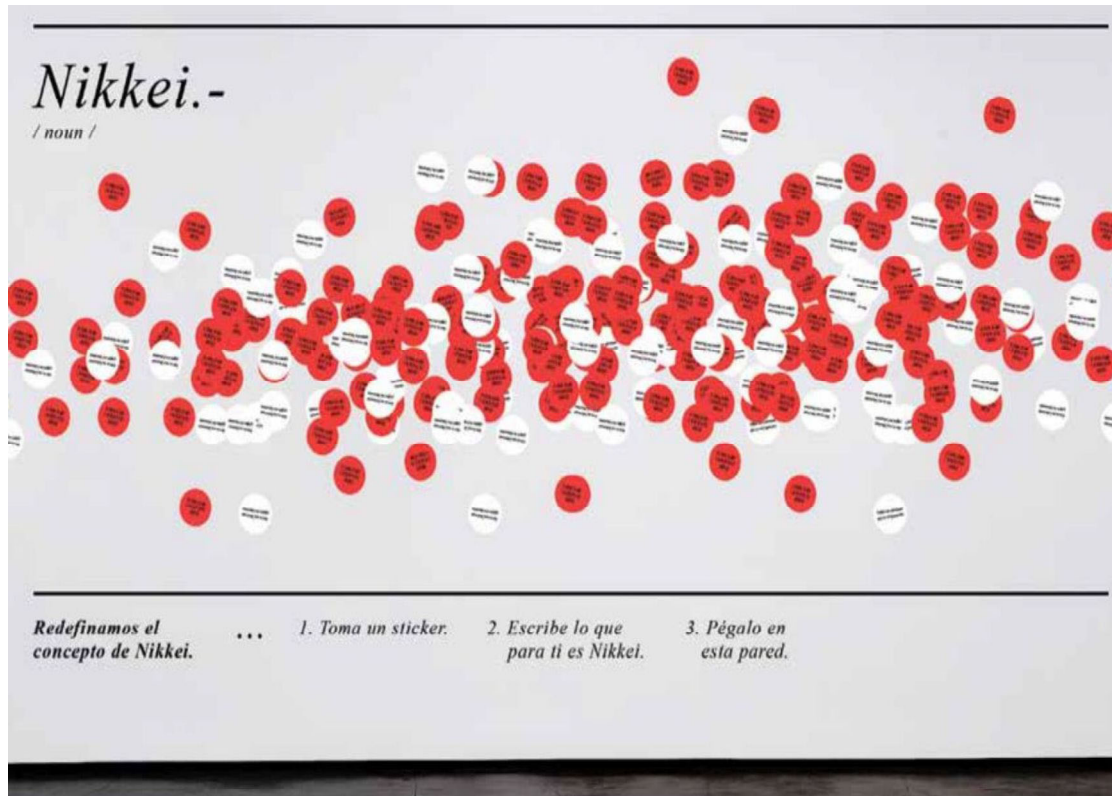


Figure 11. [Collaborative installation on a wall] “Nikkei” by Kiyoshi Salazar Nakama for the second edition of the Young Nikkei Art Hall in 2018²⁶

The YNAH project is still coordinated by and sponsored by the Peruvian Japanese Association (APJ) through its Culture department. Each exhibition is curated by the non-Nikkei Peruvian curator Juan Peralta, who oversees the artwork creation process and organizes the diverse art pieces in an organic composition for the exhibition. The staff members of the Culture department at the APJ manage the logistics and oversee that all the exhibitions follow the association’s standards regarding cultural offerings to the audience (Peruvian society in general), quality, and values (see Figure 12).

²⁶ Translation of the indications on the wall: Let’s redefine “Nikkei”/1. take a sticker/2. Write your very own definition of “Nikkei” on it/3. Stick it to the wall.

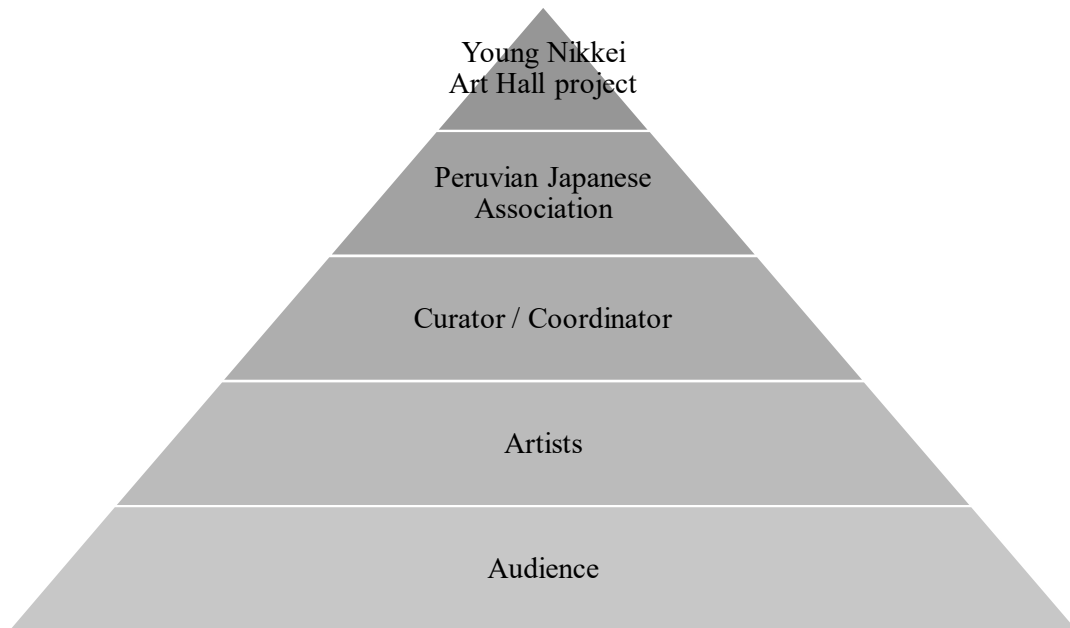


Figure 12. Actor mapping of the Young Nikkei Art Hall project

The YNAH project appears to pursue two general goals: 1) to spread awareness about the artistic production within the Peruvian Nikkei community among Peruvian society (Ryochi Jinnai Gallery, 2017) and 2) to encourage the artists analyze the meaning of being Nikkei in Peru (Ryochi Jinnai Gallery, 2017).

To run these art halls, first, Higa invites Nikkei artists who stand out in the local artistic circuit of Lima to present their portfolios. Then, they undergo a selection process, and approximately 10 of them —mostly in their 20s— remain. The chosen ones are asked to create artistic pieces based on their thoughts about Nikkei identity. The art piece elaboration process starts by gathering Nikkei artists in an 8-month workshop (from February to October), where they exchange ideas and share their advances on their art pieces. The coordinator and curator support the creative process of an artistic piece that reflects any aspect of the Nikkei identity and encourages the exchange of ideas among the participants. Finally, the yearly exhibition is held preceded by an extensive promotional media campaign. Each workshop session is recorded in

video, and the periodic advances of the art piece process are registered in PowerPoint slides that are uploaded to a Google Drive folder that organizers share.

This project allows the artists to organize their ideas and discuss the Nikkei identity and the artistic process with their peers. Besides the feedback received from their peers and the project supervisors, Haroldo Higa (coordinator) and Juan Peralta (curator), the artists also receive comments from Nikkei researchers and well-known local and international Nikkei artists guests invited from abroad by the organization to participate of the exhibition.

The YNAH project has gained relevance among Nikkei institutions and Peruvian society. The exhibitions of the YNAH project used to be launched as part of another APJ's central activity called Nikkei Culture Week (which had been created to show Nikkei's contribution to Peruvian society). However, since the YNAH project gained greater recognition, the organization decided to launch it on a different date. Now, the activity is held as an independent event with broader visibility. For instance, it has been promoted in different culture-related printed and digital media platforms in Peru, Japan, and around the world, such as *El Comercio* newspaper (Peru), *Cervantes* Institute (Japan), and *Discover Nikkei*, a webpage that promotes Nikkei stories around the world by the Japanese American National Museum and supported by The Nippon Foundation.

4.3. Young Nikkei Art Hall Artists' General Description

Sixty-three artists have participated in this project so far. Thirty-three artists were born in the 1990s, and 27 artists were born in the 1980s. The largest group is comprised of artists born in 1993 (Table 5), and 33 were in their 20s when participating in the project (Table 6).

Table 5. Number of participants in the YNAH project per year of birth

Year of birth	Number of participants
1998	1

1997	0
1996	2
1995	1
1994	5
1993	12
1992	4
1991	2
1990	6
1989	6
1988	8
1987	1
1986	3
1985	1
1984	2
1983	1
1982	3
1981	1
1980	1
1979	1

Fifty-three of them were 35 years old or less when they participated in the YNAH project (Table 6), and 48 were 35 years old or less when this research’s survey was performed.

Table 6. Age average per year of participation in the YNAH project

Year of participation in the YNAH project	Age when participating	Age average per year
2017	28 23 24 26 28 27 24 25 30 28	26.3
2018	30 37 29 26 29 32 29 25 28 25 25 27	28.5
2019	37 23 37 24 37 31 25	30.5
2020	27 32 40 26 26 32 34 35 26 27	30.5

2021	23	31	42	28	33	28	31	38	33	29	37	32.0
2022	26	34	32	32	34	36	30	29	29	29	38	31.7
Total												29

All the participants have a high level of education based on the exhibition catalogs by the Peruvian Japanese Association. Some of them even have more than one specialization (Table 7). However, only the most relevant in relation to this research focus was considered in the classification of Table 7. Some relevant observations from this data are that most of the artists participating in this project (21) were graphic designers (Table 7) while two of the artists participating in this project were not specialized in any artistic fields since they were forest engineers. In the case of both, their careers led them to develop photographic skills that they continue to hone.

Table 7. Number of participants in the YNAH project per specialization based on the exhibition catalogs by the Peruvian Japanese Association

Specialization	Number of participants
Graphic designer	21
Industrial designer	5
Painter	5
Sculptor	5
Audiovisual Communicator	4
Photographer	4
Engraver	3
Moviemaker	2
Illustrator	2
Fashion designer	2
Forest engineer	2

4.4. Data Collection

4.4.1. Survey

The survey (Appendix B) provides general background information regarding Nikkei and weighs heavily in the section on Nikkei identity (Chapter V). The qualitative data forms the main results of this research project and weighs heavily in the section on the art focus (Chapter VI) and Nikkei identity (Chapter V). While some analysis of the survey is included, qualitative research forms the bulk of the data used to answer the research questions, especially about participants' perceptions on Nikkei identity conceptualization, and addressing the hypotheses. This survey was intended to obtain information mainly on:

- a. Participants' perceptions on Nikkei identity.
- b. The participants' positions regarding the degree of importance that they perceive in the active participation of the Nikkei community in the development of policies that refer to the management of Peruvian national diversity.
- c. Participants' perception regarding the interest of the state for the Nikkei community to have a more decisive participation in the policies and projects related to Peruvian national diversity.
- d. Participants' perception of the role of "Nikkei Artists" and "Nikkei Art" in Peruvian society.

For this study, the quantitative approach through the survey instrument was employed to obtain standardized initial data for exploring the case's subsurface. The survey is comprised of 73 questions that mainly explore feelings and perceptions. Therefore, most of the questions are formulated as 5-level Likert scale questions (60), and the rest of them are single-select multiple-

choice questions (4), multi-select multiple-choice questions (4), and boxes for additional information (6).

A pilot was tested among Nikkei participating in Nikkei institutions and cultural projects to get a broader perspective on the questions' clarity and the online survey's practicality. The pilot was tested with a musician and Bachelor in Communication; two of the co-founders of the Nikkei discord community "Sin Retorno" (No Way Back), one of them Master in Philosophy; and a Bachelor in Sociology who is a former Nippon Foundation scholar. Additionally, the survey pilot was tested with a researcher on Nikkei community, who has a master's degree in urban planning, territorial development and heritage restoration with a specialization in culture policies and management.

The survey was carried out online. It was created in Google Forms and distributed through social media, chats and e-mails. The Google Forms survey option was convenient due to its capacity to organize and process the information in initial figures. At the same time, because of the geographical distance, the online survey was the most suitable option to reach a more comprehensive number of participants in a shorter time. This survey was conducted in Spanish and was translated into English for this thesis.

The participants of this survey were 43 artists from all six exhibitions of the YNAH project, representing 68.25% of the total of artists who have ever participated in an edition of the YNAH project. An average of seven artists per year participating in the YNAH project were surveyed (Table 11). Regarding gender, 23 participants self-identified as women, 17 as men, and three as non-binary. In addition, more than half (24) have not experienced visiting or living in Japan, seven participants have been there for short vacations or periods of study, and the other 12 have lived in Japan for at least a year.

The survey was built using collective identity theory (Chapter III), theory about national identity and its relation with the social cohesion (Chapter III), the information gathered from previous Nikkei identity/community studies (Chapter II), and the review of the cultural policies and the intercultural approach, Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach and National Policy of Culture until 2030 (PNC) (Chapter III).

Based on the theory of collective identity, this survey is built on the premise that no cultural group is completely homogeneous and that identities are dynamic, situational, changing, and multiple. Therefore, questions were formulated accordingly to gain a general understanding of young Nikkei participants' approach to Nikkei identity (Table 8).

Table 8. Survey questions addressing the dynamism of the identity formation.

6. On a 1 to 5 scale, how long have you identified as Nikkei?

7. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a person?

- 7. 1. Gender
 - 7. 2. Nationality
 - 7. 3. Country of birth
 - 7. 4. Being an artist
 - 7. 5. Religion
 - 7. 6. Country where you live
 - 7. 7. To be Nikkei
 - 7. 8. Other:
-

8. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a Nikkei?

- 8. 1. Gender
 - 8. 2. Nationality
 - 8. 3. Country of birth
 - 8. 4. Being an artist
 - 8. 5. Religion
 - 8. 6. Country where you live
 - 8. 7. Other:
-

9. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a Peruvian?

- 9. 1. Gender
 - 9. 2. Nationality
 - 9. 3. Country of birth
 - 9. 4. Being an artist
-

-
9. 5. Religion
 9. 6. Country where you live
 9. 7. To be Nikkei
 9. 8. Other:
-
- 10. On a 1 to 5 scale, do you think older Nikkei and younger Nikkei have a different understanding of what is to be a Nikkei?**
-
- 12. On a 1 to 5 scale, to what extent do you agree with the following four concepts of Nikkei identity?**
-
- 13. On a 1 to 5 scale, to what extent do you think your understanding about Nikkei identity has changed after participating in the Young Nikkei Art Hall project?**
-

To access to some insights into the relational dynamics between the Nikkei community and the broader Peruvian society and the Peruvian government and building on previous studies on Nikkei identity and community, the survey explores participants' self-perception as Nikkei and their perception on Nikkei identity in relation to other actors, such as older Nikkei generations, the non-Nikkei population, and the state. Indicators from "The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa" in *Towards a Measurement of Social Cohesion for Africa* by Lefko-Everett (2016) were employed to create questions aiming to understand how national's and minority's collective identities formation impact the Nikkei minority social relationships, representation and social participation. What is sought with these questions is to understand the factors that shaped the current self-perception of the Nikkei as a national minority group in relation to the broader Peruvian society and the Peruvian state (Table 9).

Table 9. Survey questions exploring aspects for social cohesion enhancement concerning to indicators from "The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa" in *Towards a Measurement of Social Cohesion for Africa* by Lefko-Everett (2016).

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Subjective indicators	Survey Question
Belonging	Identity	Strength and importance of national identity	7. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a person? (Including nationality)

	8. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a Nikkei? (Including nationality)
	32. To what extent do you think it is necessary for the Peruvian national identity construction process to have minorities creating and sharing their own narratives about the nation?
Strength and importance of group identity/identities	5. Do you express your “Nikkeiness” outside the Nikkei community?
	6. How long have you identified as Nikkei?
	7. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a person? (Including Nikkei)
	9. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a Peruvian? (Including Nikkei)
	14. How often do you talk about/discuss Nikkei identity/community in your daily life?
	16. Since participating in the YNAH, how much interested are you in the concept or topics related to Nikkei identity?
	18. Do you self-identify as a Nikkei artist?
	20. Does the label “Nikkei artist” imply a commitment from you to the Nikkei community in any way?
	21. For you, Peruvian “Nikkei Art” should _____.
	22. Is it important for you to present reflections about Nikkei identity in your artwork?

	Recognition	Feeling that culture/way of life is recognized	19. What kind of reaction do you have from others when you are identified as a Nikkei artist? 30. What do you think about the government's response (announcements, pronouncements, sanctions) towards stereotypes about minorities spread on TV?
Social Relationship	Trust	Trust between groups	15. With whom do you usually talk about/discuss Nikkei identity/community? (including "friends in general", outside the Nikkei community)
	Diversity	Acceptance of diversity	17. How relevant do people consider the following aspects of your identity when they rate you as an artist? (Including Nikkei)
		Approval/perceptions of the value of diversity	27. How much of an impact do you feel your artwork has on the way the following groups perceive the Nikkei identity? Including non-Nikkei 32. To what extent do you think it is necessary for the Peruvian national identity construction process to have minorities creating and sharing their own narratives about the nation?
	Network	Emotional ties and feelings of interconnectedness	11. To what extent do you feel included in the Nikkei community?
Participation	Political	Perceptions/experiences of political participation	28. To what extent do you think it is important for Nikkei people to have the opportunity to self-identify as Nikkei in a national census?
			31. Is it important to have Nikkei highlighting social issues, such as the presence of stereotypes towards national minorities or the

			neglection of some minorities by the State?
Legitimacy	Representation	Perception of state responsiveness	30. What do you think about the government's response (announcements, pronouncements, sanctions) towards stereotypes about minorities spread on TV?
		Feelings of being represented	29. Is it important to have Nikkei representatives in the formation of national cultural policies? 33. Do you consider that there is an interest on the part of the State to work with art in favor of making cultural minorities visible as integral components of Peruvian identity? 34. Do you consider that there is an interest on the part of the State to work with art in favor of making the Nikkei identity visible as one of the integral components of the Peruvian identity? 35. How should the government help raise awareness of the Nikkei minority as an integral part of Peru's national identity? Rank from least important (1) to most important (5). You can choose to discard some of the options.

The survey questions were grouped into five sections based on their explicit topics. This survey’s first section seeks to collect demographic information to understand if experiences vary by age, gender, or experience living in Japan. Section 2: “Minority Identity” explores different aspects, especially the participants’ connection with the Nikkei concept and the expression of their Nikkei identity, as well as their perceptions of the Nikkei community inside the broader society. For question 12, which asked for the participant’s definition of Nikkei identity, the options were

built based on findings in studies about the perception of Nikkei identity and declarations of Nikkei intellectuals discussing Nikkei identity matters. The first option was inspired by Takenaka's findings regarding Nikkei from the second and third-generation self-perception (Takenaka, 1999) compared to Wang's findings regarding Nikkei from the fourth and fifth-generations (Wang, 2020). The second and third options were inspired by the answer Peruvian Nikkei writer Augusto Higa gave in an interview when he was asked about Peruvian identity and Japanese descendants: "The *Nisei* is not half Japanese and half Peruvian. No, the *Nisei* is a way of being Peruvian, but without denying our Japanese roots"²⁷ (Carranza, 2008). The fourth option is inspired by the poets Doris Moromisato in her book *Crónicas de mujeres nikkei* [Nikkei Women's Chronicles] and Jose Watanabe in his book *La memoria del ojo* [The Memory of the Eye], where they –in their unique way– take the discussion of Nikkei identity from the biologic approach and bring it to the cultural field. Finally, there is a fifth option with a box for additional information participants can use to include any personal and unique ideas to define Nikkei identity. Based on famous statements about the Nikkei identity, with this question, I want to explore which are the common aspects these Nikkei artists relate to Nikkei identity and how the young Nikkei artists build the Nikkei identity concerning the Peruvian and Japanese nationalities and cultures. It is expected participants to feel inspired by the definitions offered in this section to give an honest opinion.

The next section is Section 3: "Cultural Producers". The questions in this section focus on identifying artists' interest in addressing the Nikkei identity/community as a topic in their artwork or in another expression mean. Section 3 explores the importance of participants' group identity and their perceptions on the audience's reactions to the Nikkei identity discussion in participants'

²⁷ Original in Spanish: "El nisei no es mitad japonés y mitad peruano. No, el nisei es una forma de ser peruano, pero sin renegar de nuestras raíces japonesas"

artwork. Therefore, this section inquires into the contexts and frequency with which artists address the Nikkei identity as a topic in various settings, the interest of artists in treating Nikkei identity as an artistic theme, the participants' definitions of "Nikkei Art" and "Nikkei Artist", the influence of the YNAH project on participants' current perception of the Nikkei identity as an artistic theme, and the socio-political aspect of art.

In the case of art, this section explores three main aspects. First, it explores whether art has allowed participants to gain acceptance and esteem inside the Nikkei community and if that experience has led them to develop a new special connection with their community and strengthen social networks. Second, some of these questions are looking for the development of an after-project commitment towards the Nikkei community in terms of making visible its cultural contributions to the Peruvian identity, the Nikkei struggle for recognition as part of Peruvian diversity, and the overlooked diversity inside the Nikkei community. From these questions, it can hopefully be determined if participants' Nikkei identity is strengthening. Finally, the third aspect under exploration is whether artists perceive a positive or negative reaction from the audience when these artists claim the "Nikkei artist" label. I based the assumptions of an audience reaction on the examples referenced from Mirza (2012) and Machida (2015), as explained in Chapter II.

The last section is entitled "Peruvian National Identity" and asks for the perception of artists about the work that the state does with national minorities and how they believe that the state should approach the work with said minorities, particularly the Nikkei community. This section seeks to gather information about the relationship that the participants, as cultural producers of the Nikkei community, have with the state in terms of representation (do they feel that their voices are taken into account for the development of policies that concern the country's cultural diversity?), responsibility (do they feel that the state is called to disseminate a project to

enhance diversity that also includes the Nikkei community?) and trust (do they feel that the state can adequately assume this task?).

4.4.2. Individual Interviews and Group Interviews

Interview methods offer an effective way of accessing attitudinal data information, meaning participants' perceptions and feelings in detail (Ferraro & Andreatta, 2017). For this study, the interview instrument will be used to explore in-depth participants' conceptualization of Nikkei identity, their connection with the Nikkei community, the participants' perception of the Nikkei community's interaction with other cultural groups, their feelings of acceptance and belonging within the broader Peruvian society, their feeling that their culture is recognized among other Peruvian, the necessity for Nikkei difference visibility and how it should be shown, their perception/experience of discrimination, their perception of the government's responsibility regarding the task for visibility of their minority community and the level of trust in the Peruvian state to fulfill that task. Other related explored aspects were artists' perceptions about the capacities of art to influence society, the motivations of Nikkei artists in spreading a more diverse image of the Nikkei community, the perceived level of participation of the Nikkei community in the governments' project for national identity building and the way they think the Nikkei minority should be addressed by the state and non-Nikkei citizens. What is sought with these questions is to reach a deeper understanding of factors already explored through the survey as well as new factors that shape the current perceptions of the respondents in terms of social cohesion in a context of promotion of discourse on diversity-based national identity by the state (see Table 10).

Table 10. Interview questions exploring aspects for social cohesion enhancement concerning to indicators from “The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa” in *Towards a Measurement of Social Cohesion for Africa* by Lefko-Everett (2016).

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Subjective indicators	Interview Question
Legitimacy	Representation	Perception of state responsiveness	Question 5: As one of the Peruvian national identities, does the Nikkei community have its unique cultural requirements? Can you give me some examples of those requirements? Is it important that the State recognizes those requirements? Why?
		Feelings of being represented	Question 6: During the creation of the cultural plan, no Nikkei representative nor Nikkei organization were consulted. Do you think that it is necessary to have their opinion?
Social Relationship	Networks	Emotional ties and feelings of interconnectedness	Question 8: Do you have any artistic collaboration with people from other minority communities? What’s the motivation for that?
	Diversity	Acceptance of diversity Approval/perceptions of the value of diversity	

Seventeen artists participated in six group interviews, and two participated individually (Table 11)²⁸. Group interviews were chosen because they stimulate ideas in the participants through the dialogue. Before the interviewees’ selection, catalogs were reviewed to look for artistic pieces revealing complex and innovative ideas about Nikkei identity. In addition, it was important that artists from different fields, such as sculpture, painting, ceramics, photography, animation,

²⁸ Details on the interviews dates in Table 18 in Appendix F.

and movie making, formed the pre-selected list for the group interviews stage. Next, a pre-selected list was elaborated upon to contact the artists. Because of a lack of availability, some artists from the pre-selected list could not participate.

Table 11. Details of the survey and interview data collection.

Year	Artists	Surveyed (Nov. 5 th – Dec. 20 th)	Interviewed (Aug. 30 th – Nov. 21 st)
2017	10	7 (70%)	3
2018	12	7 (58.3%)	1
2019	7	7 (100%)	4
2020	10	8 (80%)	4
2021	11	6 (54.5%)	4
2022	13	8 (61.5%)	1
	63	43 (68.25%)	17 (in 7 group interviews + 2 individual interviews)

4.5. Data analysis organization

For the analysis of all the collected data, the thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006) was followed. Thematic analysis is a method that guides the identification, analysis and report of the patterns or themes collected in the data in a very flexible way and with the capacity to adjust to different theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The most relevant steps described by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87) are the following:

- a. Transcribe the focus groups and interviews.
- b. Search for patterns of meaning.
- c. Create initial codes.
- d. Collate relevant data to each code.
- e. Collate codes into potential themes.
- f. Gather all data relevant to each potential theme.

- g. Create a thematic map of the analysis.
- h. Produce clear definitions and names for each theme.

4.5.1. Survey Analysis

For the survey results analysis, the thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006) was employed. The concepts guiding this analysis were Nikkei identity, Peruvian national identity, diversity, policies for diversity and art as a communicational tool. The indicators of social cohesion in “The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa” in *Towards a Measurement of Social Cohesion for Africa* by Lefko-Everett (2016) were taken as a guidance to analyze the concepts.

Therefore, central aspect to attend were:

- a. Strength and importance of national identity and Strength and importance of group identity/identities, feeling that culture/way of life is recognized (belonging dimension).
- b. Trust between groups, Acceptance of diversity, Approval/perceptions of the value of diversity, and Emotional ties and feelings of interconnectedness (social relationship dimension)
- c. Perception of state’s responsiveness, Feelings of being represented (legitimacy dimension).

Then, the information collected regarding participants’ self-perception as Nikkei and the perception of how the Nikkei identity is conceptualized in Peruvian society and by the state is analyzed in order to understand how the participants place their community in the construction of a Peruvian diversity-based national identity. Likewise, the willingness of participants to include the Nikkei community in the project of construction of national identity, participants’ perception on the challenges Nikkei community faces to integrate into said project, and the responsibility and trust participants assigned to the state in integrating the Nikkei community to the said project are explored.

Meanwhile, the results on participants' perceptions of the Nikkei community's political participation and representation were contrasted against the state's perspectives of them, reviewed through the cultural policies (Chapter III). This made it possible to identify the thematic axes of the Peruvian state's dominant discourse regarding the conceptualization of the Nikkei community as part of Peruvian cultural identities. In the same vein, the information collected on participants' identification with the Nikkei Artist label, the definition of Nikkei Art, and the themes this art should reflect upon shed some light on how young cultural producers of Nikkei minority identity understand the role of art and artists in the context of a Peruvian diversity-based national identity promotion.

The intercultural project seeks to achieve social cohesion in highly diverse contexts. In the Peruvian case, it was observed that the laws and policies that promote the intercultural approach are limited to analyzing the situation of social cohesion almost exclusively from the dimension of economic participation and access to fundamental rights, overlooking other central indicators necessary to consider when fostering social cohesion. As detailed in Chapter II, Peruvian government's adaptation of the intercultural approach limits the understanding of the Peruvian diversity and overlooks a number of ethnic communities, such as the Nikkei community. For this reason, the survey of this research seeks to understand the situation of the Nikkei community from other indicators of social cohesion to show that this (and perhaps other communities in the same condition) must also be addressed to achieve a true intercultural citizenship for social cohesion fostering.

4.5.2. Interview Analysis

The thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006) was also employed for the interviews' data analysis. Considering that interviews form the main data, and the explored topic is *sui generis*,

it is important to count on a methodology that allows the analysis to employ a unique theoretical framework and a wide criteria possibility to identify the relevant information within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

First, it is essential to define some terms that will be used from now on.

- a. Data corpus. It is all the data collected for this research.
- b. Data set. It is the part of the data corpus that is being analyzed.
- c. Data item. It refers to an individual piece of data collected, for example, the data of one of the six focus groups that were performed for this study.
- d. Data extract. It is “an individually coded chunk of data [...] extracted from a data item” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79), such as an answer to one of the questions during an interview.

Initially, the interview data set was transcribed from the original Spanish using the Office Word transcription tool. Then, the necessary corrections were made manually. Since the interview questions were established as follow-up questions of the survey, the general topics intended to further the inquiry of the patterns research were Nikkei identity (and its relationship with the broader Peruvian national identity), diversity, art as a communicational instrument, and Peruvian policies for diversity. However, when reviewing the results, some new aspects emerged. First, a search for patterns of meaning throughout the entire data set was performed, and initial codes were created (Table 12). Later, a table containing a map of the analysis was created, and each theme was named. It is essential to mention that, in the case of the interview instrument, the relevance of the data collected by the interviews is not measured only by the prevalence criterion but following a relevance criterion. Lastly, the data extracts which were to be cited in this study were translated into English.

Table 12. Patterns for data processing

Themes	Initial Codes	Patterns of meaning
Identity	Expressions of Nikkei identity among participants	Nikkei identity is a Peruvian national identity
		Nikkei identity is multiple and diverse
		Nikkei identity is alive and malleable
		Nikkei identity is creative and playful
	Traditional narratives on Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community	Nikkei community is homogenous
		Value in the blood purity
		Nikkei should remain in silence not to bother
		Nikkei identity is a rigid identity
	Art as an introspective tool	Art helped to self-understanding
Policies	Art as a communicational instrument	Art as a political instrument
		Art facilitates communication
		Art must be sincere to communicate
	“Nikkei Art” as a communicational instrument	“Nikkei Art” and “Nikkei Artists” have a mission
		Impact of Nikkei Art in the Nikkei community
		Impact of the “Nikkei Art” in Peruvian society
	Presence of spaces for dialoguing about the Nikkei identity expressions	Few spaces for free Nikkei identity exploration
	Accuracy of policies by the state, and policies by Nikkei institutions	Urgent initiatives by the Peruvian state or other governmental institutions
		Urgent initiatives by Nikkei institutions
Diversity	Positive attitude towards diversity	Acknowledgement of diversity within the broader society and the Nikkei community
		Empathy or involvement with other minorities’ struggles
	Stereotypes and misconceptions towards the Nikkei community difference.	It is thought that Nikkei are foreigners.
It is thought that Nikkei are homogenous.		

Nikkei are unknown by the broader Peruvian society.
It is thought that Nikkei do not face any challenge in society.
Nikkei are exoticize, essentialize, and discriminated (racism)
Nikkei are related to former president Alberto Fujimori

The first aspect is that of the formation of the Nikkei identity. The interview questions sought to understand the complexities in conceptualizing the Nikkei identity and the experiences with other social actors (non-Nikkei citizens and the state) in participants' condition as an ethnic minority. At this point, the analysis focused on experiences with stereotypes and misconceptions on the part of non-Nikkei citizens, the dissonance with the dominant narrative on Nikkei identity on the part of Nikkei institutions, the perception of the state's disinterest in incorporating the Nikkei community in the discussion on the country's cultural diversity and its expectations regarding policies for the promotion of diversity in the future.

One of the main aspects that was sought to understand through the interviews was the need for the Nikkei community to participate in the project of building a Peruvian national identity based on diversity. That is why they were consulted about the need for expression, care, and participation of the Nikkei community in public policy development. In the same vein, participants were asked about their reflections on the state's role in addressing the Nikkei community's needs for expression, care, and participation. Likewise, the questions about art were always framed in the context of the Nikkei community's need for expression. The information collected regarding the function of art as a communication tool for the Nikkei minority is explored in order to deepen

the understanding of the communication needs of the Nikkei community and the messages regarding their cultural difference that participants consider necessary to disseminate.

To analyze all the presented themes and emphasizing on the most highlighting initial codes, it was decided to follow some indicator from “The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa” in *Towards a Measurement of Social Cohesion for Africa* by Lefko-Everett (2016) (Table 13). This decision was accurate to organize and limit the analysis of each complex and broad theme.

Table 13. Themes and organization of the analysis

Themes	To organize the analysis:		
	Dimension of social cohesion	Sub-dimension of social cohesion	Indicators of social cohesion
Identity	Belonging	Identity	Strength and importance of national identity
			Strength and importance of group identity
		Recognition	Feeling of acceptance and belongings
			Feeling that culture is recognized
Diversity	Social Relationship	Diversity	Acceptance of diversity
		Network	Approval/perception of the value of diversity
			Emotional ties and feelings of interconnectedness
Policies	Legitimacy	Representation	Perception of state responsiveness
			Feelings of being represented
	Participation	Political	Perceptions/experiences of political participation

4.6. Limitations and Weaknesses

4.6.1. Regarding the survey instrument

There were problems recording the exact artists' year of participation in the YNAH project. When asked about the year of participation in the YNAH project, some artists marked a different year from the year they participated. As the project involves a long process from the initial meetings to the exhibition in the gallery, the artists have likely had difficulties in identifying to which fiscal year the edition of the project in which they participated belongs. It would have been advantageous to place a reference image by the year options, such as a picture of the catalog cover of each year, to help artists remember the exact year of participation. So far, I have identified three participants with the wrong answer regarding their year of participation. However, these types of errors do not alter my results.

4.6.2. Regarding the Sample

The results of this study do not have a representative sample of the young Nikkei experience from other regions, which should be considered in future studies. Until now, most YNAH project artists are from the country's capital (city of Lima). It is not surprising since the economic centralization of Peru in the capital city conditions higher access to cultural and artistic education there. At the same time, the largest Nikkei population is concentrated in this area. However, this complicates the generalization of the results to all the country's young Nikkei experiences.

4.6.3. Regarding the Scope

a. Despite having more female participants, this study does not disaggregate data based on gender nor analyze the processed data using a gendered perspective. This study's results showed a prevalence of Nikkei female artists interested in continuing exploring their Nikkei identity after

the Young Nikkei Art Hall project experience over male artists. However, further research to account for the particularities of the female experience regarding the misconceptions and stereotypes the Nikkei community endures was not pursued because it was beyond this study's scope.

b. During the interviews, emerged a discussion on the intersectionality of Nikkei ethnicity and gender diversity. However, further research on participants thoughts on this aspect have not been examined deeply here since it is out of this study's scope.

4.6.4. Regarding the Language

Due to the author's language limitations, none of the consulted sources were in Japanese. The reviewed literature was formed just by studies in Spanish and English. Therefore, this study might have overlooked a rich research corpus in Japanese on analyzing communities of Japanese descent in Peru.

Chapter V. Results and Analysis: Nikkei Identity as a Minority Community and the Perceived Relationship with Other Society Stakeholders

In response to the challenges generated by the extensive ethnic-cultural diversity of Peru, the Peruvian state has been implementing an intercultural approach in developing its cultural policies. This approach values cultural diversity and promotes intergroup interaction as a central aspect of achieving social cohesion.

In reviewing Peru's cultural policies, it appears that the state's attention is contingent on the condition of vulnerability of minority groups. The indicators that the state seems to use to identify vulnerable groups are access to economic participation and the exercise of fundamental rights. This approach by the Peruvian government makes it difficult to identify the challenges faced by certain minorities in terms of their *inclusion in social participation* beyond issues of economic participation and the exercise of fundamental rights.

This governmental approach could represent a constraint to social cohesion in two ways. First, intergroup interaction may be easier to achieve with a plan that embraces the full complexity of Peruvian diversity. It includes knowing the particularities of each minority in order to incorporate them into cultural policies optimally. In the case of the Nikkei community, there remain stereotypes and misconceptions that affect the broader Peruvian society's knowledge and understanding of the Nikkei national minority, which is an obstacle to fully effective intergroup interaction. However, as this does not impact access to economic participation and the exercise of fundamental rights of the Nikkei community, it seems to go unnoticed. Second, cultural policies for managing diversity return to the question, "Who are we as a nation?" (UNDP, 2020, p. 45). In

that sense, cultural policies to promote diversity that do not cater to all diversities could be interpreted as promoting an exclusionary narrative about national identity.

Regarding the younger Nikkei generations, a growing trend has been identified among them (mostly *Sansei* and *Yonsei*), who show their willingness to present their diversity as part of the collective national identity of the country and discuss situations that affect them as a minority. By employing art, the young Nikkei artists of the YNAH project are co-creating with the audience their narratives and challenging stereotypical narratives about the Peruvian Nikkei identity, which implies reflecting on the Peruvian national identity, too.

In this context, to remind the reader, the main question of the thesis is:

As cultural producers, how do young Nikkei artists (re)interpret the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity?

In order to answer this question, the following were interrogated:

- a. *How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society?*
- b. *How effective is the state's responsiveness to diversity issues in the country?*

This chapter will address **sub-question 1** and **sub-question 2** (*How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society? How effective is the state's responsiveness to diversity issues in the country?*). These questions were addressed following three perspectives:

how the participants self-perceive as Nikkei youth within the diverse Peruvian society;

how they actually relate to other minority groups; and

how they perceive the broader Peruvian society and government conceptualize the Nikkei community as part of the national diversity.

This chapter is divided into three sections:

5.1.) The situation of the Nikkei community regarding their identification with the Peruvian national identity given their recent immigration and as a minority ethnic group. This will illuminate whether they want to participate in the cultural policies for diversity enhancing of the country.

5.2.) Participants' actual connections with other minority groups. This will provide insights into their willingness to integrate into the intercultural dynamic of the diverse society.

5.3.) Participants' perception of how the Peruvian government and broader society perceive them. This will shed light on the challenges the Nikkei community needs to overcome to be included in the cultural projects.

In order to organize and delimit the analysis, this study used indicators of social cohesion as outlined for the UN by Lefko-Everett's (2016) framework that explores dynamics among different societal stakeholders, such as cultural groups, mainstream society, and government (Table 3).

In order to explore the self-perception of the participants regarding their national identity and ethnic identity (group identity), this study employed the following indicators of the sub-dimension of identity from the belonging dimension of Lefko-Everett's (2016) framework. Emphasis was placed on two dimensions: "strength and importance of national identity" and "strength and importance of group identity."

In order to obtain insights into how Nikkei relate to other minorities, this study employed the indicators of the diversity sub-dimension and the network sub-dimension from the social relationship dimension (Lefko-Everett, 2016). These elucidate one's acceptance of diversity, the

approval/perception of the value of diversity, and one's emotional ties and feelings of interconnectedness.

In order to explore the perceived relationship between the Nikkei community and the broader Peruvian *society*, this study employed the indicators of “feeling that culture/way of life is recognized,” and the “feeling of acceptance and belongings” as outlined in the recognition sub-dimension of the belonging dimension (Lefko-Everett, 2016).

Lastly, to explore the *perceived relationship* between the Nikkei community and the Peruvian *government*, the indicators of “perception of state responsiveness” and the “feeling of being represented” from the representation sub-dimension of the legitimacy dimension were employed (Lefko-Everett, 2016).

5.1. Expressions of Nikkei Identity Among Participants

5.1.1. Participants' Self-perception of their Nikkei and Peruvian Identities

In this section, drawing from the data collected through the survey and interviews, the results on young Nikkei artists' self-perception of Nikkei identity will be analyzed following **hypothesis 1**: Participants of this research will strongly identify with a Peruvian national identity.

The survey results support **hypothesis 1** and the “strength and importance of national identity” indicator from the identity dimension of Lefko-Everett (2016) framework was used for the data analysis.

When the artists were asked to measure the relevance that nationality had for their individual identity (identity as a person) in a 5-level Likert scale (where 1 is equal to irrelevant and 5 to totally relevant), over half of the surveyed (28/43 persons) reported that it was relevant (level 4) or totally relevant (level 5) (see Figure 13). These results were consistent with the interview findings, where some participants addressed their identification with the Peruvian

nationality explicitly (5 participants), “First of all, we are Peruvian, and then we are Nikkei” (Artist 7). Meanwhile, others suggested the same by pointing out their disagreement with some Peruvian non-Nikkei thinking of them as foreigners.

In addition, when participants were asked about the definition of “Nikkei identity”, the options that had the highest level of “disagreement” were options A (“the Nikkei identity is being partly Peruvian and partly Japanese”) and D (“The Nikkei identity is not being fully Peruvian in Peru nor fully Japanese in Japan”) (see Figure 14). In both cases, 14 participants expressed their disagreement (either chose point 1 or point 2 in the 5-level Likert scale) with both definitions. What these two options have in common is the incompleteness implication (defining one’s identity by emphasizing a lack) (Chapter II). The young Nikkei’s preference for avoiding identifying their ethnic identity in terms of incompleteness also supports the previous literature findings on Nikkei’s growing identification with a Peruvian diversity-based identity, where the sense of belonging to Peru can coexist with the appreciation of one’s foreign cultural heritage (Chapter II).

Next, it was explored how the Peruvian identity intersects with the Nikkei identity in the identity narrative of the participants. First, the survey data showed that over half of those surveyed (29/43) qualified their Nikkei ethnicity as a relevant dimension in their personal identity (scored 4 or 5 on a 5-level Likert scale) (see Figure 13). It meant that, to participants, their ethnic identity (Nikkei) and their national identity (Peruvian) were two of the most important aspects (among the given options) defining them as people.

On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a person?

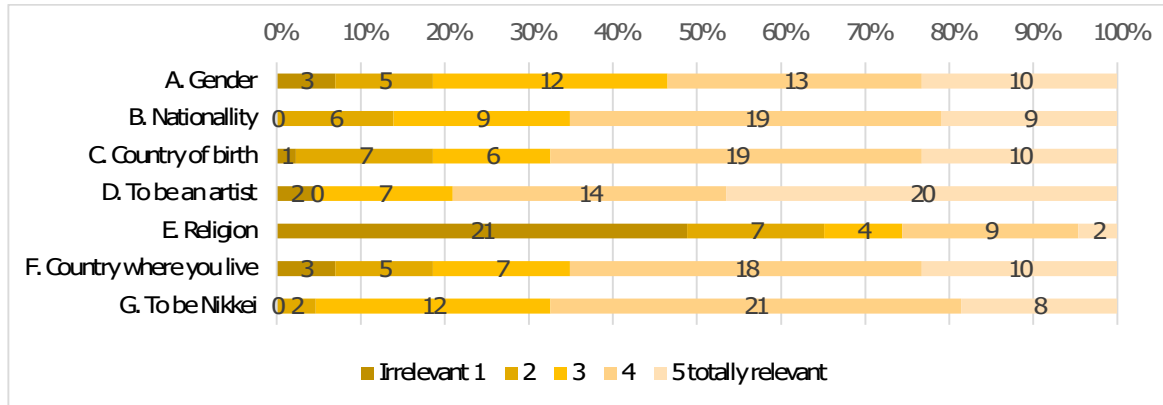


Figure 13. Nationality and Nikkei Identity are highly relevant for the artists’ self-perception as person.

The second and perhaps most interesting finding was that the Nikkei identity and the Peruvian identity were not two aspects of the participants’ identities coexisting separately, one next to the other, but that they merged into the participants’ concept of Peruvian identity. When artists were asked about the relevance of their ethnic identity for their self-definition as Peruvian, it emerged that 23 participants considered it relevant or very relevant, turning their Nikkei ethnic identity into one of the most relevant dimensions in their Peruvian identity conceptualization. This interpretation finds support in the answers of most participants (38) to the question about the definition of the Nikkei identity, where the definition most participants agreed with was “Nikkei identity is a Peruvian identity that recognizes its Japanese heritage” (see Figure 14). It suggests that, to the participants, the Nikkei identity is considered a mark of belonging to the Peruvian identity. Moreover, Nikkei ethnic and national identities are interdependent dimensions that complement each other.

However, it is essential to point out that results show that there are still some cases among younger generations defining the Nikkei subject as an incomplete entity in terms of national belongingness (“partially” and “not being fully” of one nation) (see Figure 14). This might be a

reflection of the influence of a dominant narrative that interprets the Japanese heritage as a characteristic that decreases Nikkei’s legitimacy as Peruvian.

To what extent do you agree with the following 4 concepts of Nikkei identity?

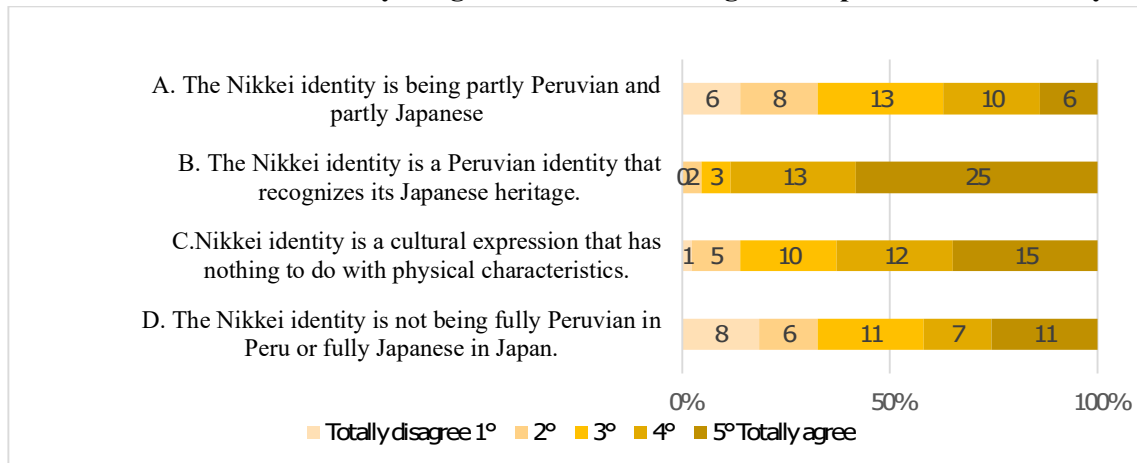


Figure 14. Most accepted definition for “Nikkei” is Peruvian identity with Japanese heritage.

This perception opposes the dominant narrative of the Peruvian national identity perceived by the participants of this study, where the Japanese heritage (or Nikkei ethnicity) was not a mark of belonging to the Peruvian identity. Even more, the literature showed that, through a racialization process, the Japanese heritage justified non-Nikkei for questioning the Nikkei community’s Peruvian identity (Takenaka, 2004; Melgar, 2019).

This interpretation is consistent with the importance the participants give to the assigned Peruvian nationality as a mark of belonging to the Peruvian nation, meaning that no matter what minority group they belong to, if their nationality is Peruvian, their national belonging should not be questioned. To most participants, their identification as Peruvians is based on their nationality. Thirty-three participants (33/43) consider their “nationality” to be relevant or totally relevant to their definition as Peruvian (Table 14).

Table 14. Relevance of the Nikkei ethnic identity in the self-perception of the participants as Peruvian

How relevant are the next aspects for your self-definition as Peruvian?	4-5 Totally relevant
Nationality	33 (76.7%)
Country of birth	29 (67.5%)
Country of residence	28 (65.1%)
To be Nikkei	23 (53.5%)

The conceptualization of the Nikkei identity as a component of Peruvian national identity is a novel perspective. In 2008, the visionary Peruvian Nikkei writer Augusto Higa stated that being *Nisei* “is a way of being Peruvian” (Carranza, 2008). Thirteen years later, the coordinator of the YNAH project, echoing the young Nikkei artists’ perspective, expressed that the Nikkei identity “is not independent of our Peruvian identity, but rather part of it” (Ryochi Jinnai Gallery, 2021). However, just 20 to 30 years ago, the dominant narrative of dissonance between being Nikkei and Peruvian was manifested through prominent Nikkei’s discourses, addressing contrasts between the Nikkei community’s physical features (“Asian” looks) and the sense of belonging to the Peruvian identity (feeling Peruvian) (Sakuda (2009), Morimoto (1999), and Watanabe (1999)) (Chapter II, section 2.2.1.).

This study’s results are consistent with the Nikkei community’s growing connection with Peruvian identity from the 90s and early 2000s, which has been addressed in previous research concerning the *dekasegi* experience (Takenaka, 1999; Adachi, 2006; Melgar, 2019). It also shows not just a change in the perception of Nikkei identity but an attempt (conscious or not) to broaden the Peruvian identity’s marks of belonging to fit the Nikkei identity in.

To sum up, instead of their ethnic identity contradicting their national identity, young Nikkei have strengthened a narrative in which the Nikkei and the Peruvian identities not only

coexist harmoniously, but one cannot be understood without the other. The alternative narrative identified in the responses of the survey participants and from the group interviews suggests that the new generations of Nikkei continue strengthening and embracing the reformulation of the Nikkei identity in tight connection with the Peruvian identity. Therefore, it is to be expected that the identity of the young Nikkei, built based on their Peruvian identity, encourages them to claim a representation that expresses their real experience as Peruvians of Japanese descent.

Another interesting finding concerning Nikkei identity conceptualization was that the participants not only built a solid identification with the Peruvian identity but also embraced the Nikkei community's inner diversity. It suggests that diversity is emerging as another mark of belonging to the young Nikkei's alternative narrative about the Nikkei identity. The conceptualization of the Nikkei identity by the participants includes other components besides Japanese and Peruvian mainstream cultures. The results of this research project suggest that new conceptualizations of Nikkei identity consider other minority ethnicities as variables of this new narrative of Nikkei identity. Therefore, Nikkei identity is conceptualized in terms of diversity. To participants, the understanding of a broader diversity within the Peruvian national identity composition seems to encompass two aspects. They embrace not just a diversity-based national identity narrative that legitimizes Nikkei identity as a component of the Peruvian national identity but the diversity inside the Nikkei community as well. This posture expresses a great understanding of the dynamism involved in the process of collective identity (ethnic-collective and national-collective identities in this case), where there is no such thing as a homogenous collective experience.

To a multi-select multiple-choice survey question about the types of Nikkei identity-related themes that artists often present in their artworks aimed at exploring aspects of Nikkei identity and

community, 19 of the participants identified “a mixture of multiple cultures” in the composition of the Nikkei identity as one of the topics discussed in their art production (See H in Figure 15). It shows that, among the participants of this research, there is a growing perception of the Nikkei identity not limited to the cultural variables “Peru” and “Japan,” but instead there is a consideration of more elements within their cultural composition as Nikkei (see Figure 15), which challenges the dominant narrative that defines the Nikkei identity as the “mixture of two great cultures” only (Peruvian Japanese Association, n.d.-a).

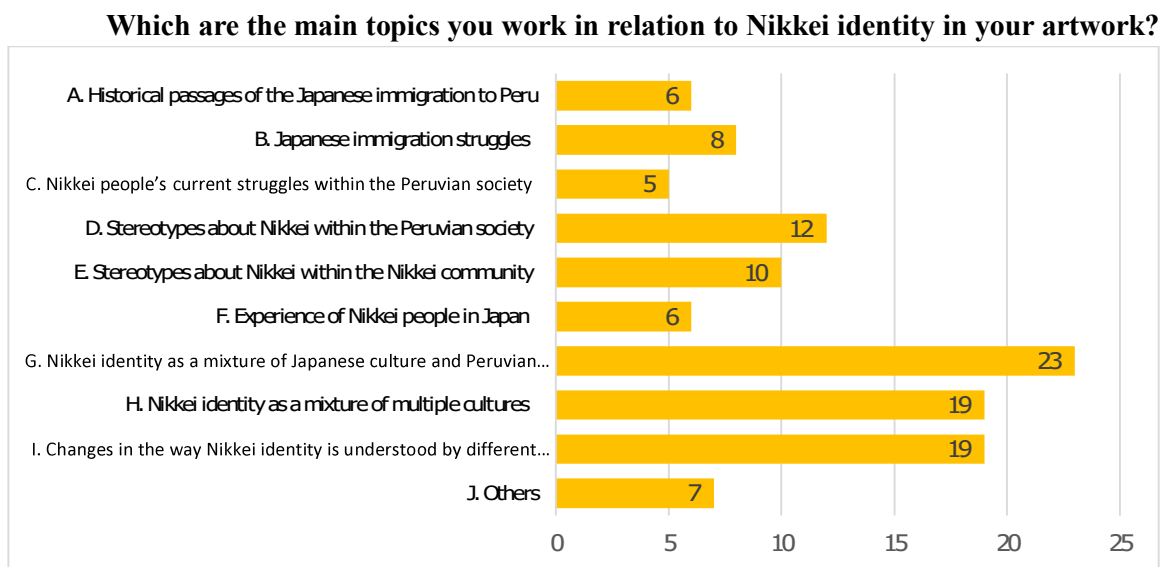


Figure 15. Nikkei as a mixture of cultures as the topic addressed the most in participants Nikkei Art.

The diversity-based Nikkei identity narrative is based on the plural cultural background of Nikkei subjects in current times compared to before. For example, Artist 11 referred to the Nikkei identity perceived by young Nikkei as “much more plural” in comparison to former generations:

We need to make it [Nikkei identity] visible, but... this new Nikkei identity that we are, which is much more diverse [than older generations]. (Artist 11)

Artist 11 gave specific examples of the referred diversity within the Nikkei community and emphasized the internal diversity of the country and how those diversities interact in a dynamic flow with the Nikkei cultural composition,

there are also Nikkei that [are a] combination of all kinds [of cultures/heritages] (referring to Nikkei from other cities in Peru that have the Nikkei and local culture as part of their cultural composition). (Artist 11)

The diversity within the Nikkei community is perceived not just as a fact but as a positive aspect. For example, Artist 11 articulated the benefits of diversity within the Nikkei community in terms of creativity,

Nikkei born in certain parts of the Andes or the Amazon [...] have a different version [of the Nikkei identity compared to Nikkei from Lima]; they can generate different proposals [about the conceptualization of the Nikkei identity]. (Artist 11)

Lastly, concerning diversity within the Nikkei community, the interview participants' comments acknowledged the gender dimension, a very interesting aspect that was not expected. Artist 16 commented, "I am LGBTQI+, and I also have aboriginal roots, and [...] I feel that I am a piece of everything" (Artist 16). Meanwhile, Artist 1 shared their perception of a conflicted interaction between their Nikkei identity and their identity as a non-binary person, "[acknowledging their identification with the LGBTQI+ community] automatically makes you not want to identify as Nikkei or you identify as Nikkei but cannot be LGBTQI+" (Artist 1). This aspect has not been examined deeply here since it is out of this study's scope.

5.1.2. *Young Nikkei New Perspectives Opposed to Older Generations*²⁹

In order for participants to point out the novelty of the Nikkei identity they are conceptualizing, participants contrasted it to the “older generations’ conceptualization.” First, it is essential to clarify what participants conceptualize by “older generations.” In fact, it is a broad concept that sometimes refers to participants’ parents’ generation, their grandparents’ generation, or the first immigrants (Table 15). In addition, participants would identify these groups with Nikkei institutions in some cases (Table 15). It is this diffuse group’s conceptualization of Nikkei identity that the participants contrast their own with.

Table 15. Perception of participants on “Old Nikkei Generations”

Interviewees	Excerpts
Artist 1	When the artist wanted to address controversial topics related to the Nikkei community, “My mom was asking me —my mom is Nikkei— [...] ‘Why are you fueling the scandal? What for?’ Classic Nikkei, <u>classic Nikkei mom</u> .”
Artist 5	“ <u>Older Nikkei</u> —older, I mean <u>50 years and above</u> — [...] Japanese who are more Japanese [...] is a human group with 1800’s thoughts [...] they can veto an art display. They may feel affected.”
Artist 7	“There was an artwork that was going to be cool because it was going to be... canned food [...] the cans were going to have a name, instead of ‘tuna’... it was going to have [a name of a <u>Nikkei institution</u>], very closed on its own.” “We [young artists] want to do many things, but [criticism of the community or institutions] could make them [<u>grandparents</u>] feel uncomfortable.”
Artist 10	“We [Nikkei artists] started playing a lot with [some] terms [related to the Nikkei community to use in an exhibition], and [...] it reached the ears of important people at [a <u>Nikkei institution</u>]. Thus, I think it caused some discomfort and annoyance.”
Artist 12	“I feel that at that point, this idea of alive, growing identity was cut off because proposals [by young Nikkei] are not accepted [by certain <u>Nikkei institutions</u>] [...] I feel the <u>Nikkei community</u> , from our [artists’] point of view, has been more closed.”

²⁹ Parts of these chapter are waiting for publication in *Journal of Policy Science*, 31(2), February 2024.

The perceived contrast in the way young Nikkei artists and older generations was addressed in the survey, with 14 artists choosing “very different” and 21 choosing “different” in a 5-level Likert scale (where 1 is “very different” and 5 is “very similar”) to the question “Do you think older Nikkei and younger Nikkei have a different understanding of what it is like to be a Nikkei?” In other words, 81% of the survey participants consider a generational shift in conceptualizing the Nikkei identity. Additionally, it should be noted that no one chose the “very similar” option. This generational shift seems to be a significant topic among the participants since “changes in the way different [Nikkei] generations understand Nikkei identity” was one of the most popular topics they declared to portray in their artwork (chosen by 42.9% of the respondents of the survey).

According to Landowski (2019), the group’s collective identity is a discursive creation by a diffuse group that holds the group’s leadership and establishes the marks of belonging from which a subject is validated as a legitimate (more or less legitimate) group member. To the participants of this study, the “old generations” group establishes the dominant narrative about the Nikkei identity they challenge. Therefore, the two emerging marks of belonging in the new conceptualization of the Nikkei identity by the participants, 1) the Nikkei identity as a type of Peruvian identity, and 2) the diversity-based Nikkei identity, were contrasted with the conceptualization of the “older generations”.

5.1.2.1. Younger Nikkei Generations Reaffirming their Peruvianess: From the Japanese Blood Lineage to a Peruvian Identity. Some interview responses suggested that participants consider the Nikkei identity conceptualized by “older generations” to be greatly founded in the blood/cultural connection to Japan. For example, Artist 11 and Artist 4 shared family stories where the concept of “Japanese blood purity” appears as a central mark of belonging of the Nikkei identity by older generations. In these artists’ stories, some of their Nikkei relatives

were excluded from Nikkei circles for jeopardizing their blood purity by marrying non-Nikkei Peruvians,

[my father] told me that at first, they [my Nikkei family] excluded him because he chose a Peruvian [my mother] and my grandmother wanted him to marry a Japanese Nikkei [...] 100% pure blood [...] no one in my father's family attended his wedding. (Artist 11)

Apparently, to "older generations" embodied by the artist's family, the Japanese "blood purity" was such an essential mark of belonging to the Nikkei community that risking it was a great affront. According to Artist 11, this was not an isolated case but a common practice,

making some research, I found that there are other very similar cases [...] There are several families that did not want to be intermingled [...] with others [who were not Japanese descendants]. They wanted the Japanese lineage to continue. (Artist 11)

Artist 4 shared a similar story related to their *Nisei* grandmother, who, according to Artist 4, was rejected by her community for jeopardizing the blood purity lineage, "when she married [a non-Nikkei] Peruvian, the colony also sort of pushed her aside, and said '[...] you have decided [...] not to be Japanese'" (Artist 4). Despite Artist 4 acknowledging the additional rejection of the family later, in this excerpt, the primary reference of the older generation is the "colony," meaning the social circles of the Nikkei community, which could include friends, family, and institutions.

Another mark of belonging to the Nikkei community referring to the "purity" of the Japanese lineage participants identified was the family name in Japanese, which is a marker related to a visible biology composition of the person or "biology" marker. To Artist 14, older generations' dominant narrative about the Nikkei identity would judge Nikkei as a more legitimate member of the community when having a Japanese family name (or two, even better³⁰), "[Nikkei institutions]

³⁰ In Peru, as in many Latin American countries, people carry both the father's and mother's family names.

integrating Nikkei who do not even have [Japanese] last names, I think [...] would have been unthinkable 10 years ago” (Artist 14).

In this case, having a Japanese last name could be proof of the blood lineage, which might picture a member of the Nikkei community as more legitimate. Although Artist 14 declares not perceiving said practice anymore, Artist 4’s declaration about “not feeling Nikkei enough [...],” because of not having a Japanese family name suggested that, to some people, the Japanese family name is still perceived as a mark of belonging to the Nikkei community in the dominant narrative.

Survey participants, in contrast to these perceived “older generations” narratives, disregard the markers of lineage through the physical features, or “biology” markers, which are related to the concept of “blood purity”; 64.3% of the young Nikkei participants agreed with the following statement: “The Nikkei identity is a cultural expression that has nothing to do with physical characteristics.” These results were supported in the interviews, where participants thought markers of blood or lineage was generally related to the “older generations” conceptualization of the Nikkei identity but not to younger Nikkei generations. For example, Artist 14 stated that “it is the fourth [Nikkei] generation that does [...] have a more open concept of what it means to be Nikkei, which does not only rely on the last name or the ethnic part [being a descendant of Japanese by both parents]” (Artist 14).

Besides the “biological” markers, there are some markers related to Japanese cultural practices. Participants have perceived the closeness to the Japanese culture as a requirement to be recognized as a Nikkei Artist by the Nikkei community. In the context of their artistic production for the YNAH project, some participants mentioned that, without being asked, they felt that there was an expectation that their work should highlight a Japanese identity they were supposed to have,

“I feel like because there is a ‘must be Nikkei’ sign, we perceive that we are supposed to exalt things that are evident Japanese” (Artist 11).

Similarly, Artist 12 mentioned that because the YNAH project was an event within a Nikkei institution, they felt (again without being asked to) “it had to be more *ponja*³¹ [Japanese], extra *ponja* [Japanese]” (Artist 12). These statements illustrate how participants perceive the dominant narrative within the Nikkei community, establishing the legitimacy level of the Nikkei community by the member’s closeness to Japan through the blood heritage or cultural practices. Of course, the Nikkei community uniqueness as Peruvian is grounded in their Japanese heritage. In fact, most of the characteristics that distinguishes it from other groups are the cultural practices inherited by the Japanese immigrants and preserved by Nikkei organizations and Nikkei family members. However, what participants of this study seems to be questioning is the legitimacy those practicing some specific Japanese cultural codes get over others as members of the Nikkei community.

It is true that participants also addressed some changes in the perception of “older generation” about the Nikkei identity. However, the changes participants perceived might not have broadened enough so to think of the “older generations” narrative as overcome in current times. For instance, Artist 14 considers that there are still some Nikkei of older generations that identify themselves as Japanese, “the *Nissei* who were born in Peru and who, although they have been in Peru all their lives, continue to see themselves as Japanese [...]” (Artist 14).

This ambivalence in the participants’ perceptions of the prevailing marks of belonging to the Nikkei community attributed to older generations may be related to the complexity of the

³¹ The word “ponja” is a slang used to refer to Japanese people or Peruvians of Japanese descent in Peru. It is a pun that inverts the syllables in the word “Japón”, the Spanish word for “Japan.”

construction processes of identity narratives within human groups. Recalling Hall (2019), despite the concept of “ethnicity” generally being related to culture, the biological aspect that involves common blood, heredity, and ancestors remains. In the case of the Nikkei community, studies on the impact of the *dekasegi* phenomenon showed that the Nikkei community experienced a reaffirmation of their Peruvian identity (Takenaka, 1999; Melgar, 2019), enhancing the narrative of the shared values over the blood lineage to tighten the Peruvian Nikkei community (Takenaka, 1999). However, it does not imply that the “purity” of the blood lineage in the conceptualization of the Nikkei identity has wholly disappeared as a mark of belonging among some members of the Nikkei community, especially in the case of older generations who lived in a different era of the Nikkei identity formation where that mark of belonging was essential.

Although the participants assign a specific conceptualization of Nikkei identity to the “older generations,” it has been observed that it is a way of thinking rather than a group of people. That is why participants can affirm that these ways of thinking have changed. It is not to say that people of the older generations no longer participate in the Nikkei community, but rather that the marks of belonging in the current dominant narrative are being broadened and presented as ambivalent in some cases.

Lastly, participants’ emphasis on the opposition between a youth narrative and an older narrative of the Nikkei identity suggests an awareness of the shift in the conceptualization of Nikkei identity within the community. Moreover, participants place their reflections within the context of this generational shift. Apparently, the perceived yet prevalence of the purity level of the inherit blood or specific Japanese cultural practices as marks of belongingness in the dominant narrative regarding the Nikkei identity encourages participants to challenge them by reflecting on their multiple cultural backgrounds in their artwork.

5.1.2.2. The Homogenous Image of the Nikkei Community by Older Generations and the Vindication of Diversity by the Younger Generations. The next contrast is conceptualizing of the Nikkei identity as a homogenous group in the older generations' dominant narrative and the Nikkei identity as a diverse identity by the contemporary generations. According to participants, "Older generations" highlight a narrative of success of the Nikkei community. During the interviews, Artist 6 recalled a "success narrative" as part of the dominant narrative about the Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community. It is consistent with the narrative some Nikkei institutions are willing to embrace. For instance, the Nikkei community is conceptualized by a Nikkei institution as "prestigious and prosperous [...] strong [...] and capable" (Japanese Peruvian Association, n.d.-b). While such a narrative could be beneficial for a community to be more valued in society, participants believe that a greater diversity of stories, not necessarily successful ones, should be disseminated in the same way. Participants addressed the fact that the success of Japanese immigrants is not the only story, while commenting on their interest in other more relatable stories, such as family struggles or women's presence.

The homogeneity characteristic goes hand in hand with the older generations' more rigid conceptualization regarding the Nikkei identity. According to Artist 17, who self-described as an active member of the Nikkei community, there are "standard ways to be [Nikkei]" (Artist 17) that they could never wholly adopt. Meanwhile, Artist 4 declares that they realized that "there were obvious limits of what it was and was not to be a Nikkei" (Artist 4), and they "definitely did not fit into that" (Artist 4).

In the same vein, the rigidity participants identified in older generations' Nikkei conceptualization is also manifested in the limitation to openly criticize their community practices when discussing Nikkei identity. Artist 12 mentioned that "identity is sought [explored], but it is

not possible to play around a bit [...] I feel that at that point this idea of alive, growing identity was cut off because [...] proposals [by young Nikkei] are not accepted [by certain Nikkei institutions]" (Artist 12). Meanwhile, Artist 9 said, "there is no room for playing; there is no possibility of criticism" (Artist 9).

It is in this context that participants of this study opted for an alternative narrative that highlighted the diversity inside the Nikkei community. For instance, in the survey, the most popular two definitions for the Nikkei identity implied mixture. 23 participants (23/43) agreed with option G, "Nikkei identity as a mixture of Japanese culture and Peruvian culture" while 19 participants agreed with option H, "Nikkei identity as a mixture of multiple cultures" (see Figure 15).

In the interviews, participants expressed their awareness of a wide range of diversity within the Nikkei community. It appears that younger Nikkei generations no longer perceive enough to define their Nikkei identity in terms of "Peruvianess" or "Japaneseness". For example, Artist 14 commented on the importance of their international background for their identity-building, "it was important to talk about it because of my experience [...] quite multicultural" (Artist 14).

These findings suggest that there is work to be done on the intergenerational integration of members within the Nikkei community. Although the participants in this study identify some points of contrast with what they call "older generations," i.e., relatives and institutions, their sense of belonging to the Nikkei community prevails and shows their willingness to negotiate new narratives about the Nikkei community and identity.

5.2. Relationship Building

In order to answer **sub-question 1**: *How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society?* It is important to deep into participants' perceptions

of their relationship with other Peruvian society's stakeholders. Therefore, this section looked at **hypothesis 2**: "Participants are keen on diversity, as proposed by the intercultural approach framework" to analyze how participants perceive the intergroup interaction proposed by the intercultural approach. Therefore, the data was analyzed following three indicators from the social relationship dimension of Lefko-Everett (2016) framework: "acceptance of diversity", and "approval/perception of the value of diversity" form the diversity sub-dimension, and "emotional ties and feelings of interconnectedness" from the network sub-dimension. The analysis of data shows that **hypothesis 2** was corroborated.

5.2.1. Participants' Acceptance and Value of Diversity in Peru

In the previous section, where diversity-based Nikkei identity conceptualization by the participants was analyzed, positive recognition and appreciation of diversity could already be inferred from the participants' statements regarding diversity within the Nikkei community. Now, through the interviews, it was found that all the participants acknowledged that Peru is a diverse society concerning ethnicity. The following excerpt illustrates it,

if you ask what it is to be Peruvian, [...] if you say, 'choose one person to represent Peru,' there is no way to reply to that because, if you choose one person, you leave the rest out. You leave the people from the Chinese community and the Amazon out. If you choose someone from the Andes, you leave the people from the Coast out [...] Our country does not have one identity; it has multiple identities. (Artist 7)

To Artist 7, it is impossible to address Peruvian identity while avoiding its diversity. It appears that Artist 7 admits ethnic diversity as one of the main characteristics of Peruvian society. Similarly, Artist 16 describes Peru as a "multicultural country", and Artist 4 refers to the various migrations

that have shaped the current face of Peruvian society. Meanwhile, Artist 10 equates Peruvian society to Chinese fried rice due to the many “ingredients” both have.

In no case was a negative undertone perceived in acknowledging Peruvian cultural diversity. In fact, it was perceived as positive. In the case of Artist 10, the positive perception of diversity was very explicit, “there is a mixture of everything [in Peru]; it is like a Chinese fried rice. It has every ingredient, and the more you put in, the richer it is” (Artist 10).

In this excerpt, Artist 10 relates the rich flavor of a plate full of different ingredients with the benefits of a diverse society. It is evident that, to them, more diversity equals a better society.

Meanwhile, in other cases, the positive feeling towards Peruvian cultural diversity was perceived through the curiosity participants expressed,

it is always very interesting [to work with different cultural groups] because [...] it is interesting to go, [...] to get to know what they think, how they live. Each group has its own rules. It is very interesting [...] You realize how varied it [culture in Peru] is. (Artist 15)

Artist 15 expressed the genuine pleasure they experienced when they worked with diverse cultural groups, including indigenous communities. In the same vein, Artist 14 expressed their admiration for the overlaps between the Nikkei culture and some Andean cultures,

a Nikkei [artist] from Cusco [...] said [that] there are many common characteristics between the Andean community and the Nikkei community, especially in everything that is spiritualism. It would be interesting to have more exchanges of that kind. [Not establishing that contact] will be limiting for the community. (Artist 14)

The curiosity and interest can be perceived from their proposal of establishing contact between those communities.

Lastly, some participants expressed the value they perceive in Peruvian cultural diversity through their interest in the inclusion of marginalized minorities. For example, Artist 16 expressed that “it is important for a national discourse to be able to include [...] the native peoples who have been isolated” (Artist 16). Likewise, Artist 13 expressed their empathy towards the Venezuelan displaced diaspora in Peru, facing a challenging situation, including discrimination. Also, Artist 2 iterated, “Regarding the Peruvian government, indigenous peoples have been very little recognized, and their art is still seen as handicrafts” (Artist 2). In all three cases, participants expressed a desire for the inclusion of marginalized communities in Peruvian society, which keeps building on the idea of a positive perception of diversity. These participants’ statements highlight the lack of respect and value some minorities receive from the broader Peruvian society and the Peruvian state.

5.2.2. Participants’ Emotional Ties with Other Minorities

The empathy and solidarity expressed above indicated emotional ties between the participants and other minorities. Based on more concrete experiences of interconnectedness, two types of emotional ties were identified: 1) identification with other cultures based on family diverse heritages, and 2) identification with the knowledge coded in other minorities’ cultural production.

The emotional ties emerging from the first by younger Nikkei generations are illustrated through the following excerpt,

My mom’s family is from [a city in the Peruvian Andes]. I think I grew up with a great presence of [their local] music in my daily life. I feel very familiar with all kinds of [that Andean city’s] art expressions. (Artist 11)

Through this excerpt, Artist 11 expressed their deep identification with an Andean culture, which is integral to their identity, a part of their heritage on their mother’s side. In the case of Artist 11, the ethnic identity configuration is not composed of the signifier Japan and the signifier Peru.

However, the Peruvian identity of this artist is expressed through signifiers referencing their Peruvian Andean and Peruvian Nikkei backgrounds. It is an interesting result of this research that intergroup connections among ethnic communities can also be facilitated by people who belong to two or more groups.

The emotional ties emerging from younger Nikkei generations with other cultural groups through their identification with the knowledge coded in the latter's cultural production might be as powerful as the connection based on heritage, because of the porosity of identities in a globalized world (Hall, 2019), meaning that they are more open to any influence not just the one they inherit by birth. As an example of these identifications with other cultural groups, participants of this study (artists 2, 4, 10, 11, 14, and 15) explicitly expressed the value they give to other minorities' cultural production. For instance, Artist 4 commented on their indigenous art techniques exploration at the time they was invited to participate in the YNAH project, "I was starting a textile exploration recovering local ancestral techniques by [Peruvian] native communities" (Artist 4). It was clear Artist 4 felt admiration towards these indigenous communities' ancestral knowledge that they put energy into developing related projects. Likewise, Artist 10 commented on their admiration of the local myths of their hometown,

I was very interested in the topic of [indigenous] cosmovision. I live in [a rural area of Lima related to pre-Inkas and Inkas religious myths]. I found a wonderful book [about pre-Inkas and Inkas religious myths]), and I started a project about it. (Artist 10)

Both Artist 4 and Artist 10 expressed a deep connection with the other cultures that surround them, and they have learned to embrace them as their own in a certain way. These findings suggest there is a willingness of young Nikkei artists to engage in learning and spreading awareness about valuable knowledge of other Peruvian cultural groups.

5.3. Participants' Perception of the Nikkei Community Relationship with the Broader Peruvian Society and the Government

In the previous section, exploring the participants' self-perception regarding their Nikkei identity, it was identified a great strength as well as a high level of importance assigned to the national identity and the group ethnic identity. At the same time a positive attitude towards diversity in Peruvian society and within the Nikkei community was found. Next, **sub-question 1** and **sub-question 2**, *How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society? How effective is the state's responsiveness to diversity issues in the country?* will be explored further.

Previous sections' findings contrasted with the participants' perception of the Nikkei identity conceptualization by the broader Peruvian society and the government. In the case of the broader Peruvian society's conceptualization, it appears to be almost completely the opposite to the self-perception of their Nikkei identity by the participants. The perception of the participants is that the government's conceptualization of Nikkei embodies a complete lack of understanding of their identity. Therefore, in this section, **hypothesis 3** was corroborated: Participants will feel that their Nikkei identity is not adequately recognized as part of the Peruvian identity by the broader Peruvian society, and the Peruvian government.

5.3.1. Broader Peruvian Society

In order to explain how the Nikkei identity is not adequately recognized as part of the Peruvian identity by the broader **Peruvian society**, the participants' perceptions regarding the broader Peruvian society's conceptualization of the Nikkei identity and community will be analyzed. The analysis of this data is limited to the indicators "feelings that the ones' culture is recognized" and "feelings of acceptance and belongings", as per Lefko-Everett's (2016) recognition sub-dimension from belonging dimension.

First, most participants felt their Nikkei ethnic culture was unknown by most of the broader Peruvian society. Participants perceived that generally Peruvians were unaware of the Nikkei community's participation in forming contemporary Peruvian society. For instance, during the interviews, Artist 10 expressed that there are people who do not know what a Nikkei is, saying "they [non-Nikkei] ask [...] are you Nikkei? What is Nikkei?" (Artist 10). In addition, Artist 5 added that some Peruvians even completely ignored the existence of the word "Nikkei," "some people do not know what it is to be a Nikkei. They do not even know what that word is" (Artist 5). These findings suggested a weak relationship among the Nikkei community and other cultural groups and that might come from a lack of exposure of the Nikkei community to all Peruvian citizens.

A weak relationship among cultural groups feeds stereotypes and misconceptions. As discussed in the literature review, one of the long-lasting misconceptions about the Nikkei community within the Peruvian society is that the Nikkei is a foreigner, not an integral part of the Peruvian national diversity; this impacts on participants' "feeling of acceptance and belonging". Participants perceived that the Nikkei community was not accepted as part of the national Peruvian diversity.

According to this study's findings, the misconception of the Nikkei as a foreigner is still prevalent today. During the interviews, several participants recognized this aspect as part of a dominant narrative within Peruvian society about the Nikkei. For example, Artist 9 mentioned that, as a [child], I did not see myself as [Japanese] until I entered school and [classmates called me] 'Chinese' and [I replied] 'Not at all! I am Peruvian' and [they replied] 'No! You are Chinese.' (Artist 9)

Meanwhile, Artist 17, besides placing this misconception in the present day only, also addressed perceiving it as a long-lasting misconception,

there is *still* no notion [...] of saying about this person: Nikkei. Like, they [non-Nikkei] ask you more if you are Japanese or Chinese. So, I think there is no knowledge about Tusán [Peruvian descendants of Chinese immigrants], [or] Nikkei. (Artist 17)

By the word “still,” the comments of Artist 17 showed awareness of this misconception as not just relegated solely to the past. It was observed that some participants expressed indignation at the permanence of the same stereotypes and misconceptions about the Nikkei community over time. Participants used “still” and “continue” when acknowledging the stereotypes to point out that they were long-lasting ones. This same perception of Nikkei as foreigners being a long-lasting misconception is addressed by Artist 8 through the word “continue,” “I saw that they [non-Nikkei] exoticized me a lot, right? [...] they *continue* to see us as foreigners; the Nikkei is not part of the Peruvian identity” (Artist 8).

The view of the Nikkei as a foreigner challenges Nikkei’s Peruvian identity, which, according to this study’s results in section 5.1., is very strong. Despite the Nikkei community experiencing a growing identification with their Peruvian identity and younger Nikkei generations having a more robust identification with a Peruvian identity (even considering Nikkei identity as an expression of the Peruvian identity), the broader Peruvian society’s perceptions were contrary to the Nikkei community’s perceptions.

Participants indicated they experienced misconceptions in the art field, where they mentioned typecasting, exoticization, and even discrimination. For example, Artist 5 considered that the Peruvian general audience assumes that their artwork presents a Japanese aesthetic above all the other different influences it might have,

[viewers consider] my Japanese side comes out there [in my artwork] because of the form, the aesthetics and everything that the Japanese mystique brings. But the Andes, the Amazon, the Coast have their own mystique too, but [the audience perceives] there is always more of a relationship [of my artwork] with the overseas. (Artist 5)

Artist 5's comments showed the perception of a process of exoticization of the Nikkei community by the broader Peruvian society.

Similarly Artist 2 referred to addressing Nikkei identity as a topic, presenting symbols that "clearly" indicate their Japanese ethnicity was expected from them. This is consistent with Artist 8's experience. In the following excerpt, Artist 8 narrates their experience with projects geared towards the dissemination of Nikkei artistic production in which the organizers and commentators are people familiar with the Nikkei community but who, according to Artist 8's perception, ended up exoticizing Artist 8's artwork,

at first, it was like, 'Ah! They [organizers of the cultural activity] are giving us [Nikkei Artists] space,' but because of their questions, they make you appear very exotic. So [we were...] trying to make them understand that [...] our [Nikkei] art is also Peruvian art [...]. (Artist 8)

Artist 8's comments were supported by Artist 1, who mentioned, "There are spaces, but there is also the issue of exoticism [...] 'I give you a space, but on condition that you show yourself' in what way?" (Artist 1). The misconception of Nikkei as being viewed as foreigners by the broader Peruvian society was discussed by participants in the art field. Participants considered that the audience, in general, expects fixed, mysterious, and extravagant common elements in the Nikkei artists' artwork. The artists' situation also reflects a perception that there is a dearth of knowledge

about the Nikkei community, suggesting a lack of firsthand encounters of the general audience with it and its history.

The exoticization of Nikkei experience appears to be so common that Artist 9 remembered feeling shocked when watching an advertising spot on TV where a woman with stereotypical Asian features was not exoticized,

when I saw an advertising spot on TV and saw a *ponja* [slang for Japanese, referring to Nikkei (see footnote 33)] girl. She was a girl holding a soda bottle. It was epic. She was not caricatured as a *geisha*; no attention was paid to her phenotype. It was just a person holding a soda bottle. (Artist 9)

Participants perceived the differentiation that the broader Peruvian society makes of the Nikkei community is sometimes related to the race component. For instance, Artist 3 classifies the differentiation that the broader Peruvian society does towards the Nikkei as a “type of racism” (Artist 3). In the same vein, Artist 8 implied that certain immigrant descendants with different physical features compared to the Nikkei community are more easily accepted as Peruvian,

you would never ask a person of Italian descent about those things, right? And why do they [non-Nikkei Peruvian] continue to see us [Nikkei] as if we had just gotten off the ship [referring to the ships where the Japanese immigrants arrived and meaning that Nikkei are not a group that just arrived]. You must constantly reinforce this, ‘For your information, I am also Peruvian.’ (Artist 8)

Takenaka (2004), Moromisato (2019), and Melgar (2019) have stated that the racial profiling of the Nikkei ethnic minority has been used as a mechanism to deny them their Peruvian identity. It appears that the “Asian race,” that is, the physical traits stereotypically assigned to subjects from Asia, have not entered the dominant narrative of Peruvian identity as a mark of

belonging, in the same way that the white physical features or the ones linked to Afro-Peruvian or indigenous people have.

The national identity is a narrative discursively created (Hall, 2019; Delanty, 2003). Therefore, the absence of Nikkei identity from the dominant narrative about the Peruvian national narrative suggests the lack of efforts on the part of the state to include it as part of that narrative, and the lack of efforts to make visible the Nikkei community's decisive participation in the current version of Peruvian society's formation. For instance, Artist 13 perceived the absence of the Nikkei community in the Peruvian official history, "we need to work a lot [...] the visibility [of the Asian-descendant communities] in [...] the construction of Peru as a country" (Artist 13). Artist 13's opinion echoes Vásquez-Luque and Aguilar-Lluncor's statement about the Nikkei community's impactful yet sometimes invisible contribution to Peruvian society, referring mainly to the Peruvian economic, international cooperation, food, and art fields (Vásquez-Luque & Aguilar-Lluncor, 2022).

Therefore, this absence might fuel misconceptions about the Nikkei community as being a foreign group detached from national events. Considering that the narrative of "Who are we as a nation?" represents a collection of symbols, stories and well-worn events that define and shape a society" (UNDP, 2020, p. 45), neglecting the Nikkei stories and their symbols as part of the dominant narrative of the Peruvian diversity-based national identity means excluding them from the possibility to be part of the "we" conceptualization.

This situation, as described by the participants, could shed some light on Espinosa, Calderón-Prada, Burga, and Güímac's (2007) results of the Asian Peruvians, who were the racialized group (among six other racialized groups) that Peruvian participants of their study identified the least with (Espinosa et al., 2007). Simultaneously, that low level of identification suggested a low level

of empathy on the part of Peruvians toward Asian Peruvians since the level of identification was positively correlated to the level of empathy, as outlined in the above-mentioned study (Espinosa et al., 2007).

Although there were no specific questions in the survey nor the interview questionnaire to deepen this perception of disconnection, a perceived lack of empathy from the Peruvian society towards Nikkei emerged from the interviews. Artist 3 expressed the perception that there were double standards in the way the broader Peruvian society reacts to the mockery of minorities,

[people reproduce stereotypes of a person that] ‘is not even Japanese,’ they call this person ‘the Chinese’ [...] and they always laugh at that [...] and when it comes [...] to an Afro-Peruvian, [the reaction is] ‘do not be racist,’ but since it is a Japanese [looking] person, it is like you laugh. (Artist 3)

Artist 3 perceived that broader Peruvian society as having a higher level of tolerance to racializing comments in cases where the target is the Nikkei community compared to the level of tolerance they show when the Afro-Peruvian community is the target. This same perception was addressed by Artist 17, who widened the comparison to the reaction they perceive in the broader Peruvian society when the target of the mockery is the indigenous community,

while we are not... the most vulnerable [community] in the sense that we suffer this type of discrimination, [...] we are a very ambiguous population. The Asian population [...] is not discriminated against in certain ways, in comparison with, maybe, the indigenous or Afro populations; we are also exposed to another type of discrimination, which is as a mockery towards the foreign or unknown. (Artist 17)

This suggests a perceived lack of empathy on the part of the broader Peruvian society towards the Nikkei community that was also addressed by interviewees as being a socially acceptable discriminatory attitude,

this discrimination [to the Nikkei community] still exists, but, in some way, it is accepted or said to be a joke compared to the jokes made to others. (Artist 8)

What people perceive is that there is no discrimination towards the *ponjas* [slang for Japanese, referring to Nikkei (see footnote 33)] or towards the Asian community in Peru or those of Asian descent. (Artist 9)

These perceptions influence how Nikkei feel about their minority status in Peruvian society. For example, this lack of understanding seems to prevent Nikkei from sharing their experience, as it can be inferred from the following declaration by an anonymous survey participant,

It is always difficult for me to talk about topics like this [the topics addressed in this study] because nobody is going to understand me. I am also studying abroad, and now it will be more difficult to find spaces to talk about it. (Anonymous 1)

These examples reflect a perceived disconnection of the Peruvian society from the Nikkei experience that creates a tolerance of racializing comments mocking Nikkei people.

5.3.2. Government

In the case of the government's conceptualization of the Nikkei identity, **hypothesis 3:** "Participants will feel that their Nikkei identity is not adequately recognized as part of the national identity by the broader Peruvian society and the **government**," was also corroborated. Participants' perceptions suggested that the government does not exactly know what the Nikkei identity consists of and how the Nikkei community should participate in the diversity discussion in the Peruvian national identity formation. In this case, the analysis of this data was delimited by the indicators

“perception of state responsiveness” and “feelings of being represented” as outlined in the legitimacy dimension by Lefko-Everett (2016) framework.

The national identity narrative “establishes the underlying notion of the degree of exclusion and inclusion [of individuals and groups] in a society” (UNDP, 2020, p. 38), and the representation establishes those who will be included or excluded in decision-making (Hendricks, 2009). For minority groups to participate in decision-making and results, the democratic model highlights the importance of groups having political representation (Hendricks, 2009).

In this study, some participants perceived that in the case of the Nikkei community, representation is absent. They perceived there were no spokespersons who could effectively communicate the challenges of integrating the Nikkei community into the national diversity discourse beyond stereotypes and misconceptions. For example, Artist 9 mentioned that,

I feel that since there are no such obvious representatives that raise their voice saying, ‘there is discrimination [towards the Nikkei community]’ or ‘there are racist acts towards these groups [including the Nikkei community];’ it is normalized as it is not very offensive, the perception is that it is a minor issue. Suppose somebody makes a parody of a person with Asian features being a karate master; that is cool. In that case, that is all right [...] These types of representations do not bother [people] because there is no one saying, ‘this is uncomfortable’ or ‘this is wrong.’ Society simply perceives that nothing is happening here [...]. It is perceived that other groups are much more affected because these other groups are voicing, doing something to change the negative situation. (Artist 9)

Artist 9’s statement is consistent with other participants’ feelings, who, through their survey answers, suggested that the government is not putting much effort into fighting stereotypes against the Nikkei community nor creating awareness about that situation. The survey showed that 29

participants (29/43) perceived the government's response to stereotypes towards the Nikkei community on TV as ineffective. Likewise, the survey showed that participants perceived lower interest (33/43) on the government's side to use art to make the Nikkei community more visible as an integral part of the Peruvian identity compared to the already low interest they perceived from the government concerning other minorities (23/43).

The participants' perception of the lack of representation aligns with the Peruvian public policies. Chapter III noted how the Nikkei community was overlooked in the design and socialization of cultural policy development. It was also mentioned how, in the Policy for Crosscutting the Intercultural Approach the Nikkei community is not even mentioned.

Another finding that was not expected was that some participants of this study justified this perception of disinterest on the part of the state, since the Nikkei community is perceived as a non-vulnerable minority. Participants pointed out that including the Nikkei community in the projects for diversity enhancement was, to a certain extent understandably not a priority of the state.

The "perception of state responsiveness" was also explored in this research project. When it comes to the state responsiveness in enhancing the awareness about the Nikkei community within Peruvian society or having more robust participation in the national diversity discussion, participants of this study had a number of opinions. Some interviewed participants do not feel that it is necessary that the government should invest efforts into including the Nikkei community. This was because the Nikkei community has its own institutions to create activities for Nikkei community awareness. Apparently, the Nikkei institutions are filling the gap of attention quite sufficiently so that some participants do not consider the state attention to be necessary. For example, Artist 7 mentioned not perceiving a problem in the lack of robust participation of the Nikkei community in the cultural policies, "I feel excluded, but I think it is because we have the

Peruvian Japanese Association (APJ). It [Peruvian cultural policies] might sound exclusionary, but I do not perceive a problem” (Artist 7).

Generally the Nikkei community is not perceived to be a vulnerable group since the state’s data do not evidence special challenges in the access to economic participation and fundamental rights (INEI, 2018) and, on top of that this community has its own private institutions. When asked about the necessity of the state to include the Nikkei community in a more robust way in the cultural policies, Artist 11 replied,

the Japanese embassy and everything they are doing seems good to me [...] It is also that we are not as vulnerable group as the Afro group [...] I do not feel that we are a racialized group. (Artist 11)

In the same vein, Artist 4 commented on both the perceived non-vulnerable condition of the Nikkei community and the support of the Nikkei institutions,

we can find people from the Nikkei community for several decades in spheres of power, to have a Cultural Center [...] with an infrastructure, with media coverage. I think, considering that, we cannot put the Nikkei community on the same level as an indigenous or Afro community [...] I would not include, in that sense, the Nikkei community in this cultural public policy plan of the Ministry of Culture because I think they are not in a disadvantageous situation. I feel that Nikkei community does not require historical reparations. I do not think [the Nikkei] deserve less at all, but I think that, if every community deserves equally, there are others needing more support to achieve equality. (Artist 4)

Nevertheless, other participants considered that the state must look for representation of the Nikkei community because it implies an official and fair acknowledgement that it is an essential component of national diversity, like in Artist 6 case,

the fact that the state itself says ‘I recognize that the Nikkei is part of [Peru], that they are also Peruvians,’ means a lot. So, yes, I would like to see more of that (Artist 6).

Other participants acknowledged that it is the state’s responsibility to address the entire society’s demands,

I think that [...] as [...] we have had contact with the APJ, we feel the presence of some institution that provides [...]cultural diffusion, but [...] it should also be something that is not from a mostly private institution but from the state. (Artist 9)

Being at least mentioned by the state is giving hope to some participants that the Nikkei community will not remain overlooked for too long. When discussing with Artist 1 about the situation of the Nikkei community in the National Policy of Culture Until 2030 (PNC), where the Nikkei community was at least addressed as part of the national diversity, Artist 1 commented,

it is a sample that reflects the current situation, isn't it? I am not surprised [...]. This feeling of being in the middle, neither very bad nor very good [...] invisible in some way. [The creation of the national cultural policy] is a good start, if someone from there [Nikkei representative] were to be called, [...] it will help my self-esteem in this country. (Artist 1)

Artist 1 expressed a feeling of recognition and hope that the lack of visibility towards the Nikkei community might be changing. Likewise, Artist 8 expressed their optimism, “it gives me some hope that at least they are naming us” (Artist 8).

The way participants refer to the inclusion of the Nikkei community in cultural policies presents two characteristics that should be highlighted. On the one hand, it reinforces the idea of

empathy with other minority groups, as discussed in section 5.2.2. Participants are concerned about the struggles of marginalization other minorities face and put their needs over the Nikkei community's. On the other hand, participants' responses showed a willingness to be integrated into the discussion on national diversity. In both cases, the participants in this study suggest a high degree of appreciation of diversity and a sense of interconnectedness. This position could be related to their status as an overlooked minority looking to broaden the national identity marks of belonging to fit in but also to their status as artists, to whom cultural diversity and its cultural products are valuable societal assets.

5.4. General Discussion

In order to answer the main research question, *as cultural producers, how do young Nikkei artists (re)interpret the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity?* it was first necessary to understand how the participants conceptualize the Nikkei identity. Later, their answers concerning that topic could be contrasted to the answers to sub-questions 1 and 2: *How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society? And how effective is the state's responsiveness to diversity issues in the country?* The Chapter V explored this question through three hypotheses in three sections (5.1., 5.2., and 5.3.).

Hypothesis 1: "Participants will strongly identify with a Peruvian national identity" was corroborated. Moreover, the data suggested that participants conceptualized Nikkei identity as an expression of Peruvian identity. This finding confirms the trend of the Nikkei community's growing connection with Peruvian identity from the 1990s and early 2000s, addressed in previous research concerning the *dekasegi* experience (Takenaka, 1999; Adachi, 2006; Melgar, 2019). The consistency of this trend augurs a continued growing close identification with Peruvian identity on

the part of younger generations of Nikkei that should be addressed by the state in the discussion of national diversity.

This finding also shows the complexity of minorities' identity-building in diverse societies. Materson (2006) observed new generations of Nikkei moving away from Nikkei institutions due to a strong feeling of identification with "native Peruvians" (p. 155), which suggested a process of assimilation into the mainstream identity, implying a consequent erasure of the Nikkei difference. However, this study's results suggest that keeping the Nikkei identity does not disregard the Peruvian identity. Apparently, younger Nikkei generations are broadening the Peruvian signifier, enlarging the marks of belonging in its narrative so that Nikkei identity is included in said signifier. The participants of this study show how minority groups are constantly reinventing themselves and, in doing so, are also rethinking the boundaries of the national identity, in this case the Peruvian national identity.

A greater identification with Peruvian identity and recognition of their legitimate "Peruvianess" may encourage younger generations to be more vocal in their demands for inclusion in the discussion of Peru's ethnic diversity. This appears to be a growing tendency already identified by Adachi in the early 2000s. He explained that minorities diasporas such as the Nikkei diaspora "have successfully established their social position in the society". Therefore, "they can voice their grievances over current or past inequities or mistreatment" and "have the power to ensure their political rights" and "the ability to control their own historical image and to construct their own historical narrative" (Adachi, 2006, p. 13). It means that it is possible that in the future, the new generations of Nikkei will continue to demand larger spaces for visibility and bringing more nuanced themes to the Peruvian national identity discussion.

Simultaneously, other findings, although beyond the scope of **hypothesis 1**, were analyzed for a deeper understanding of how the participants of this study perceive themselves as ethnic minorities in the Peruvian context. Another important characteristic, besides the growing connection with the Peruvian identity, was the perception of Nikkei identity as a diversity-based identity. Participants claimed their multiple cultural backgrounds as a valid way of being Nikkei and Peruvian. To the participants of this study, just as there are multiple ways of being Peruvian, there are multiple ways of being Nikkei. They identified the Nikkei community as a factor of the social changes that the broader Peruvian society is experiencing, which is becoming increasingly diverse. These findings echo Hall (2019) when he argues that new identities of the globalized world can only be fully understood by considering the multiplicity that crosses them.

Currently, the cultural diversity in the composition of the new Nikkei youth seems to be demanding a dominant narrative about a diversity-based national identity in which young Nikkei with a rich cultural background could still embrace their Nikkei identity and feel included as legitimate members of the Peruvian national identity at the same time. In a globalized world, ethnic identities (and other types of identities) are very porous and multiple (Hall, 2019). Unfortunately, rigid conceptions of identity do not allow this porosity and multiplicity to be understood. The perspectives of these artists who participated in this study show that Nikkei identity can be plural, meaning there is not only one dimension, not even one ethnic background, involved in the identity creation of a person, and that this indicates that influences and different kinds of connections can be built.

Accepting and embracing their diversity goes hand in hand with accepting and embracing Peru's ethnic diversity. Theory indicates that plural identities "greatly enhance the possibilities for peace, tolerance, and cohesion by building relationships across many divides" (Cantle, 2016,

p.134). The case of the young Nikkei artists corroborates the theory through the findings that emerged around **hypothesis 2**: “Participants are keen on diversity as proposed by the intercultural approach framework.” Participants showed a close connection to other cultural groups through their family heritage on the side of their non-Nikkei parents or through their admiration for the knowledge and cultural products of other minorities, which the participants explored and incorporated into their identity as artists. In this sense, the young Nikkei artists presented themselves as interesting agents for working towards an intercultural citizenship. One of the main proposals of the intercultural approach framework is the emphasis on developing intergroup relations as one of the most valuable measures to achieve social cohesion. Participants’ statements suggested a young Nikkei generation with a broader understanding and acceptance of diversity in Peru.

Sadly, it appears that all the complexity in the new expressions of Nikkei identity and the meaningful interconnections established with other cultural groups is overlooked by the broader Peruvian society. According to this study’s results, the latter sees Nikkei as foreigners, which partially corroborates **hypothesis 3**: “Participants will feel that their Nikkei identity is not adequately recognized as part of the national diversity by the Peruvian government and society.” Regarding *societal* attitudes, this research found that participants perceived there is lack of knowledge about the Nikkei community by most non-Nikkei Peruvians, which also suggests a weak relationship among the Nikkei community and other cultural groups. The PNC (2020) advised that the low level of awareness is usually accompanied by a stereotypical perception of the cultural minority as exotic (MINCUL, 2020, p. 45). During the interviews, artists mentioned that the few Peruvians who were aware of the Nikkei community had an exoticized perception of them and did not have a proper understanding of who they were or how they were incorporated

into the national ethnic diversity. This perception was consistent with the findings of previous research on Peruvians of Asian descent as the “racial” group Peruvian respondents related to least and felt less empathy for (Espinosa et al., 2007).

At this point, the racial component appears to be decisive. Takenaka (2004), Moromisato (2019), and Melgar (2020) stated that the racialization of the Nikkei has been used as a mechanism to deny them their Peruvian identity. The perceptions of the participants of this research suggest a state that has not built a narrative where the signifier Nikkei and its symbols are part of the National identity as other minority groups are. Like the UK case presented by Hall where “black British” is a concept where “the first element receives a conflictive inflection from the second” (Hall, 2019, p. 92), the Nikkei Peruvian identity might be facing similar challenges to be identified as a legitimate component of the national identity. Concerning the broader Peruvian society, the results showed participants perceived low levels of acceptance and belonging, and low levels of feeling that the culture/way of life is recognized. Likewise, some participants perceived there to be discrimination, which, according to them, is not being questioned by the broader Peruvian society.

Lastly, participants perceived a sort of disinterest on the part of the state in promoting greater awareness of the Nikkei community or in fighting stereotypes about it. This disinterest appeared higher when involving the Nikkei community than other national minorities. This perception is consistent with the state’s treatment of the Nikkei minority in formulating cultural policies; the Nikkei community was not part of the design or socialization process of those policies.

Additional unexpected findings showed the complexity of the Nikkei minority dynamic with the government; it was perceived that there was a lack of interest by the government, and this was not interpreted as something negative by all participants. Some consider it valid not to include the Nikkei community in formulating cultural policies since Nikkei are not a vulnerable

community that lacks space to gain visibility as part of the national identity. Nevertheless, most artists addressed the importance of the state in naming them and including them in official documents because this would be a clear statement that the Nikkei minority is an integral part of the Peruvian diversity-based national identity unquestionably.

Therefore, the absence of a robust participation of the Nikkei community in the cultural policies and, in general, in the diversity discussion in Peru might fuel the misconceptions towards the Nikkei community that they are a foreign group of people detached from the national events. According to the United Nations, when the construction of a national identity is exclusive and conflictual, it contributes to intolerance and enmity (UNDP, 2020). Considering that the narrative of “Who are we as a nation [...] represents a collection of symbols, stories and well-worn events that define and shape a society” (UNDP, 2020, p. 45), neglecting the Nikkei stories and their symbols as part of the dominant narrative of the Peruvian diversity-based national identity means excluding them from the possibility of being a part of the “we” conceptualization.

This research project found that there were overlooked aspects in the relational dynamics between the Nikkei community, the broader Peruvian society, and the government, threatening social cohesion that needs to be taken care of. For instance, the stereotype of the Nikkei as a foreigner has existed since the beginning of the Japanese immigration into Peruvian society, a challenge that is not yet overcome. How will this be eradicated if Nikkei are not considered when formulating cultural policies? On the other hand, the results of this research project showed encouraging characteristics of the participants, who think of themselves as allies in building a citizenry capable of achieving social cohesion from the intercultural approach point of view; results suggested that younger Nikkei generations are cultural producers open to diversity and to establishing intergroup connections. In addition, they feel more connected to the Peruvian identity

and more entitled to claim a more robust inclusion of their community in the diversity discussion than older generations.

Chapter VI. Results and Analysis: Art as an Instrument to Participate in Society

In this chapter, the perception of the artists' and art's role will be analyzed in the context of the perceived lack of representation of the Nikkei community and the prevalence of stereotypes and misconceptions towards this community. The question that will drive this chapter is **sub-question 3**: *What kind of potential does art have to express dynamic ethnic minority identities?*

The initial **hypothesis 4**, "Art will be considered a communicational tool to spread diverse and more complex images of the Nikkei community within the Peruvian society," was corroborated. However, while exploring it, other interesting findings emerged that illuminate to understand better the perceived influence art and artistic activities can have on other stakeholders.

Therefore, to answer **sub-question 3** more broadly, the participants' responses about the impact of their artistic work on Peruvian society, the state, and their minority community were analyzed. The analysis was delimited around the topics of "minority awareness" in the case of Peruvian society, "representation" in the case of the Peruvian state, and "group identity strengthening" within the Nikkei community.

6.1. Art, a Tool for Communication

It was expected to find that artists identify art as one of their main ways of expression. Survey data showed art is where 19 (19/43) participants express their Nikkei identity the most (over the other six options) (see Figure 16).

Do you express your “Nikkeiness” outside the Nikkei community?

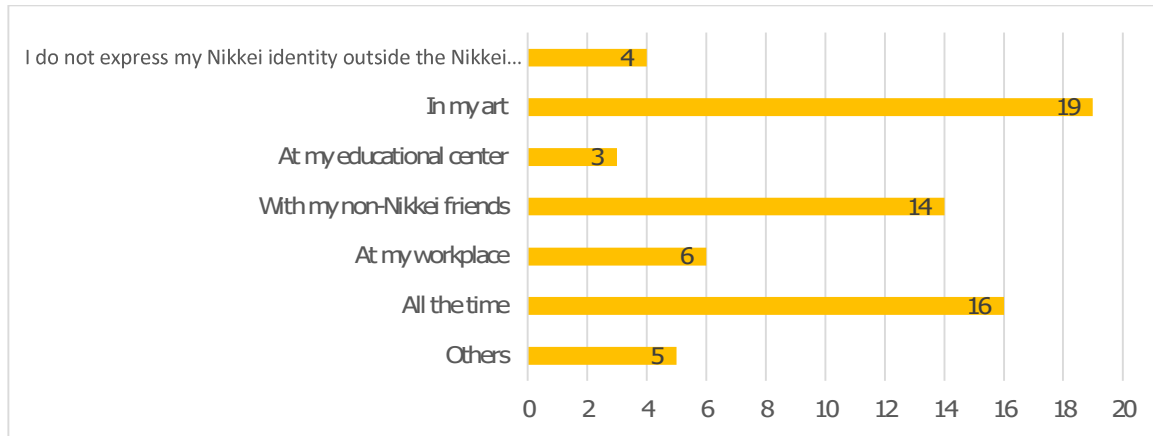


Figure 16. Art is the preferred place for participants to express their “Nikkeiness” outside of the Nikkei community.

Topics related to Nikkei identity/community are more likely to be addressed through art than in a daily conversation. 12 participants (12/43, 28.5%) indicated that they frequently present some of their reflections about Nikkei identity in their artwork, while six participants (6/43, 14.3%) indicated they often do so through conversation (Table 16). Considering the context described in Chapter II and the perception of participants regarding their relationship with the broader Peruvian society in Chapter V, these results suggest that art provides a different context or resource for participants, which they prefer for expressing their ideas about their Nikkei identity. It could either be related to the feeling of being in a safe space for exchange that art provides (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Martiniello, 2015) or to art’s capacity to challenge and transform fixed ideas regarding a group through the creation of alternative narratives (Machida, 2015; Ghani & Fiske, 2020).

Table 16. How often artists share ideas about the Nikkei identity in their daily lives and through their artwork.

Score	14. How often do you talk about/discuss Nikkei identity/community in your daily life?	24. How often did you present reflections about Nikkei identity in your artwork production after the Young Nikkei Art Hall project?
4 often	6 (14.3%)	8 (19%)

5 very often	0 (0.0%)	4 (9.5%)
Total	6 (14.3%)	12 (28.5%)

Therefore, this analysis also explored what it is that is encouraging participants to share, mainly through their art, their ideas regarding Nikkei identity/community. During interviews, some participants referred to the capacity of art to call attention to, and open the discussion around, designated topics. One artist mentioned, “What can I put on the table to talk about [... that is] new themes that matter. [Art] helps us convey sociopolitical issues [...] and puts them up for discussion” (Artist 17). Meanwhile, another artist stated, “in the case of art, people are more open to dialogue than in other types of [formats] [like] in [a] conference” (Artist 14). In both cases, art is perceived to be an instrument that highlights and generates conversations about a topic. Thus, in this context, art is not perceived to be a unidirectional missive, but it is expected to engage stakeholders in a back-and-forth conversation, to be active participants,

certain previous taboo [topics] enter into [a] discussion, such as putting an issue on the table that generates dialogue [...] I believe that it is important because otherwise, it [art] would not make sense. I believe art must be disruptive to a certain extent, and [...] it must make the viewers discuss [something]. (Artist 11)

These findings echo the theory that conceptualizes art as a tool for establishing fluid dialogue (Martiniello, 2015), that is to say, to promote exchange (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Martiniello, 2015) and the sharing of new perspectives or *narratives* (Machida, 2015; Ghani & Fiske, 2020). Primarily through art, the dialogue becomes co-creative meaning-making because the experiences of artists and audiences create an opportunity where they find one another in building the meaning of an art piece (Ghani & Fiske, 2020).

6.2. “Nikkei Artists” and “Nikkei Art”: Creating Awareness and Filling the Gap of the Nikkei Community’s Representation by the Peruvian State

The low level of awareness about a group—in this case the Nikkei community—comes hand in hand with stereotypical perceptions of the cultural minority as exotic (MINCUL, 2020, p. 45). As noted in Chapter V, participants considered there to be long-lasting stereotypes and misconceptions about the Nikkei community in Peruvian society. Unfortunately, most of the participants in this study perceived that the Peruvian state has a low interest in fighting these problems (Chapter V, section 5.3.2.). Such perceptions appear to be accurate given the state’s decision not to consider the robust participation of the Nikkei community in the design of cultural policies. Some participants considered that the absence of a voice in the state or institutions, in order to make the Nikkei community’s issues visible, is a key aspect of this problem that has prevailed over time (Chapter V, section 5.3.2.).

In this context, participants considered Nikkei Artists as the ones called to address those challenges and other topics on behalf of their ethnic community and viewed “Nikkei Art” as the means to do it. Therefore, both “Nikkei Art” and “Nikkei Artist” are pertinent categories for the investigation of statements that have socio-political content. The comments of Artist 1 during they interview shed some light on this conceptualization of “Nikkei Art”,

What we consider Nikkei artists of Tokeshi’s [well-known Peruvian Nikkei painter born in 1960] generation was not really [...] “Nikkei Art.” They were Nikkei making their art. It is just that [...] Nikkei Art just started to be produced in these *recent generations*. [“Nikkei Art” is] an action *with the purpose* of talking about these issues [topics related to the Nikkei identity/community]. (Artist 1)

According to Artist 1, “Nikkei Art” is a recent creation that goes beyond the apparent definition of an artistic product created by a Nikkei. This perception seems to be partially shared

by other 29 (29/43) survey participants, who defined “Nikkei Art” mainly as an artistic product that “presents some thoughts about Nikkei identity” (see Figure 17, option H).

What are those thoughts about precisely? The most popular definitions for “Nikkei Art” related to a specific type of content in the survey was option F (14 participants), which refers to common issues Nikkei face in Peruvian society (see Figure 17). Therefore, “Nikkei Art” appears to be understood as a category designating a collective artistic production that mainly reflects on the Nikkei community, mostly about the challenges it faces specifically; this is consistent with the last part of Artist 1’s description: “*with the purpose of talking about these issues [topics related to the Nikkei identity/community]*” (Artist 1).

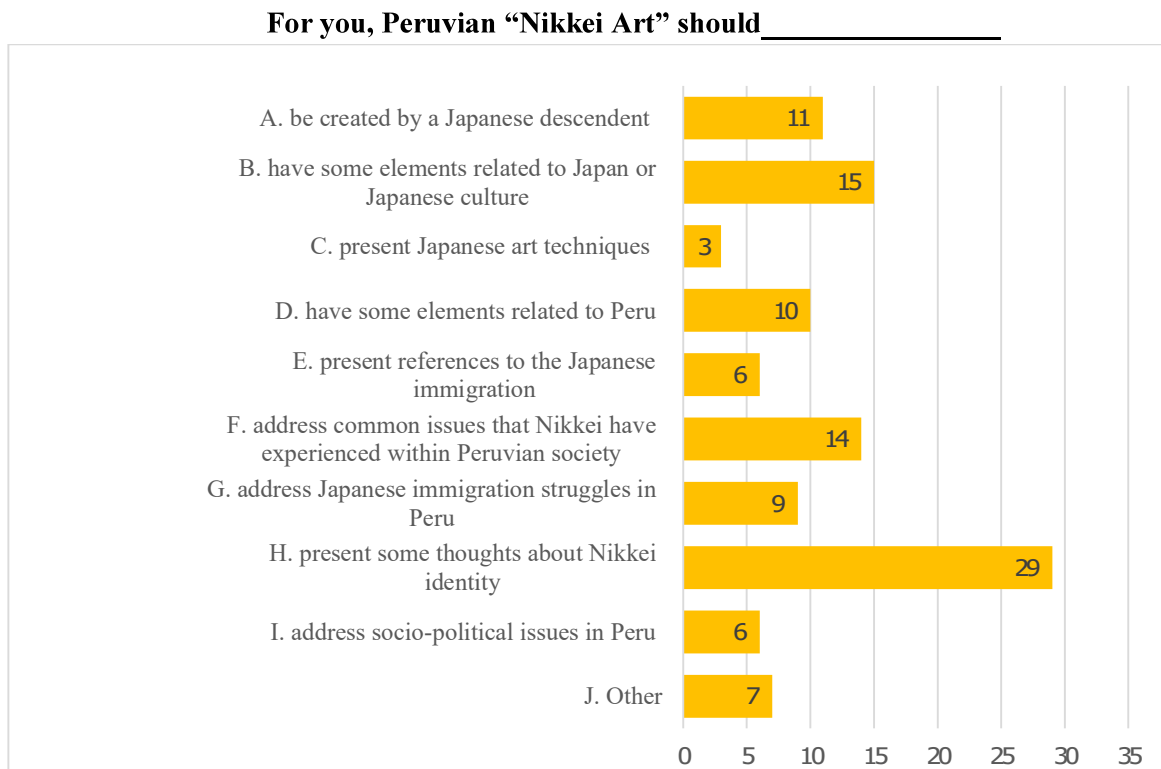


Figure 17. “Nikkei Art” must address a topic related to the Nikkei minority/community/identity

Exploring Nikkei issues is not just about participants expressing themselves; they perceive that art has a role in society. From the answers of the participants, it is inferred that the “Nikkei

Artist” label implies the artist’s commitment to the Nikkei community (see Figure 18). “Nikkei Art” and “Nikkei Artist” appear to be naming an artistic-political identity that conceptualizes art as a tool to embrace visibility of the Nikkei community within the Peruvian audience in general and, more specifically, to the challenges the Nikkei community faces in Peruvian society.

Does the label “Nikkei Artist” imply a commitment from you to the Nikkei community in any way?

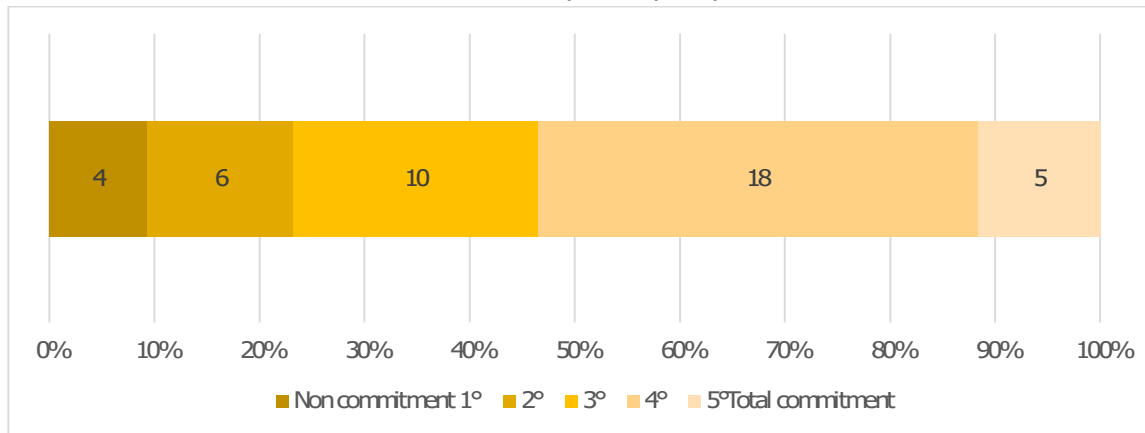


Figure 18. To most participants the label “Nikkei Artist” imply a commitment to the Nikkei community.

What specific challenges do participants of this research want to communicate, and encourage reactions from, through art? As expected, the challenges were related to the long-lasting stereotypes and misconceptions the Nikkei community endured in society. In the survey, when participants were asked about the topics related to the Nikkei identity they usually address in their artwork, 12 participants considered it relevant to address the stereotypes about the Nikkei community in Peruvian society. Meanwhile, 19 participants chose “Nikkei identity as a mixture of multiple cultures” as one of the main topics they explore (see Figure 15), which is also a topic related to stereotypes since it engages with the stereotype of the Nikkei community as a homogenous group (Chapter II, section 2.2.; Chapter V, section 5.3.1.).

One of the prevalent misconception participants addressed during the interviews was the perception of Nikkei as foreigners (Chapter V, section 5.3.1.). This questioning of whether Nikkei identity actually belongs to the Peruvian identity is grounded in the racial profiling of Peruvians with Japanese ancestry (Takenaka, 2004; Moromisato, 2019; Melgar, 2020). In this context, artists have exciting ideas about what they need as a community, for example, a greater awareness of Nikkei minority participation in Peruvian society. Therefore, participants feel encouraged to use art as a platform to engage people in a conversation around central topics to the Nikkei community with the goal of making it visible.

During the interviews, participants indicated that there was the need for “more visibility” (Artist 13) to show that “we exist” (Artist 7). For example, Artist 13 expressed the need for more awareness about the Nikkei community so the broader Peruvian society can relate more to them,

China is mentioned [...] as very important in the *guano* period³² and then not anymore.

There are not so many [...] milestones that relate us to them [Peruvian mainstream society] as a crucial part of Peru [...] same as to the Nikkei community. (Artist 13)

Artist 13 called attention to the lack of knowledge about the Nikkei community’s contribution to the formation of Peruvian society (a topic that was widely discussed in Chapter V, sections 5.3., and 5.4.) that, to them, could be partially solved by giving more visibility to the Nikkei community within Peruvian history through art among other means,

I think it is important to talk about it or do work about it, just as now we see that *there are many Amazonian artists; it is also important that there are Nikkei artists* with a particular

³² Period of economic prosperity in Peru thanks to the sale of *guano*, fertilizer extracted from the Peruvian coast in the 19th Century by Chinese workers.

identity or that they work on that as a theme. As the young country that we are, let them present proposals. I think it would be good to do so. (Artist 7)

This artist expressed their thoughts on the necessity of counting on Nikkei artists' voices to discuss the place of the Nikkei community's differences in forming the Peruvian nation. In this context, the literature review above, showed that employing art has been strategic for overlooked minorities so as to make visible their participation in society (Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Machida, 2015; Ghani & Fiske, 2020).

At this point, participants are aware of the risk of exoticization by the state when projects do not count on the young Nikkei novel perceptions, "at least they [state's official documents] are naming us [the Nikkei community]. I hope it is [...] not to exoticize us" (Artist 8). This same feeling about the risk of exoticization is shared by Artist 6,

How these projects are presented [is important] because, in the end, that is how they guide a certain interpretation [...]. It would be good if [the projects] could be done with us, the state, groups, and collectives. [That] will define if [...] they are exoticizing us or if it is something inclusive. (Artist 6)

Therefore, participants appear to be clear about the kind of visibility they want, such as discussing their diversity, a prevalent topic that surfaced during the interviews. To participants, diversity within the Nikkei community is apparently not a minor issue but a topic of central interest. Artist 14 indicated that,

What should be represented more —and I also worked on that and [...] we also perceive it a lot in the YNAH project— was this transition [...] everyone really sees from the Nikkei community as a community that is [...] ethnically [...] pure and very monocultural to a more multicultural identity where there is *mestizaje* [mix of races] [...] So, I think it is

important to see this transition of becoming a Nikkei Peruvian represented [...] not only in art but in the Nikkei community. We have discussed a lot, there were many conversations. [It was] very interesting [...] to see that it was a theme [*mestizaje* within younger Nikkei] that was repeated and that it was a *theme constantly mentioned*. (Artist 14)

Returning to the perceived role of “Nikkei Art” in society by participants, art helps to establish connections between the artist and the audience and to offer new perspectives on the diverse form of Nikkei identity,

I wanted it [my experience] to be shared as well to create awareness of the variety of Nikkei identity or of Nikkei people who have already been transforming their identity. (Artist 17)

That is my [artistic] proposal [for the YNAH project], to feel like a Nikkei without necessarily feeling like the rest of the Nikkei, to “weave” a new Nikkei identity [...] Making identity boundaries more flexible seems to me to be one of the important things to address in terms of social issues [...] No longer feeling like “okay... I am not Nikkei because I do not have this,” but “okay, if Nikkei means being of Japanese descent abroad, then yes, I am,” but I must weave a new identity. I must approach it from another perspective [...] Okay, if this Nikkei discourse [dominant narrative of the Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community (Chapter V, section 5.1.2.)] is already “worn out” and does not contribute to me, I “cut it off” and “re-weave” it as a new identity, something new for me. So, I did that. (Artist 4)

These [YNAH editions], I think, is also an indirect way of teaching Nikkei — I mean Nikkei of all generations: young, contemporary, and older and very older traditionalists [putting emphasis] — [...] that it is possible to talk from different platforms and about different topics [...] In many projects, I mix and focus more on the Andean side. (Artist 5)

These three excerpts exemplify how participants conceptualize bringing visibility to the Nikkei community's diversity through art as one of its central mechanisms.

In conclusion, participants' conceptualization of "Nikkei Art" and "Nikkei Artists" present some features that aspire to represent the group in society. Nevertheless, although participants self-identify as part of a group with common aims within their minority community (the Nikkei Artists' community) and address that their artistic production significantly impacts society, they do not self-perceive as a political movement nor operate on a large scale in society. Therefore, it cannot be said they exercise political representation, *per se*. According to Hendricks (2009), political representation is a "public institutionalized arrangement involving many people and groups and operating in the complex ways of large-scale social arrangement" (p. 693). However, they certainly have the willingness to represent a younger sector of the Nikkei community's voice. Recalling Miller and Yúdice (2004), cultural products are a "[...] legitimate basis from which particular groups can demand [...] inclusion in the national narrative, even if only to problematize it" (p.28). In this case, participants of this research perceive the "Nikkei Artists" as the ones demanding visibility to their ethnic community through their cultural production.

The intercultural approach understands that, to achieve democratic governance, representation must be exercised not just by the formally elected representative and by institutions but by individuals who assume the mission of representing communities. Therefore, it encourages the participation of "pluralism of actors in the processes of co-creating, framing (and then managing and evaluating) public policies and activities," so it allows "other actors [...] representing specific legitimate interests to have a voice and share power" (Council of Europe, 2021, p. 13). The perspective of the participants of this study shows a growing interest of the younger generations of the Nikkei community to participate in the diversity dialogue in Peruvian

society and within their ethnic community. Their new and unique perspectives on the Nikkei identity and Peruvian diversity connect the Nikkei community to the project of the diversity-based national identity more tightly. In such a context, the state is encouraged and hopefully challenged to create mechanisms that allow the smooth transition to participation of the minority groups demanding for participation.

6.3. The Peruvian Nikkei Community: Strengthening the Group Identity

The “Nikkei Art” reflects not just the Nikkei experience within the broader Peruvian society but the experience of young Nikkei within the Nikkei community. Therefore, young Nikkei are also challenging the marks of belonging to the Nikkei community by the dominant narrative. These modifications in the dominant narrative are crucial to keeping the community cohesive, such as the transformation of the dominant narrative of the Nikkei identity during the *dekasegi* experience.

Takenaka (1999) highlighted that the transformation of the narrative had, in the past, maintained and strengthened the Nikkei community. In this context and echoing the conceptualization of “Nikkei Artists”’ commitment to the Nikkei community (section 6.2.), some participants perceived calling attention to particular stories as a positive transformative challenge to the conceptualization of the Nikkei community as a homogenous group within the Nikkei community (Chapter V). For example, Artist 8 mentioned, “I could contribute with a tiny grain of sand to show that Nikkei women also exist” (Artist 8). In the same vein, Artist 17 commented,

I am on a mission, without anyone asking me [...], to talk about this [new ways to experience the Nikkei identity] through art. I wanted [...] to generate a collective memory.

(Artist 17)

In these two excerpts, Artist 8 and Artist 17 expressed a specific aim for the “Nikkei Art” to show a new perspective of the Nikkei identity. Participants perceived this task as beneficial for their ethnic community.

The perception of providing a benefit to the Nikkei community is also grounded in the audience’s reaction, especially from other young Nikkei people, as it can be seen in the next three comments,

Just recently, a person wrote to me saying that [they] had never identified with an art piece, and I said, “Wow, what a thrill.” This person is also trying to do an art piece based on that subject [Nikkei identity]. I am really happy because [...] it [the art piece message] got to where I wanted it to go. (Artist 17)

More than anything [...] the people who were impacted were the Nikkei, the ones who have a mixture of Peruvian and Japanese. I think I have touched some sensitivities there, and it has resonated with a certain audience. (Artist 11)

The more sincere I was with the topics that I really wanted to talk about, the more I found that [my] topics [reach] other people. (Artist 1)

Participants perceived they are giving voice to a larger group within the Nikkei community, representing their feelings and perspectives. Realizing their art’s beneficial effect might have encouraged participants to employ art more to reflect on Nikkei’s identity. In the survey data, a

noticeable increase in the frequency with which participants address topics about the Nikkei identity in their artwork was registered (see Figure 19),

How often did you present some of your reflections about Nikkei identity in your artwork?

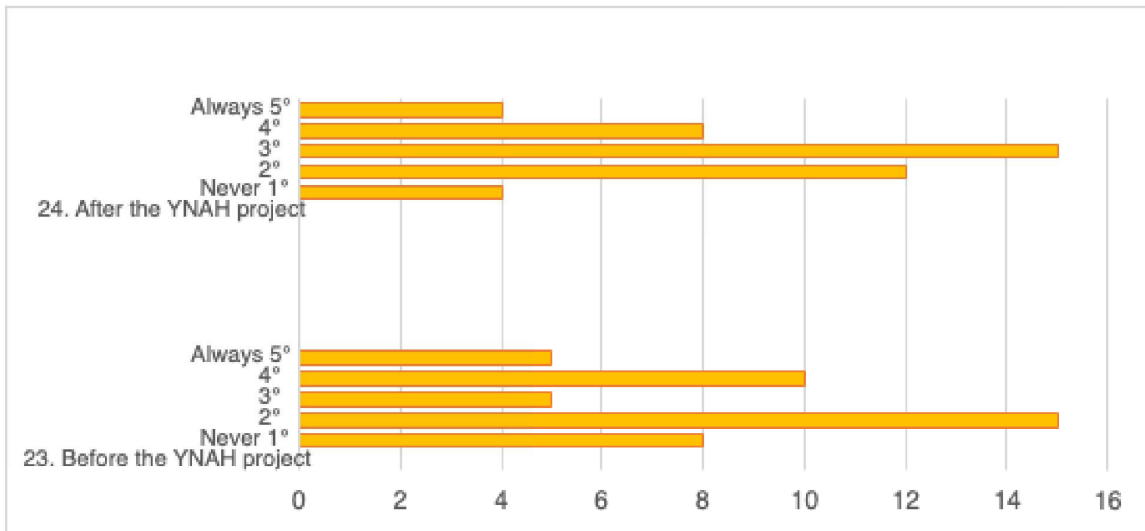


Figure 19. The frequency with which participants reflect on Nikkei identity in their artwork increased after their time at the YNAH project.

In Figure 19, it can be seen how the participants drastically began reflecting in mid-frequency on their Nikkei identity in their art after they participated in the YANH project.

Lastly, the connection participants established with the Nikkei identity/community through their experience in the YNAH project, consisting of 1) the research on Nikkei history, 2) the validation of their perspective and feelings by a representative Nikkei institution, 3) realizing that others shared their experiences, and 4) the perception of being the voice of a larger group within the Nikkei community, strengthened their group identity. In the interviews, a number of participants (artists 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, and 14) declared feeling a more robust identification with the Nikkei community after participating in the YNAH project,

In the YNAH, I underwent an intense process of researching a lot of literature, reading poems, and seeing other experiences of other Nikkei people. It was a whole process that,

in the end, more or less cemented a very precise idea about my identity as a Nikkei. Maybe I had an idea before, but it was a little vague. That process [in the YNAH project] helped me a lot to define it. (Artist 14)

Apparently, one of the main reasons for them to build a more vital identification with their ethnic group was the experience of realizing that there are many ways to be Nikkei. The data suggest that before their experience in the YNAH project, they measured their belongingness to the Nikkei community by rigid indicators such as participation in the institutions' activities or closeness to Japanese culture. The following excerpt is an illustration, "when I started the YNAH project, I had no idea who anyone was. I felt I did not belong because I had never lived with it [Nikkei community]" (Artist 1). Likewise, Artist 4 commented,

My proposal was also related to not feeling Nikkei enough. There are certain words [in Japanese] and things [made-up phrases in Japanese] that my family is used to saying, but they [my family] have not really kept Nikkei traditions. (Artist 4)

These two participants expressed an initial self-questioning of their Nikkei identity that disappeared after their experience in the YNAH project through doing co-research with other artists who felt the same way. For example, Artist 10 expressed their experience as follows,

Doing a little bit of research on Nikkei history also made me know and made me part of [Nikkei culture] because all those questions I had, "Am I Nikkei?", "Am I not Nikkei?" "Why do we do this?" "Why do we do that?" "Why do we put *senko* [incense in Japanese]?" "Why do we pray?" "Why do we have a *butsudan* [Japanese Buddhist shrine] at home?", other artists also had the same questions. (Artist 10)

Participating in the YNAH project widened the marks of belonging to the Nikkei identity. They recognized they could be Nikkei and share experiences with other Nikkei while embracing

other unique practices. These new perspectives allow a more porous concept of Nikkei identity, so all expressions of Nikkei identity can potentially be included.

6.4. General Discussion

Participants identified “Nikkei Art” as a tool to express their ideas about Nikkei identity in the context of long-lasting misconceptions and stereotypes about the Nikkei community. Aware of their new conceptualization of Nikkei identity, they identified “Nikkei Art” as a mean to draw attention to it, especially to diversity within the Nikkei community, and to engage people in conversation on that and other topics concerning the Nikkei community.

The concept of “Nikkei Art” indicates its social role. It was thought of as being a contributor to a better understanding of the Nikkei community and the broader Peruvian society, which is consistent with the theory of “objects/artifacts of material cultural production” influencing the sense of belonging of the person since this “increasingly derives from complex interconnections through mediating objects, including [...] signs” (Youkhana, 2015, p. 20). Art is a place of contact and positive interaction for diverse citizens, where citizens can co-create new ideas of the national identity. These contact spaces are central to reducing prejudice, enhancing knowledge, strengthening social cohesion, and ensuring social inclusion (Zapata-Barrero, 2015).

The way “Nikkei Art” is conceptualized by participants also suggested a shift in the kind of participation younger Nikkei generations want to have in society. In the case of the second generation of Nikkei (*Nisei*), the generational shift in the conceptualization of Nikkei identity implied a “greater participation in the national life” (Arakaki, 2002, p. 83), including political participation (Arakaki, 2002; Materson, 2006). In the case of the current younger generations, in addition to the greater political participation, they want to discuss the boundaries of the Nikkei identity and, with it, the boundaries of the Peruvian national identity. The Nikkei community case

exemplifies Hall's statement about the diasporas' cultural identities, which, despite the narrative of tradition that surrounds them, are always changing (Bauman, 2011; Hall, 2019). Those changes in a globalized world cannot be fully understood without considering the multiple background of these new identities (Hall, 2019).

The perception of their contribution through their art, in the context of a lack of an accrued representation of Nikkei identity, makes their art a political statement. It is a political action for visibility and an action of representation of the younger generations in the discussion about Nikkei identity and Peruvian identity. This posture is consistent with the perceived trend of longing for more active political participation within Peruvian society, as exemplified in the recent actions of the young Nikkei. For instance, the Instagram publication by "A group of young Nikkei" demanded Nikkei institutions show greater involvement in the political crisis of the country. Also, the "Proudly Peruvian, I am Nikkei" campaign encouraged a statistical visibility for the Nikkei community in the national census of 2017 (Chapter II).

In this chapter, the analysis of the data shows that with such active and vocal representatives of the Nikkei community, there is a desire by the Nikkei artists for more visibility and inclusion by the state. This indicates they see the need to encourage the state to evaluate how to enact a more robust inclusion of this community into the cultural policies. The intercultural approach addresses the importance of having a democratic representation in the policy design process since the lack of inclusion interrupts the fluid dialogue and affects social cohesion; the presence of representative voices of all the communities that make up a nation is desirable.

Chapter VII. Conclusion

This chapter will conclude the study by summarizing the key research findings in relation to the research aims and questions and discussing the value and contribution of those findings. It will also review the limitations of the study, outline some recommendations, and propose opportunities for future research.

7.1. Main Findings and Conclusions

This study has argued that the Nikkei ethnic minority is growing its connection to the Peruvian identity through its younger generations' conceptualizations of the Nikkei identity as an expression of the Peruvian identity and as a component of the national diversity. Moreover, young Nikkei generations appeared to be freely establishing relationships with other cultural groups, including other minorities. Despite these being encouraging characteristics for the government to incorporate young Nikkei stakeholders into the plans for enhancing a diversity-based Peruvian national identity, it was found that most participants do not identify enthusiasm on the part of the government to do so. This perception was supported by the findings on Peruvian cultural policies lacking a robust participation of the Nikkei ethnic minority and, overall, a wide perspective on social participation that could address struggles of minorities for inclusion beyond the limitations in economic participation and access to fundamental rights.

The context appeared even more discouraging for the inclusion of the Nikkei ethnic minority in the national diversity discussion after identifying participants' perception on the Nikkei minority community enduring long-lasting stereotypes and misconceptions yet struggling to be included in the imagined national identity of Peru by the broader society. However, the data suggested that the new conceptualizations of the Nikkei identity by younger generations of Nikkei came hand in hand with a self-perception of the Nikkei ethnic minority as a more legitimate

stakeholder in the national diversity discussion. Thus, young Nikkei, especially artists, were calling the attention on some topics related to the formation of the Peruvian Nikkei identity and its intersection with the formation of the diversity-based Peruvian national identity.

Although the Ministry of Culture and its cultural policies' aim is to assure the social participation of all the national diversity and their inclusion in the building of a national identity, the Nikkei and other minorities, such as the Tusán ethnic minority, seem to be facing invisible challenges for inclusion. Cultural policies in Peru promote building a diversity-based national identity and claim to follow an intercultural approach (MINCUL, 2020); however, Asian descendant minorities, such as Nikkei and Tusán, are not included in a robust way in those policies. Furthermore, both minorities are either absent or barely addressed in the cultural policies documents. These omissions contradict the fundamental precepts of interculturality. The government focus of cultural policies is on vulnerable minorities in terms of lack of access to fundamental rights and economic participation, which are not dimensions the Nikkei ethnic minority appears to struggle with in general (INEI, 2018).

The omission in the policy design is a problem because it prevents ethnic minorities that are not classified as vulnerable from participating in the policy design process that affects them and all citizens. Lacking the input of these minorities and a perspective broad enough to assess the different and nuanced challenges Peruvian ethnic minorities face make these groups invisible. Second, an omission of the Nikkei ethnic minority in a government's document meant to address the country's national diversity might reinforce the stereotype of the Nikkei as a foreigner. These cultural policies underscore the question, "Who are we as a nation?". Overlooking the Nikkei ethnic minority from such a critical discussion can be interpreted as an exclusionary narrative about the national identity, which can generate animosity among different groups.

Nikkei groups formed by young people have reacted in different ways to the lack of representations and participation of the Nikkei ethnic minority in national affairs, which makes young Nikkei an interesting target for analysis. For instance, due to the statistical lack of visibility, the #IamNikkei group fostered a campaign towards the 2017 national census to encourage Nikkei to self-identify as such. As a reaction to the stereotypes and misconceptions, young Nikkei has created cultural products such as YouTube videos, art pieces, and even a group for discussions.

This study utilized an intercultural approach framework, that allow the research to understand the struggles in terms of relational dynamics. It emphasizes in the positive aspect of building stronger relationships among all citizens for achieving social cohesion. In order to interrogate about participants' interpretation of the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity, this research utilized a mixed methodology focusing on qualitative data drawn from a local group of artists in the Young Nikkei Art Hall project in Lima, Peru. As this artistic project consists of bringing together young artists who identify as Nikkei into a workshop where they can reflect and discuss their thoughts and representations of Nikkei identity, this group was considered a rich lens to interrogate for the process of inclusion of ethnic minorities in the diversity enhancement project by the Peruvian state.

The decision to focus on qualitative analysis for both survey and interviews' data, was made in order to deeply explore the perceptions of the participants. The qualitative approach has made it possible to deepen an understanding of: the complexity of the Nikkei minority identity formation within the Peruvian context; the relationships young Nikkei establish with other society stakeholders within the diverse context of Peru; and the potential of art to enhance social cohesion.

For the analysis of all the collected data, a thematic approach was followed analyzing the data based on the framework for social cohesion "The Provisional Measurement Framework of

Africa” from *The Social Cohesion Measurement Framework* by Lefko-Everett (2016). Following the thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006), patterns of meaning among the collected data by the interviews were looked for. Later, initial codes were established, and a final themes selection was made.

The central questions for this research were as follows:

As cultural producers, how do young Nikkei artists (re)interpret the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity?

The following sub-questions are mean to be answered too,

- a. *How do young Nikkei perceive the Nikkei community is understood by the wider Peruvian society?*
- b. *How effective is the state's responsiveness to diversity issues in the country?*
- c. *What kind of potential does art have to express dynamic ethnic minority identities?*

Sub-question 1 and **sub-question 2** explored the situation of the Nikkei community concerning their sense of belonging to the Peruvian national identity and their identification and relational dynamics with the rest of Peruvian society and the state. To understand how participants perceived the dynamics of the Nikkei community within the rest of Peruvian society in the context of national ethnic diversity, it was first necessary to understand how they perceived their national identity. It was hypothesized that participants would strongly identify with a Peruvian national identity. The results indicated that participants have a conceptualization of Nikkei identity as part of Peruvian national identity rather than being separate and distinct. This perception contrasts to the more traditional conceptualization of the Nikkei identity by previous Nikkei generations who perceived Nikkei identity as having a closer relationship to Japanese nationality (Takenaka, 1999). Apparently, unlike older generations who were more interested in remarking on the closeness of

the Nikkei identity to the Japanese identity as reported in previous studies, younger generations are more likely to remark on the Nikkei identity's closeness to Peruvian identity. In the context of diversity-based national identity building, data from this research suggests that the more recent generations of Nikkei desire their ethnic minority to be more robustly incorporated into the Peruvian national identity narrative.

The survey results showed that most participants identified deeply with their Peruvian identity while also identifying deeply with their Nikkei identity. In other words, the participants conceptualized their Nikkei identity as an expression of their "Peruvianess". First, in the survey responses, strong majority agreed with the definition of the Nikkei identity as a type of Peruvian identity. This was evidenced in the results of question 12 in which the most popular definition chosen for "Nikkei identity" was "The Nikkei identity is a Peruvian identity that recognizes its Japanese heritage" (38 out of 43 participants agreed). In the same vein, the intersection of Nikkei and Peruvian identities in the young Nikkei's conceptualization of Nikkei identity is reinforced when a slightly majority expressed that their nationality was necessary to conceptualize their Nikkei identity while their ethnic identity as Nikkei was a central aspect in conceptualizing their Peruvian identity. In the interviews, the idea of the Nikkei identity as a Peruvian national identity was expressed mainly in contrast to their perception of non-Nikkei Peruvians treating them as foreigners. This finding is related to **hypothesis 2**, "participants are keen on diversity, as proposed by the intercultural approach framework", and will be further discussed in the following paragraphs.

These findings indicate Nikkei progressively moving to a stronger connection with their national identity continues. Since the studies on the second generation of Nikkei, a growing identification with the Peruvian national identity can be observed (Takenaka, 1999). This shift

reached a critical point during the *dekasegi* experience where many Nikkei Peruvians, during their stay for work in Japan, had direct contact with Japanese nationals and yet did not recognize significant similarities between themselves. According to theory of collective identities (Hall, 2019) as discussed in Chapter III, community members tend to believe in narratives about their community as fixed and immutable. However, these narratives are actually transformed over time due to social and historical influences that in turn affect the members of the communities, who are ultimately the producers of identity narratives. Indeed, the findings of this study strongly suggest the emergence of new conceptualizations of Nikkei identity within the Nikkei community that challenge the stereotype of the Nikkei community as a foreign group, both within and outside the community itself. These new conceptualizations refer to the Nikkei ethnic identity as a component of the Peruvian national identity. In a context in which the Nikkei identity is instead a mark for questioning the national identity of a person, the (re)conceptualization of the Nikkei identity by the participants as an expression of “Peruvianness” is presented as an alternative narrative. This questions the limited understanding of national diversity by the Peruvian state, also evidenced in the lack of recognition of the complexity of its diversity in public cultural documents. Thinking of themselves as “wholly Peruvian” might encourage Nikkei to claim a more visible role within the national identity building of Peru. Another aspect that could be encouraging a more active participation in national diversity discussion on the part of Nikkei youth is the official recognition of a diversity-based national identity in Peru by the state. This idea guided the exploration of the participants’ attitude towards Peruvian diversity.

Hypothesis 2, “participants are keen on diversity, as proposed by the intercultural approach framework” was confirmed. The results of this investigation show that participants are keen towards diversity as proposed by the intercultural approach, meaning they value diversity and real

connections with diverse groups. To explore the connections the Nikkei minority establishes with other cultural groups, aspects such as feelings of acceptance and the value of diversity and established networks were examined. In the interviews, participants commented on how they tried to learn and promote art and unique artistic techniques produced by ethnic minorities. These findings question the suitability of the Peruvian government's cultural policies that focus on economic aspects of social cohesion while overlooking the importance of social relationships existing within diverse societies, which are fundamental to the intercultural approach.

In terms of collaboration between ethnic minority groups in Peru, it emerged that some participants have a special connection with other cultural groups besides the Nikkei community. In some cases, participants embrace multiple cultural backgrounds. Thus, those participants expressed their affection, respect, and involvement with these other groups and their cultural production.

Furthermore, participants' new diversity-based Nikkei identity conceptualization understands Nikkei identity as intrinsically dynamic, multiple, and diverse. Participants interpreted their cultural multiplicity as a characteristic of the contemporary identity of both Nikkei and Peruvian identities. Therefore, participants with diverse cultural backgrounds felt very comfortable accepting and appreciating others' multiple cultural heritage. This positive attitude towards diversity is not only a positive indicator for social cohesion but also, considering those plural identities "greatly increase the possibilities for peace, tolerance, and cohesion, by building relationships across many divides" (Cantle, 2016, p.134). It could indicate that Nikkei youth are capable and active stakeholders for contributing to the intercultural dialogue. What is more, other participants who did not express having multiple cultural backgrounds commented on their admiration towards the cultural production of other minority groups. Despite not necessarily

having collaborated in artistic projects with other minorities, participants expressed such a closeness to these other minorities' artistic expressions and traditional knowledge that they are employing these other minorities' techniques and topics in their own artistic production. These findings challenge stereotypes picturing the Nikkei minority as closed and homogenous.

Thus, it is unsurprising that **hypothesis 3**: “Participants will feel that their Nikkei identity is not adequately recognized as part of the national diversity by the Peruvian government and society” was confirmed. Several participants mentioned that Nikkei identity was not adequately recognized as part of the national diversity in the Peruvian society. For example, interviewees mentioned experiencing racialization by non-Nikkei Peruvians who commented on Nikkei identity as a “foreign identity”. As discussed in Chapter II (section 2.2.2.) and III (section 3.5.), these reactions signify the questioning of Nikkei ethnic minority belonging to the national identity by non-Nikkei Peruvian, which according to the reviewed literature, is a long-lasting common first step in denying the national belonging to Nikkei.

This information was complemented with examples of the social stereotypes endured by the Nikkei ethnic minority that were addressed through the videos of the YouTube channel “No Somos Chinos” [We are not Chinese] and the video documentary “An Identity in South America” by Deutsche Welle where four former participants on the YNAH project are interviewed, as well as interviews with Nikkei artists from the NikkeiPlus web portal. The stereotypes and misconceptions identified by the participants in this study matched the stereotypes and misconceptions identified through these other sources. For example, participants explained that non-Nikkei show their lack of knowledge in how they perceive Nikkei as a foreigner, sometimes by calling a different nationality (like Japanese or Chinese) directly or sometimes by racializing them.

Second, participants mentioned having experienced comments from non-Nikkei Peruvians referring to Nikkei as homogeneous subjects. These comments experienced by the participants were mainly in reference to their artistic production and political affinities. For example, some participants expressed having witnessed that the audience assumes that, because they are Nikkei, their artwork presents a Japanese aesthetic above all other different influences it may have. Some other participants mentioned experiencing accusations of ethnic solidarity with political parties whose representatives are Nikkei. This is a situation that was identified in election campaigns of the 1990s (Melgar, 2020), which, according to the data of this study, still exists.

Lastly, some participants perceived a lack of knowledge about their ethnic identity by their fellow citizens but and a lack of empathy behind how non-Nikkei externalized their ignorance about the Nikkei minority. Participants perceived that misconceptions come with mockery of them and their community. Some participants felt there was a double standard in Peruvian citizens' reaction. Participants perceived Peruvian non-Nikkei are sensitive about negatively stereotyping certain minorities while tolerant of negatively stereotyping Nikkei.

Thus, results suggest that, within the Nikkei community, there is a prevailing feeling that Nikkei identity is misunderstood both by the state and by other Peruvians. These findings also contrast with the participants' self-perception regarding their Nikkei identity as a Peruvian identity. On the one hand, the findings of this study suggest that young Nikkei tend to present a high level of national identity, while, on the other hand, broader Peruvian society is perceived to conceptualize Nikkei as not connected to the national identity. According to public policies with an intercultural approach, a determining factor in the obstacle to achieving intercultural citizenship is the lack of recognition of diversity. The Nikkei artists interviewed not only indicated that they were aware that many Peruvians do not know what Nikkei ethnicity was but also mentioned facing

stereotypes that conceptualize them as homogeneous and reduce their rich culture to a few exotic traits. In this vein, these results suggest that despite generations of co-existence, there is a need to work on eradicating long-lasting stereotypes towards the Nikkei minority. This situation affects social cohesion evidenced by the participants' reporting of a low feeling of acceptance and belonging and a low feeling of recognition of their culture and lifestyle by the rest of Peruvian society.

Hypothesis 3: "Participants will feel that their Nikkei identity is not adequately recognized as part of the national diversity by the Peruvian government and society" (concerning the government) was also confirmed. Participants expressed not feeling adequately recognized by the Peruvian state concerning cultural policies. They do not consider that stereotypes against them are adequately mitigated, nor do they consider that there is interest in creating awareness towards the Nikkei minority. Therefore, it can be inferred that participants do not perceive that the Nikkei minority is included in the government's projects for diversity enhancement. In this case, the data emerged from survey questions that sought the participants' opinion on the state's interest in bringing visibility to the Nikkei ethnic minority. Similarly, this data was complemented by interview questions that probed more deeply into aspects such as how the state incorporated the Nikkei ethnic minority into its cultural policies. The data suggests that participants do not perceive much interest from the state in the challenges the Nikkei ethnic minority faces.

In general, participants perceived little interest on the part of the state in minority communities. For example, regarding fighting stereotypes in Peruvian society, 29 participants thought that the government's responses to stereotypes about minorities disseminated through television programs (mostly limited to reminders that it is forbidden to discriminate against people on the basis of their physical appearance or ethnicity) was "ineffective" or "completely ineffective."

In the specific case of the Nikkei minority, 32 participants considered that it was necessary for the state to more forcefully punish racist expressions in media that question the Peruvian nationality of the Nikkei. Likewise, in integrating minorities into the national identity, 23 believed that there is little or no interest on the part of the state in working with art to make cultural minorities visible as integral components of the Peruvian identity.

Along with these findings, it is important to note that, during the interviews, there were some ambivalent responses regarding the need for the Nikkei minority to be more robustly included in the states' project for promoting diversity. Although most artists expressed that everyone should participate in the states' project to promote diversity, they also believed that vulnerable groups are the ones that should receive most of the state's support. Many voiced that the Nikkei minority already had institutions that could be responsible for generating greater and necessary visibility. Nevertheless, another group of participants recognized that the Nikkei minority should also receive attention from the state, because 1) the state's attention to the Nikkei minority meant the validation of it as a national identity and 2) recognizing Nikkei as a minority group does not mean that vulnerable minorities would or should be neglected. These findings could be interpreted as some Nikkei lacking critical awareness of the impact of the government's official recognition in the social participation of minorities. This could partially explain the absence of even more demonstrations of the need to incorporate the Nikkei ethnic minority in the state projects for diversity enhancement by young Nikkei.

As for the **sub-question 3**, *What kind of potential does art have to express dynamic ethnic minority identities?* The fourth hypothesis which stated, "art will be considered a communicational tool to spread diverse and more complex images of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the Peruvian society" was supported by the data. In addition, this study explored participants' perceptions of art

concerning political participation, and collective identity building, and the possibilities that art offers for group identity strengthening.

Although all artists reported they did not follow a political agenda in their art, most admitted having the intention of making some topics visible for the audience to discuss or reflect on them, such as the inner diversity of the Nikkei identity and the Nikkei ethnic minority as a component of the Peruvian diverse identity (Chapter VI). Through interview questions asking about the accuracy of art in expressing participants' ideas about the Nikkei identity, it emerged that most participants highlighted the benefits of art when addressing controversial topics. In the specific context of the Nikkei community, artists identified in art a useful mean to share alternative narratives about the Nikkei community in a more freely way. Young Nikkei artists have found a platform in art to discuss aspects of Nikkei identity from a broad perspective. Artists believe this should increasingly include a greater plurality of voices, be they from other cities besides Lima, from different generations, or different sexual orientations. In addition, art was conceptualized not just as a one-way communication where the artist provides information to a passive audience but as a tool to propose topics of conversation and generate dialogue, and a way to connect with other minorities' experiences.

The survey also provided interesting information regarding the relationship between art production and national identity building, mainly through Section C: Cultural Producers (see Appendix B). In a context where the Nikkei ethnic minority keeps facing long-lasting stereotypes and misunderstandings, participants identified in "Nikkei Art" the responsibility of addressing concerns related to the Nikkei minority. For them, an important role of the "Nikkei Art" in Peruvian society is to contribute to mitigating the challenges of the Nikkei ethnic minority regarding stereotypes and misconceptions in some way. This perception of responsibility identified

in the survey is reinforced by most participants admitting a commitment to their ethnic community implied in the “Nikkei Artist” label. In addition, participants expressed the belief that their artistic work had the potential to have a positive impact on society.

As cultural producers, researching, creating, and reflecting on expressions of Nikkei identity through art and collaborating with other Nikkei member, and the perception of a positive reception of their work by the audience seem to have reinforced participants’ group identity. Several artists mentioned having been able to identify themselves as Nikkei after their experience in the YNAH project. Another indicator of participants’ group identity strengthening through their participation in the YNAH project is the willingness to continue addressing Nikkei minority issues through their artwork after the YNAH project experience. These findings are consistent with the survey results where an increase in the number of participants who occasionally reflected in their Nikkei identity was registered. Thus, according to the data in this study, artistic activities with the characteristics of a YNAH project appear to be an interesting strategy to work with art to reinforce the importance of group identity in society.

Facing the lack of recognition by their non-Nikkei fellow citizens, the participants identified in producing the so-called “Nikkei art” the opportunity to pursue a new narrative regarding the Nikkei identity. These new narratives consist of recognizing the diverse ways to live the Nikkei identity as valid expressions of the Nikkei experience and a wider interpretation of the history of the Nikkei community that includes overlooked stories that young Nikkei can relate more with.

Returning to the main research question, *as cultural producers, how do young Nikkei artists (re)interpret the position of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity?* a summarized conclusion is going to be presented. The (re)interpretation of the position

of the Nikkei ethnic minority within the diversity-based Peruvian national identity occurs in a context of contrast between the participants' self-perception of Nikkei identity as closely connected to their Peruvian identity and their perception of being ignored as part of the national identity by the broader Peruvian society and the Peruvian government. In a context in which participants perceived a lack of knowledge on the part of the broader Peruvian society about the Nikkei ethnic minority, they expressed their knowledge and appreciation of national diversity and commented on the relational ties that linked them to other national minorities. Likewise, in a context in which participants perceived a weak inclusion of the Nikkei minority in the diversity discussion by the Peruvian government, they identified in "Nikkei Art" a tool to include themselves in the diversity discussion and in "Nikkei Artists" the social role of opening starting a dialogue about it.

7.2. Research Implications and Contribution

This study proposed new perspectives for rethinking diversity, inclusion, and social participation in approaching diversity management in Peru's highly culturally diverse society. The Nikkei minority case study was used to interrogate the process of inclusion of ethnic minorities in the diversity enhancement project by the Peruvian state.

First, the self-perception of the participants of this study as a minority and the perception of other societal stakeholders' conceptualization of the Nikkei minority were explored. The evidence from this study suggested that Nikkei artists have a strong sense of national identity and belongingness; however, this unfortunately meets with a contrasting perception of a low acceptance and a lack of recognition by non-Nikkei citizens. First, this shows that the Nikkei community keeps growing closer to its Peruvian identity (Takenaka, 1999) through its younger generations. Second, these findings indicated that, despite the long-lasting presence and cultural

contribution, the Nikkei minority faces the same long-lasting challenges, that question their position within the Peruvian nationality and identity (Fukumoto, 1994; Morimoto, Takenaka, 2004; Moromisato, 2019; Melgar, 2020). The fact that this situation has continued over time suggests a neglectance in Peru's cultural policies for diversity, such as the promotion of intergroup contact. These findings are consistent with participants' perception of low interest on the part of the Peruvian state in bringing visibility to the Nikkei minority, which suggested a limited understanding of the implications of cultural policies and policies for diversity enhancement by the Peruvian state.

The data in this study indicates how the governmental conceptualization of Nikkei identity and the current application of the intercultural approach (restricted to indicators of economic participation and fundamental rights access) overlook the challenges faced by minorities that do not fall under the "vulnerable" classification, like the Nikkei. Being restricted to that paradigm prevents the government from understanding cultural diversity beyond the minorities' need for economic participation and access to fundamental rights (i.e., sense of belonging to the national society or social relationship-building capacity).

Acknowledging this will allow the state to re-evaluate its approach to diversity enhancement policies. Also, it is an opportunity for the state to widen its understanding of how the Nikkei minority wishes to participate in society. These findings add to a growing literature on Nikkei minority integration in the Peruvian context.

For the participants who engaged in this study, part of recognizing themselves as Peruvians was embracing the cultural diversity around them. In that sense, participants' openness to diversity and their diversity-based-Nikkei identity conceptualization suggest young Nikkei as potential

central actors for a positive intergroup relationship building which is proposed as a critical condition for achieving social cohesion by the intercultural approach.

Meanwhile, results on participants' conceptualization of art as a tool for creating alternative narratives in a context in which Nikkei minority is perceived as overlooked by the broader Peruvian society, supported the idea that art is an attractive tool for overlooked minorities to find a way into the narrative of the nation (Machida, 2015) or to fight misconceptions about them (Ghani & Fiske, 2020). These findings suggest art is an important alternative for improving social relations among citizens, generating greater cohesion within and among minority groups, as well as to strengthen the groups' identity.

Lastly, this research provides a theoretical contribution in relation to the importance of art in the construction of collective narratives. Art, by impacting the formation of collective narratives, has a potential influence on how a person self-perceives as a citizen or member of a group. Next, some recommendations along these lines will be presented.

7.3. Recommendations

This case study calls to question the employment of sufficient methodological mechanisms on the part of the Peruvian state to understand the experiences and challenges of minority groups. Diversity challenges tend to be primarily analyzed through the indicators of economic participation and the exercise of fundamental rights for either vulnerable or non-vulnerable ethnic groups. Unless the Peruvian government adopts a broader perspective on diversity and inclusion, the challenges different minorities face in their incorporation into the Peruvian national identity and their participation in society will be overlooked in the discussion of cultural policies. After thoroughly addressing the Peruvian diversity complexity, the government should revise its adaptation of the intercultural approach to the Peruvian context. In this way, the government will

develop a more exhaustive comprehension of all the different minority communities' experiences as part of the diversity of the country, which is necessary to work on policies for diversity enhancement, inclusion, and social cohesion.

Based on the importance of the relational aspect in the intercultural approach for diversity enhancing and achieving social cohesion overlooked by the government, it is necessary that the government collects data about intergroups' dynamics. For example, national censuses could aim to investigate intergroup relations and the level of sense of belonging of various ethnic groups. As a preliminary step, it would be necessary to obtain information from the Nikkei community about their expectations of participation, and their challenges as a minority in Peruvian society. Therefore, it is required that representatives of the Nikkei community be included in the process of designing, socialization and implementation of cultural policies related to the promotion of diversity in Peru.

Simultaneously, the government must also incorporate adequate indicators to address the relational dynamics among different minority groups. It is suggested to employ indicators from frameworks that measure social cohesion in highly diverse areas since they focus on the relational aspect. In this study, "*The Provisional Measurement Framework of Africa*" from *The Social Cohesion Measurement Framework* by Lefko-Everett (2016) was chosen due to its clarity and the extensive list of subjective indicators that it offered to measure aspects such as identity, sense of belonging and social relationships.

It will allow policymakers to create projects to reinforce the existing connections among ethnic groups. Several participants in this study showed the ability to relate positively to other minority communities. They were amazed, curious, and interested in the cultural products of other minority groups and chose to explore them respectfully through their artwork. Here, relationships and emotional ties of identification with other cultures were identified by the participants, which

reiterates to the importance of reinforcing these connections for the social cohesion proposed by an authentic intercultural approach. This data would also allow policy makers to pursue positive connections among different ethnic groups (where there is none or where there is friction) more effectively. For example, in the National Culture Policy until 2030, one of the priority objectives (OP1) is “to strengthen the appreciation of cultural diversity” with the expectation that the “population will value cultural diversity as part of its civic identity” (Ministry of Culture of Peru, 2020, p. 120). However, the guidelines to achieve this objective do not emphasize on intergroup relationships (Ministry of Culture of Peru, 2020). It is worrisome since this is the most important factor that directly promotes cultural diversity among the population.

From the participants’ experiences as artists, it was found that art is considered a convenient tool to generate dialogue and challenge stereotypical perspectives. However, what was most remarkable about the artistic activity was that the workshop format allowed participants to reflect and dialogue around topics such as their own identity as Nikkei. Such experiences, in many cases, reinforced their group identity and encouraged them to continue exploring and complexifying the representation of the Nikkei minority through their artwork. Based on these findings, it is recommended that the state promotes projects that invite people to create cultural products by drawing into their reflections on national identity. In this way, the dialogue produced among the participants will allow them to find a common ground and become more aware of the different voices within society. This could be done through the creation of contests for funding this type of specific projects or through the creation of categories that encompass this type of projects in the contests for funding that already exist, such as the “Economic Stimulus for Culture” by the Ministry of Culture.

As for the Nikkei institutions, it is recommended to continue promoting projects like the YNAH, because they appear to help grow a cohesive Nikkei community that can be more clearly incorporated into government projects. The next recommended step would be to collect data from the participants that deepen their expectations about the participation of the Nikkei community in projects for the diversity enhancement of the Peruvian state. Finally, it would be recommended that the youth organizations of the Nikkei institutions promote artistic activities such as the YNAH project within their organizations.

7.4. Limitations and Future Research

The findings in this report are subject to at least four limitations. First, the data was collected from participants and former participants of the YNAH project, mainly from capital city of Lima, Peru. It represents a limitation because, although the most significant percentage of the Nikkei community resides in Lima, it would be beneficial to have more varied participants from other cities in Peru to understand better the current changes in how Nikkei identity is conceptualized in Peru.

Second, an arguable weakness is arbitrariness in this study's definition of "young Nikkei". According to the Nippon Foundation, the definition of young Nikkei considers people between 15 and 35 years old. However, considering the valid variations of youth definition by UN entities, instruments, and regional organizations (15 to 24 years old, and 15 to 32 years old) based on specific characteristics of each context (UNDESA, n.d.), this study follows the criteria of the Young Nikkei Art Hall project, whose average age for its participants is 29 years old but also includes artists in their 30s and two exceptional cases of artists in their 40s.

Third, due to the author's language limitations, none of the consulted sources were in Japanese. The reviewed literature was formed just by studies in Spanish and English. Therefore,

this study might have overlooked a rich research corpus in Japanese on analyzing communities of Japanese descent in Peru.

Fourth, despite having more female participants, this study does not disaggregate data based on gender nor analyzes the processed data using a gender approach. For example, in this research, it was addressed that some artists wanted to widen the narrative of the Nikkei community by spreading their female ancestors' stories of sacrifice and contribution to the growth of the Peruvian Nikkei community. Likewise, most artists who continue exploring their Nikkei identity after the Young Nikkei Art Hall project experience are women.

Further research is needed to account for the particularities of the female experience regarding the misconceptions and stereotypes the Nikkei community endures. Also, considering the experience of the Nikkei community analyzed in this research, it would be interesting to assess the experiences of other minorities of immigrant descent, especially the Tusán (Chinese descendant) community, since it is one of the minorities that, same as happened with the Nikkei community, achieved statistical visibility since the last national census results in 2017. This minority also shares similar experiences with the Nikkei community regarding racialization and continuous questioning of their national belonging by the broader Peruvian society. It was also one of the minority groups that, despite being addressed as part of the national Peruvian diversity in the National Policy of Culture Until 2030 (PNC), was not incorporated in the policy creation process. Meanwhile, further analysis of the intercultural policies in Peru is needed to corroborate the accuracy of its theoretical and methodological framework to address the complexity of Peruvian diversity.

Lastly, examining diversity within the Nikkei community, the interview participants discussed the gender dimension in relation to their ethnicity. Interesting perspectives emerged,

such as Artist 1 perception of a conflicted interaction between their Nikkei identity and their identity as a non-binary person, “[acknowledging their identification with the LGBTQI+ community] automatically makes you not want to identify as Nikkei or you identify as Nikkei but cannot be LGBTQI+” (Artist 1). This characteristic has not been examined profoundly here since it is out of this study’s scope. However, it is interesting for further research, as the survey results showed three artists who openly identified as non-binary people, offering variables of the diverse composition of the new generations of the Nikkei community and a more complex conceptualization of the Nikkei identity. Future research analyzing the intersections among non-normative gender identities, the Nikkei ethnic identity, and Peruvian identity are needed. These kinds of research findings would contribute to a better understanding of the Nikkei minority and, in general, would give some insights into the complexity and particularities of minority identities in Peru. This is essential for thinking about strategies for integrating and promoting intergroup relationships.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Japanese Immigration Timeline

Appendix A.1. Timeline 19th Century – 1920's

1873	1899	1917	1921	1923	1924
Peru and Japan sign a Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Navigation treaty (Peruvian-Japanese Association, 2020).	Japanese (contractual) migration to Peru begins with the arrival of 790 Japanese on the Sakura Maru (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The Japanese Central Society is founded (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020). The Anti-Asian League of Lima was created (Melgar, 2020).	The first Japanese legation in Peru is established (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Contractual migration ends (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Free migration by relatives' and acquaintances' invitation begins (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020). Peruvian government forbid Japanese to entered Peru through companies (Melgar, 2020).

Appendix A.2. Timeline 1930's

1932	1934	1936	1937
Law 7505: The 80% of the Peruvian companies and businesses workers must be Peruvian	The Peruvian Government ignores the international agreements on freely migration, residence and commercial and industrial activities	The Peruvian government limited the entrance to 16,000 foreigners per nationality (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Difficulties to immigrants' children for getting the Peruvian nationality: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Immigrants could only register their babies during the first 8 days after the birth (Melgar, 2020). 2. Immigrants' underaged children who left Peru for studying or living in their

	it has with Japan (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	22,650 Japanese were living in Peru (Melgar, 2020).	parents' country for some time lost the Peruvian nationality (Melgar, 2020).
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Appendix A.3. Timeline 1940's

1940	1941	1942	1945	1947
Racial riot: Japanese businesses in Lima are looted (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	After the Pearl Harbor attack, the Peruvian government intensified its actions against the Japanese community. For example, the Japanese institutions' funds were frozen (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	<p>The Peruvian government cuts diplomatic and consular relations with Japan, Germany and Italy (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).</p> <hr/> <p>Japanese immigrants' deportations start. Around 1800 Japanese and Japanese descendants are expelled from Peru and interned in camps of concentration (Peruvian-Japanese Association, 2020).</p> <hr/> <p>The Peruvian government initiates a policy of confiscation of property from Japanese immigrants (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).</p>	The Peruvian government declares war on Japan (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The Peruvian government lifts restrictions targeting Japanese immigrants (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).

Appendix A.4. Timeline 1950's – 1960's

1952	1954	1955	1961	1964	1965
Diplomatic relations between Peru and Japan are reestablished (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The case of the Peruvian athlete Teofilo Toda: he is prevented from representing Peru.	Japanese Central Society restarts operations after being halted during the World War.	The AUNP (Nisei University Association of Peru) is created (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Some <i>Nisei</i> studying at San Marcos public university create <i>Generación 64</i> (Generation 64).	The Japanese Central Society received a 10,000 m2 land from the Peruvian Government in compensation for the expropriation of the Japanese land.

Association, 2020).	Peru in a South American tournament in Uruguay. Because of his Japanese heritage, the government refuses to grant him a passport (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	II (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Association, 2020).	64 in English) group (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	schools in Peru during World War II (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).
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Appendix A.5. Timeline 1980's – 1990's

1980	1984	1989	1989	1990
<i>Puente</i> (Spanish word for “bridge”) magazine is founded (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The Japanese Central Society changed its name to the Association Peruvian Japanese from Peru (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The rise of the <i>dekasegi</i> . Phenomenon starts (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	The Peruvian Government establishes this date as Japanese-Peruvian Friendship Day (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).	Alberto Fujimori wins the presidential elections (Peruvian Japanese Association, 2020).

Appendix B: Survey

Introduction

My name is Yuri Sakata and I am a student in the Policy Science Ph.D. Program at Ritsumeikan University in Japan. This survey is part of my data collection strategy for my thesis research about the Nikkei artists and their role as cultural producers. My target respondents are artists from the Young Nikkei Art Hall (YNAH) project. The goal of this survey is to find out how young Nikkei artists perceive their role as cultural producers of a minority identity within the context of Peruvian identity.

If you feel comfortable with me contacting you for an interview, provide your email, please: _____@_____.com. The survey should only take ___ minutes, and your responses will be completely anonymous and used only for the purposes of research. You can only take the survey once. If you have any questions about the survey, please email me: yurisakatagonzaales@gmail.com.

- I agree to be contacted later to participate in an interview and I agree to disclose the information I presented in the survey.**
- I would rather do a private interview.**
- I would agree to be part of a small 3–4-person interview.**

I really appreciate your input! **Be aware that questions with an asterix (*) are multiple choices.**

A. Demographic Questions

1. Age

- 21 – 31 32 – 45 Over 45

2. Gender identity

- Woman Man non-Binary Self-identify as _____
- Prefer not to disclose

3. In which year did you participate in the Young Nikkei Art Hall project?

- 2017
 2018
 2019
 2020
 2021
 2022

4. Have you ever lived in Japan? ____

- Never only for short vacations(s) one year or less 1 year-5 years more than 5 years.

B. Minority identity

5. Do you express your “Nikkeiness” outside the Nikkei community? * [You can choose more than 1 option]

- All the time At my workplace With my non-Nikkei friends
 At my educational center In my art Other: _____

6. How long have you identified as Nikkei?

- All my life 1 2 3 4 5 Fairly Recently

7. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a person?

7. 1. Gender

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

7. 2. Nationality

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

7. 3. Country of birth

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

7. 4. Being an artist

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

7. 5. Religion

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

7. 6. Country where you live

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

7. 7. To be Nikkei

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

7. 8. Other: _____

8. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a Nikkei?

8. 1. Gender

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

8. 2. Nationality

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

8. 3. Country of birth

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

8. 4. Being an artist

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

8. 5. Religion

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

8. 6. Country where you live

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

8. 7. Other: _____

9. On a 1 to 5 scale, how relevant are the following aspects in your self-definition as a Peruvian?

9. 1. Gender

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

9. 2. Nationality

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

9. 3. Country of birth

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

9. 4. Being an artist

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

9. 5. Religion

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

9. 6. Country where you live

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

9. 7. To be Nikkei

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

9. 8. Other: _____

10. Do you think older Nikkei and younger Nikkei have a different understanding of what is to be a Nikkei?

Very different 1 2 3 4 5 Very similar

11. To what extent do you feel included in the Nikkei community?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

12. To what extent do you agree with the following four concepts of Nikkei identity?

Nikkei identity is...

12.1. ...being part Peruvian and part Japanese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 Completely agree

12.2. ...a Peruvian identity that recognizes its Japanese heritage

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 Completely agree

12.3. ...a cultural expression that has nothing to do with physical features

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 Completely agree

12.4. ...not fully Peruvian in Peru nor fully Japanese in Japan

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 Completely agree

13. To what extent do you think your understanding about Nikkei identity has changed after participating in the Young Nikkei Art Hall project?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

C. Cultural producers

14. How often do you talk about/discuss Nikkei identity/community in your daily life?Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always**15. With whom do you usually talk about/discuss Nikkei identity/community? ***

Nobody Family Friends in general
Nikkei friends My students My classmates
Other artists Others: _____

16. Since participating in the YNAH, how much interested are you in the concept or topics related to Nikkei identity? *Not interested 1 2 3 4 5 Totally interested**17. How relevant do people consider the following aspects of your identity when they rate you as an artist?**

17. 1. Gender

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

17. 2. Nationality

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

17. 3. Country of birth

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

17. 4. Religion

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

17. 5. Country where you live

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

17. 7. To be Nikkei

Irrelevant 1 2 3 4 5 Totally relevant

17. 8. Other: _____

18. Do you self-identify as a Nikkei artist?A little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much**19. What kind of reaction do you have from others when you are identified as a Nikkei artist?**Very negative 1 2 3 4 5 Very positive**20. Does the label “Nikkei artist” imply a commitment from you to the Nikkei community in any way?**Non commitment 1 2 3 4 5 a total commitment**21. For you, Peruvian “Nikkei Art” should _____.** *

- be created by a Japanese descendent
- have some elements related to Japan or Japanese culture
- present Japanese art techniques
- have some elements related to Peru
- present references to the Japanese immigration
- address common issues that Nikkei have experienced within Peruvian society
- address Japanese immigration struggles in Peru
- present some thoughts about Nikkei identity
- address socio-political issues in Peru
- Other: _____

22. Is it important for you to present reflections about Nikkei identity in your artwork?

Not important at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very much important

23. Before your participation in the Young Nikkei Art Hall, how often did you reflect your Nikkei identity in your artwork?

Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

24. How often did you present some of your reflections about Nikkei identity in your artwork production after the Young Nikkei Art Hall project?

Never 1 2 3 4 5 Frequently

25. Which are the main topics you work in relation to Nikkei identity in your artwork?*

- Historical passages of the Japanese immigration to Peru
- Japanese immigration struggles
- Nikkei people's current struggles within the Peruvian society
- Stereotypes about Nikkei within the Peruvian society
- Stereotypes about Nikkei within the Nikkei community
- Experience of Nikkei people in Japan
- Nikkei identity as a mixture of Japanese culture and Peruvian culture
- Nikkei identity as a mixture of multiple cultures
- Changes in the way Nikkei identity is understood by different generations
- Other: _____

26. To what extent do you highlight any socio-political focus in your artwork?

Never 1 2 3 4 5 Frequently

27. How much of an impact do you feel your artwork has on the way the following groups perceive the Nikkei identity?

27.1. Non-Nikkei

None impact at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very high impact

27.2. Nikkei community

None impact at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very high impact

27.3. Young Nikkei artists

None impact at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very high impact

D. National Peruvian identity

28. To what extent do you think it is important for Nikkei people to have the opportunity to self-identify as Nikkei in a national census?

Not relevant 1 2 3 4 5 Very relevant

29. Is it important to have Nikkei representatives in the formation of national cultural policies?

Not relevant 1 2 3 4 5 Very relevant

30. What do you think about the government's response (announcements, pronouncements, sanctions) towards stereotypes about minorities spread on TV?

No substantive effect 1 2 3 4 5 very effective

31. Is it important to have Nikkei highlighting social issues, such as the presence of stereotypes towards national minorities or the neglect of some minorities by the state?

Not important at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very important

32. To what extent do you think it is necessary for the Peruvian National identity construction process to have minorities creating and sharing their own narratives about the nation?

Not important at all 1 2 3 4 5 Very important

E. Cultural Policies in Peru and the Intercultural Approach

33. Do you consider that there is an interest on the part of the state to work with art in favor of making cultural minorities visible as integral components of Peruvian identity?

No interest 1 2 3 4 5 Much interest

34. Do you consider that there is an interest on the part of the state to work with art in favor of making the Nikkei identity visible as one of the integral components of the Peruvian identity?

No interest 1 2 3 4 5 Much interest

35. How should the government help raise awareness of the Nikkei minority as an integral part of Peru's national identity? Rank from least important (1) to most important (5). You can choose to discard some of the options.

35.1. Special funding for projects on Nikkei identity

Unnecessary 1 2 3 4 5 Totally necessary

35.2. Inclusion of the history of the Nikkei community in schoolbooks

Unnecessary 1 2 3 4 5 Totally necessary

35.3. Considering the Nikkei community in activities to raise awareness of Peruvian cultural diversity alongside other minority communities

Unnecessary 1 2 3 4 5 Totally necessary

35.4. Standardizing state documents so that the “Nikkei” option always appears when there are questions about ethnic self-identification

Unnecessary 1 2 3 4 5 Totally necessary

35.5. Punishing more forcefully racist expressions that question the Peruvian nationality of Nikkei in the media

Unnecessary 1 2 3 4 5 Totally necessary

35.6. Portraying the Nikkei community in graphic ads about Peruvianness, Peruvian identity, Peruvian cultural diversity

Unnecessary 1 2 3 4 5 Totally necessary

35.7. Campaigns to raise awareness of stereotypes affecting the Nikkei community

Unnecessary 1 2 3 4 5 Totally necessary

Appendix C: Original Survey in Spanish

Introducción

Mi nombre es Yuri Sakata y soy estudiante del programa de doctorado en Ciencias Políticas de la universidad Ritsumeikan en Japón. Esta encuesta es parte de mi estrategia de recopilación de datos para mi investigación de tesis sobre los artistas nikkei y su papel como productores culturales. El grupo objetivo son los artistas del proyecto Salón de Arte Joven Nikkei (SAJN). Esta encuesta busca averiguar cómo los jóvenes artistas nikkei perciben su papel como productores culturales de una identidad minoritaria dentro del contexto de la identidad peruana.

Si se siente cómodo con que me comunique con usted para una entrevista posterior, le agradecería que proporcione su correo electrónico: _____@_____.com. La encuesta solo tomará ____

minutos. Sus respuestas serán completamente anónimas y se usarán solo con fines académicos. Solo puede realizar la encuesta una vez. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre la encuesta, puede enviarme un correo electrónico a yurisakatagonzales@gmail.com.

Acuerdo de conformidad para la realización de esta encuesta:

- Acepto ser contactado para participar en una entrevista y acepto divulgar la información que presenté en la encuesta.
- Prefiero hacer una entrevista privada.
- Acepto ser parte de una pequeña entrevista de 3-4 personas.

¡Realmente aprecio su aporte! Tenga en cuenta que las preguntas con asterisco (*) son de opción múltiple.

A. Preguntas demográficas

1. Edad

- 21 – 31 32 – 45 Más de 45

2. Identidad de género

- Mujer
- Hombre
- No binario
- Me identifico como _____
- Prefiero no decir

3. ¿En qué año participaste en el proyecto Salón de Arte Joven Nikkei?

- 2017
- 2018
- 2019
- 2020
- 2021
- 2022

4. ¿Alguna vez has vivido en Japón?

- Nunca
- Solo para vacaciones cortas
- 1 año o menos
- De 1 a 5 años
- Más de 5 años

B. Identidad minoritaria

5. ¿Expresas tu “nikkeidad” fuera de la comunidad nikkei?* [puede elegir más de 1 opción]

- Todo el tiempo En mi lugar de trabajo Con mis amigos no Nikkei
- En mi centro educativo En mi arte Otro: _____ Otro _____

6. ¿Cuánto tiempo hace que te identificas como nikkei?

Toda mi vida 1 2 3 4 5 Últimamente

7. En la escala del 1 al 5, ¿qué tan relevantes son los siguientes aspectos en tu autodefinición como persona?

7. 1. El género

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

7. 2. La nacionalidad

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

7. 3. El país de nacimiento

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

7. 4. El ser artista

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

7. 5. La religión

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

7. 6. El país en el que vives

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

7.7. El ser nikkei

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

7.8. ¿Existe otro aspecto muy relevante para tu definición como persona? Si es así, detalla, por favor: _____

8. En la escala del 1 al 5, ¿qué tan relevantes son los siguientes aspectos en tu autodefinición como nikkei?

8. 1. El género

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

8. 2. La nacionalidad

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

8. 3. El país de nacimiento

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

8. 4. El ser artista

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

8. 5. La religión

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

8. 6. El país en el que vives

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

8.7. ¿Existe otro aspecto muy relevante para tu definición como nikkei? Si es así, detalla, por favor: _____

9. En la escala del 1 al 5, ¿qué tan relevantes son los siguientes aspectos en tu autodefinición como peruano?

9. 1. El género

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

9. 2. La nacionalidad

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

9. 3. El país de nacimiento

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

9. 4. El ser artista

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

9. 5. La religión

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

9. 6. El país en el que vives

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

9.7. El ser nikkei

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

9.8. ¿Existe otro aspecto muy relevante para tu definición como peruano? Si es así, detalla, por favor: _____

10. ¿Crees que los nikkei mayores y los nikkei jóvenes tienen una comprensión diferente de lo que es ser un nikkei?

Muy diferente 1 2 3 4 5 Muy similar

11. ¿Qué tan incluido te sientes en la comunidad nikkei?

Nada incluido 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente incluido

12. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo estás con las siguientes cuatro definiciones de identidad Nikkei?

La identidad Nikkei es...

12.1. ...ser en parte peruano y en parte japonés

Completamente en desacuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente de acuerdo

12.2. ...una identidad peruana que reconoce su herencia japonesa

Completamente en desacuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente de acuerdo

12.3. ...una expresión cultural que no tiene nada que ver con las características físicas

Completamente en desacuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente de acuerdo

12.4. ...no totalmente peruano en Perú ni totalmente japonés en Japón

Completamente en desacuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente de acuerdo

13. ¿Qué tanto ha cambiado tu idea de lo nikkei después de participar en el proyecto Salón de Arte Joven Nikkei?Nada 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente**C. Producción cultural****14. ¿Con qué frecuencia hablas/discutes sobre la identidad/comunidad nikkei en tu vida diaria?**Nunca 1 2 3 4 5 Siempre**15. ¿Con quién o quiénes sueles hablar/discutir sobre la identidad/comunidad nikkei?***Nadie Familia Amigos en generalAmigos nikkei Mis alumnos Mis compañeros de claseOtros artistas Otros: _____**16. Desde que participaste en el Salón de Arte Joven Nikkei, ¿cuál es tu nivel de interés sobre el concepto o los temas relacionados con la identidad nikkei?**No interesado 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente interesado**17. ¿Qué tan relevantes consideran las personas los siguientes aspectos de tu identidad cuando te califican como artista?**

17. 1. Tu género

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

17. 2. Tu nacionalidad

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

17. 3. Tu país de nacimiento

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

17. 4. Tu religión

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

17. 5. El país en el que vives

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

17. 7. El ser nikkei

Irrelevante 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente relevante

17.8. Other: _____

18. ¿Qué tan identificado te sientes con la etiqueta “artista nikkei”?Poco identificado 1 2 3 4 5 Muy identificado**19. ¿Qué tipo de reacción presentan los demás al identificarte como artista nikkei?**Muy negativa 1 2 3 4 5 Muy positiva

20. ¿La etiqueta de “artista nikkei” implica algún compromiso de tu parte con la comunidad nikkei?Ningún compromiso 1 2 3 4 5 Total compromiso**21. Para ti, el “arte nikkei” peruano debe _____.***

- ser creado por un descendiente de japonés
- tener algunos elementos relacionados con Japón o la cultura japonesa
- presentar técnicas de arte japonés
- tener algunos elementos relacionados con el Perú
- presentar referencias a la inmigración japonesa
- abordar problemas comunes que los nikkei han experimentado dentro de la sociedad peruana
- abordar las dificultades durante el proceso de inmigración japonesa
- presentar algunas ideas/opiniones sobre la identidad nikkei
- abordar cuestiones sociopolíticas generales en Perú
- Otro: _____

22. ¿Es importante para ti presentar reflexiones sobre la identidad nikkei en tu obra de arte?Nada importante 1 2 3 4 5 Muy importante**23. Antes de tu participación en el Salón de Arte Joven Nikkei, ¿con qué frecuencia reflejabas tu identidad nikkei en tus obras de arte?**Nunca 1 2 3 4 5 Frecuentemente**24. ¿Con qué frecuencia presentas algunas de tus reflexiones sobre identidad nikkei en tu producción de arte posterior al proyecto Salón de Arte Joven Nikkei?**Nunca 1 2 3 4 5 Frecuentemente**25. ¿Cuáles son los principales temas que trabajas en relación con la identidad nikkei en tu obra?***

- Pasajes históricos de la inmigración japonesa al Perú
- Dificultades durante el proceso de inmigración japonesa
- Las luchas actuales de la comunidad nikkei dentro de la sociedad peruana
- Estereotipos sobre nikkei dentro de la sociedad peruana
- Estereotipos sobre nikkei dentro de la comunidad nikkei
- Experiencia de la comunidad nikkei en Japón
- Identidad nikkei como una mezcla de cultura japonesa y cultura peruana
- La identidad nikkei como mezcla de múltiples culturas
- Cambios en la forma en que las distintas generaciones entienden la identidad nikkei
- Otro: _____

26. ¿En qué medida destacas algún enfoque sociopolítico en tu obra?Nunca 1 2 3 4 5 Frecuentemente**27. ¿Qué impacto siente que tiene su obra de arte en la forma en que los siguientes grupos perciben la identidad nikkei?**

27.1. No nikkei

Ningún impacto 1 2 3 4 5 Impacto muy alto

27.2. Comunidad nikkei

Ningún impacto 1 2 3 4 5 Impacto muy alto

27.3. Jóvenes artistas nikkei

Ningún impacto 1 2 3 4 5 Impacto muy alto**D. Identidad Nacional Peruana****28. ¿En qué medida crees que es importante que los nikkei tengan la oportunidad de identificarse a sí mismos como nikkei en un censo nacional?**No relevante 1 2 3 4 5 Muy relevante**29. ¿Es importante tener representantes nikkei en la formación de políticas culturales nacionales?**No relevante 1 2 3 4 5 Muy relevante**30. ¿Qué opinas de la respuesta del gobierno (comunicados, pronunciamientos, sanciones) a los estereotipos sobre las minorías difundidos en la televisión?**Sin efecto sustantivo 1 2 3 4 5 Muy efectivo**31. ¿Es importante tener nikkeis destacando problemas sociales, como la presencia de estereotipos en relación a minorías nacionales o la invisibilización de algunas de estas por parte del Estado?**Nada importante 1 2 3 4 5 Muy importante**32. ¿En qué medida crees que es necesario para el proceso de construcción de la identidad nacional peruana que las minorías creen y compartan sus propias narrativas sobre la nación?**Nada importante 1 2 3 4 5 Muy importante**E. Políticas culturales en el Perú y el enfoque intercultural****33. ¿Considera que existe interés de parte del Estado por trabajar con el arte en pro de visibilizar las minorías culturales como componentes integrales de la identidad peruana?**Ningún interés 1 2 3 4 5 Mucho interés

34. ¿Considera que existe interés de parte del Estado por trabajar con el arte en pro de visibilizar a la identidad nikkei como uno de los componentes integrales de la identidad peruana?

Ningún interés 1 2 3 4 5 Mucho interés

35. ¿De qué manera debería el gobierno ayudar a crear conciencia sobre la minoría nikkei como parte integral de la identidad nacional peruana? Califica qué tan necesarias son estas medidas.

35.1. Financiamientos especiales para proyectos sobre identidad nikkei

Innecesario 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente necesario

35.2. Inclusión de la historia de la comunidad nikkei en libros escolares

Innecesario 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente necesario

35.3. Campañas para crear sensibilidad sobre los estereotipos que afectan a la comunidad nikkei

Innecesario 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente necesario

35.4. Uniformizar documentos del Estado para que siempre aparezca la opción “nikkei” cuando hayan preguntas sobre autoidentificación étnica

Innecesario 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente necesario

35.5. Castigar de modo más contundente las expresiones racistas que cuestionan la nacionalidad peruana de los nikkei en los medios de comunicación

Innecesario 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente necesario

35.6. Retratar a la comunidad nikkei en los anuncios gráficos sobre peruanidad, identidad peruana, diversidad cultural peruana

Innecesario 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente necesario

35.7. Campañas para crear sensibilidad sobre los estereotipos que afectan a la comunidad nikkei

Innecesario 1 2 3 4 5 Totalmente necesario

Appendix D: Focus Group/Interviews Questionnaire

1. Do you consider that it is part of your role as an artist to highlight any socio-political focus on your artwork? Why?
2. ...And, in relation to the Nikkei community and broader Peruvian society, is there any socio-political aspect that needs to be highlighted? in art in your art? Which one?
3. Do you highlight any of those socio-political issues in your artwork? Could you briefly describe your artistic proposal regarding that matter?

4. Are you aware of the publication of *National Policies of Culture until 2030* by the Ministry of Culture of Peru in 2020? One of the *National Policies of Culture until 2030*'s aims is to collaborate with creating the conditions for all cultural groups to express their cultural uniqueness in a respectful and safe environment. One of the actions to be implemented in this matter is to "generate strategies for strengthening the cultural identity of citizens, with an emphasis on indigenous or native peoples and Afro-Peruvian", which are considered vulnerable groups. Do you think that it is important to focus on these communities for the said matter?
5. As one of the Peruvian national identities, does the Nikkei community have its unique cultural requirements? Can you give me some examples of those requirements? Is it important that the state recognizes those requirements? Why?
6. During the creation of the cultural plan, no Nikkei representative nor Nikkei organization were consulted. Do you think that it is necessary to have their opinion?
7. What do you think about naming the Nikkei community as an "immigrant's descendants group" (MINCUL 2020, p. 184)?
8. Do you have any artistic collaboration with people from other minority communities? What's the motivation for that?
9. When you were creating your art piece for the YNAH project, what types of audience were you thinking of mainly?

<input type="checkbox"/> Other young Nikkei	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Nikkei artists	<input type="checkbox"/> Government/state
<input type="checkbox"/> Non-Nikkei Peruvian society	<input type="checkbox"/> Older Nikkei	<input type="checkbox"/> Nikkei community in general
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
10. In order to achieve harmonious coexistence and assure the access to cultural rights in a context of cultural diversity, the Peruvian state establishes, through the aforementioned cultural policy document, the need to promote intercultural citizenship. Do you consider that not having the input of different voices from the Nikkei community can somehow impact on the results of that project? If so, in what way?

INTERCULTURALITY: "Process of exchange, dialogue and learning that seeks to generate equitable relationships between various ethnic-cultural groups that share a space; based on the recognition and positive assessment of their cultural differences" (MINCUL, 2020, p. 135).
11. [Additional] Are you aware of the audience reaction regarding your art piece for the YNAH exhibition?

Appendix E: Original Focus Group/Interviews Questionnaire in Spanish

1. ¿Consideras que es parte de tu **rol como artista** resaltar algún enfoque sociopolítico en tu obra? ¿por qué?
2. ...Y, en relación a la comunidad Nikkei y la sociedad peruana en general, ¿hay algún aspecto sociopolítico que deba ser resaltado? en el arte en tu arte? ¿Cuál?
3. ¿Resaltas alguno de esos temas sociopolíticos en tu obra de arte? ¿Podrías describir brevemente tu propuesta artística al respecto?

4. ¿Tiene conocimiento de la publicación de las Políticas Culturales Nacionales hasta el 2030 por parte del Ministerio de Cultura del Perú en el 2020? Uno de los objetivos de las Políticas Culturales Nacionales hasta el 2030 es colaborar con la creación de las condiciones para que todos los grupos culturales expresen su singularidad cultural en un ambiente respetuoso y seguro. Una de las acciones a implementar en esta materia es “generar estrategias para el fortalecimiento de la identidad cultural de los ciudadanos, con énfasis en los pueblos indígenas u originarios y afroperuanos”, que son considerados grupos vulnerables. ¿Crees que es importante enfocarse en estas comunidades para el tema mencionado?
5. Como una de las identidades nacionales peruanas, ¿tiene la comunidad Nikkei sus requisitos culturales únicos? ¿Me puede dar algunos ejemplos de esos requisitos? ¿Es importante que el Estado reconozca esos requisitos? ¿por qué?
6. Durante la creación del plan cultural, no se consultó a ningún representante ni organización Nikkei. ¿Crees que es necesario tener su opinión?
7. ¿Qué opina de nombrar a la comunidad nikkei como “grupo de descendientes de inmigrantes” (Ministerio de Cultura del Perú, 2020, p. 184)?
8. ¿Tienes alguna colaboración artística con personas de otras comunidades minoritarias? ¿Cuál es la motivación para eso?
9. Cuando estabas creando tu obra de arte para el proyecto YNAH, ¿en qué tipos de audiencia estabas pensando principalmente?
 - Otros jóvenes nikkei
 - Otros artistas nikkei
 - Gobierno/estado
 - Sociedad peruana no nikkei
 - Nikkei mayor
 - Comunidad nikkei en general
 - Otro: _____
10. Para lograr la convivencia armónica y garantizar el acceso a los derechos culturales en un contexto de diversidad cultural, el Estado peruano establece, a través del documento de política cultural antes mencionado, la necesidad de promover la ciudadanía intercultural. ¿Considera que no contar con el aporte de diferentes voces de la comunidad Nikkei puede impactar de alguna manera en los resultados de ese proyecto? Si es así, ¿de qué manera? Interculturalidad: “Proceso de intercambio, diálogo y aprendizaje que busca generar relaciones equitativas entre diversos grupos étnico-culturales que comparten un espacio; a partir del reconocimiento y valoración positiva de sus diferencias culturales” (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020, p. 135).
11. [Additional] Sabes de alguna reacción del público respecto de la pieza artística que presentaste para la exhibición de Salón de Arte Joven Nikkei?

Appendix F: Additional Tables

Table 17. Description of the artists from the Young Nikkei Art Hall Project. *

Year of participation in the project	Artist	Place of Birth	Specialized Artistic Training

2017: Poetics of transition. Visual reflections on the Nikkei identity	NAKASATO TAGAMI, Andrea	Lima, Peru	Graphic Designer by Instituto Peruano de Publicidad [Peruvian Advertising Institute]
2017	VARGAS HOSHI, Celeste	Lima, Peru	Engraver by Católica University of Peru
2017	NISHIYAMA CHAVEZ, Daryl	Hiroshima, Japan	Fashion designer by Centro de Altos Estudios de la Moda [the Center of High Fashion Studies] in Peru
2017	GIRAO KOSAKA, Diego	Lima, Peru	Engraver by Católica University of Peru
2017	LAU TOYOSATO, Diego	Lima, Peru	Industrial designer by Católica University of Peru
2017	SHIMOKAWA NAKAMOTO, Jordi	Lima, Peru	Photographer by Instituto Centro de la Imagen [Image Center Institute] in Peru
2017	HIGA GUIBO, Kei	Lima, Peru	Painter by Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes del Peru [National Professional Autonomous School of Fine Arts of Peru]
2017	SHIMABUKU LAW, Kioshi	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer [unknown educational institution]
2017	TOMINAGA TERUKINA, Marco	Lima, Peru	Sculptor by Católica University of Peru
2017	KOBAYASHI WATANABE, Sachiko	Lima, Peru	Painter by Católica University of Peru
2018: Identity, Art, and Technology	TOMOTAKI LAYZA, Meche	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Toulouse Lautrec Institute in Peru

2018	KOBAYASHI SEKI, Nori	Huaral (Lima), Peru	Graphic designer by Católica University of Peru
2018	TOKASHIKI KUNIGAMI, Daniela	Lima, Peru	Industrial designer by Católica University of Peru with studies in Japanese traditional ceramics in Okinawa
2018	SALAZAR NAKAMA, Kiyoshi	Kanagawa, Japan	Graphic designer by San Ignacio de Loyola Institute with a specialization in Art direction in Underground, Argentina
2018	AGUILAR AIDA, Magno	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by San Ignacio de Loyola University
2018	TERUYA TAIRA, Diego	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer and Photographer [unknown educational institution]
2018	SALAZAR DIAS, Ivet	Lima, Peru	Painter by Católica University of Peru with studies in Le Mans School of Fine Arts in France
2018	TOKUDA QUIROZ, Tamie	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Católica University of Peru
2018	TERUYA FUKUSHIMA, Yumi	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Instituto Centro de la Imagen [Image Center Institute] in Peru
2018	MAKISHI NAKO, Tomás	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by San Ignacio de Loyola Institute
2018	GAGO ENDO, Natalie	Lima, Peru	Engraver by Católica University of Peru
2018	ARAKAKI HAYAYUMI, Sofia	Lima, Peru	Art designer and Graphic designer by San Ignacio de Loyola University

2019: Immigration, Transnationality and Mixture	ISHIKAWA BARRENECHEA, Ike	Lima, Peru	Photographer by Instituto Centro de la Imagen [Image Center Institute] in Peru with postgraduate studies in Contemporary photography in Lima
2019	TAKAGI BALTAZAR, Tomiko	Huancayo, Peru	Photographer by Instituto Centro de la Imagen [Image Center Institute] in Peru with additional studies at the University of Lima
2019	KUROKI SIMEON, Hugo	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Católica University of Peru
2019	MIYAGUSUKU NAKAMOTO, Adriana	Osaka, Japan	Sculptor by Católica University of Peru
2019	CHINEN AOKI, Akira	Lima, Peru	Plastic artist with a Painting specialization Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes del Peru [National Professional Autonomous School of Fine Arts of Peru] and bachelor's in arts by San Marcos Public University in Peru
2019	CARO WATANABE, Carlos	Lima, Peru	Art studies at Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes del Peru [National Professional Autonomous School of Fine Arts of Peru]
2019	LOPEZ HIGA, Harumi	Lima, Peru	Audiovisual Communicator by Católica University of Peru

2020: Alterities and Geographies of the <i>Nikkeity</i> . Other Stories of the Community	VILLANUEVA IMAFUKU, Ana-Sofía	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Católica University of Peru
2020	OKUMA OSHIRO, Diana	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Toulouse Lautrec Institute in Peru
2020	AKAMINE MATEO, Gian-Bacilio	Lima, Peru	Bachelors in visual and Plastic Arts by Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes del Peru [National Professional Autonomous School of Fine Arts of Peru]
2020	ASATO CAMACHO, José-Eihan	Lurin (Lima), Peru	Sculptor by Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes del Peru [National Professional Autonomous School of Fine Arts of Peru]
2020	MAESAKA TAKAHESU, José-Miguel	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Católica University of Peru
2020	SATO CHINEN, Kenichi	Lima, Peru	Fashion designer by Mod'art Institute in Peru with additional studies in Pekin and Barcelona
2020	MAESHIRO WATANABE, Tach	Lima, Peru	Advertising graphic designer by the Peruvian Institute of Art and Design
2020	CHION FUJISHIMA, Tammy	Lima, Peru	Sculptor by Católica University of Peru with an specialization in Education

2020	TOKUMINE PALOMINO, Tetsu	Ica, Peru	Industrial designer by Católica University of Peru
2020	SAKATA GONZÁLES, Víctor	Lima, Peru	Industrial designer by Católica University of Peru
2021: Representations and Imaginaries of Nikkei Peruvianess	WAKU CAMPOS, Edson-Satoshi	Trujillo, Peru	None Systems Engineer by Antenor Orrego Private University in Peru
2021	BARRA ONO, Gabriela	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Católica University of Peru and photographer by SENAC University in Brazil
2021	SHIBAYAMA ASPAJO, Giancarlo	Lima, Peru	Moviemaker by the University of Lima
2021	SUENAGA GARCÍA, Harumi	Cusco, Peru	Painter by Diego Quispe Tito Public University in Peru
2021	CHÁVEZ TAIRA, Karen	Lima, Peru	Animator and moviemaker by the School of the Art Institute of Chicago
2021	MOTOHASI HERRERA, Ken	Cusco, Peru	Photographer by the Peruvian Institute of Art and Design
2021	HAYASHIDA TODO, Kiara	Lima, Peru	None. Studies in Communication
2021	TERBULLINO TAMASHIRO, Kilku-Seiei	Lima, Peru	Plastic Artist by Católica University of Peru and Illustrator by SISE Institute in Peru
2021	KIVAKI SILVA, Renán	Lima, Peru	Visual Artist by Católica University of Peru and postgraduate studies in Art History and Curation
2021	KUSEL REINOSO, Sabine	Lima, Peru	Plastic Artist by Corriente Alternativa School of Arts

			and Design in Peru with studies in Art and Illustration, Pottery, and Contemporary Jewelry
2021	EGUCHE BIANCHETTI, Valeria	Lima, Peru	Social and Audiovisual Communicator by Católica University of Peru
2022	OGUSUKU HIGA, Narumi	Gunma, Japan	Audiovisual Communicator by Católica University of Peru
2022	WONG SATO, Akira	Lima, Peru	Unknown. Forest engineer by Agrarian Public University La Molina
2022	LADINES IJIRI, Carlos	Lima, Peru	Bachelor in Arts by Católica University of Peru
2022	VILLANUEVA IMAFUKU, Marco	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Toulouse Lautrec Institute in Peru with photography studies in Instituto Centro de la Imagen [Image Center Institute] in Peru
2022	HANDA SALAS, Masaru	Cusco, Peru	Sculptor by Diego Quispe Tito Public University in Peru
2022	MATAYOSHI AGUSTÍ, Paola	Lima, Peru	Unknown. Forest engineer by Agrarian Public University La Molina
2022	NAKASONE ARAKAKI, Sofia	Kanagawa, Japan	Visual Artist by Corriente Alterna School of Arts, and Architect and Urban Planner by Católica University of Peru
2022	TERUKINA NAKATAHARA, Wendy	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Toulouse Lautrec Institute in Peru

2022	KOHATSU SALGUERO, Valeria	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Católica University of Peru
2022	YAGUI KAQUI, Akemi	Lima, Peru	Industrial designer by Católica University of Peru
2022	GAJA HIGA, Masaki	Lima, Peru	Graphic designer by Toulouse Lautrec Institute in Peru

*Made by the author employing the information in the Young Nikkei Art Hall exhibition catalogs and from web pages.

Table 18. Interviewees' age at the time of their participation in the YNAH project

Artist Code	Age at the time of their participation in the YNAH project
Artist 1	23
Artist 2	28
Artist 3	28
Artist 4	29
Artist 5	37
Artist 6	24
Artist 7	37
Artist 8	25
Artist 9	27
Artist 10	26
Artist 11	26
Artist 12	27
Artist 13	23
Artist 14	33
Artist 15	38
Artist 16	37
Artist 17	26

Appendix G: Additional Figures



Figure 20. #IamNikkei. On October 22nd, answer this way.
<https://www.facebook.com/soynikkei.pe/reviews/>

Pronunciamento de un grupo de jóvenes nikkei a la colectividad peruano japonesa

Como grupo independiente y diverso de jóvenes nikkei que se identifican con el Perú, queremos comunicar los siguiente:

En principio, lamentamos la represión desmedida por parte de las fuerzas del orden ante las manifestaciones pacíficas que resultaron en la pérdida de dos vidas humanas, más de una centena de heridos y aun personas desaparecidas. Extendemos nuestras condolencias y solidaridad a las familias y a las personas afectadas.

Segundo, rechazamos categóricamente la indiferencia de varias instituciones nikkei ante la crisis por la que está pasando nuestro país. Asimismo, lamentamos el accionar de una institución que, en lugar de demostrar respeto y empatía ante la coyuntura nacional, eligió continuar con sus actividades de celebración con normalidad a través de sus plataformas virtuales.

Por último, invitamos a las diferentes instituciones y asociaciones peruano japonesas a pronunciarse sobre los eventos que han ocurrido en los últimos días. Como miembros jóvenes de la colectividad, estamos agradecidos por la formación en valores que hemos recibido desde las instituciones, porque nos ha permitido crecer tanto a nivel personal como profesional. Por ese mismo motivo, en medio de la crisis que afronta nuestro país, creemos fundamental que desde las mismas instituciones se refleje en la práctica los valores de nuestros ancestros, aquellos de los que tanto nos enorgullecemos.

Atentamente,
 Un grupo de jóvenes nikkei.

Figure 21. Vargas Hoshi, C. [Celeste dibuja]. (2020, 16 November). *Statement from a Group of Young Nikkei to the Peruvian Japanese Community* [Facebook publication].
 Facebook.<https://www.facebook.com/celeste.dibuja/photos/a.198465757420562/7458187893519>