

People Who Move among Cultures and Languages Japanese Descendants in the U.S. from Peru

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, the writer will review the trajectory of the Japanese who immigrated to Peru during the first half of the 20th century and ended up in the United States during World War II. This hidden history has been told less often; however, they experienced three cultures and languages at that time and have overcome many issues in different countries. Their life trajectory can give the readers a hint to think about people who move and try to settle in a new environment. This paper aims to describe how their trajectory can be illustrated as a transnational movement and try to apply the transnationalism theory to the routes they experienced. In most cases, they moved around in families, and their children experienced a different educational environment at schools. This is because of the educational policy of each country. In some cases, adapting to a new environment was challenging, especially when the language and culture differed. Transnationalism has been focused on people's adaptation to the new land and how they made transnational bonds with their "motherland," but not that much on how they transmitted their experiences to the next generation. In this paper, the readers will see how the next generation inherited Japanese descendants' cultural identity and how their experiences are unique but can be generalized in nowadays transnational movements.

KEYWORDS: transnationalism, root and routes, Nikkei, cultural identity

Introduction

This paper aims to describe how the trajectory of Japanese descendants can be illustrated as transnational people and try to apply the transnationalism theory to the routes they experienced. To achieve the goal of this study, the route followed by the Japanese and their descendants who moved from Peru to the United States during World War II will be clarified through limited previous research.

In recent years, the education of children who moved transnationally due to globalization has been studied in diverse fields such as intercultural and multicultural education. In education, it is necessary to find solutions to the problems faced by migrants and the host society, particularly in the case of children unable to adapt to the host society due to the conflicts and embarrassments of identity caused by different languages, cultures, and customs at home, school, and in the community. In this study, after figuring out the transformation of cultural identity due to transnational movements, it would be appointed the role of minority communities in their children's education.

In order to do so, it is necessary to construct a theoretical framework for this study by exploring previous research on transnationalism, which deals with the study of people who move transnationally, and previous research on cultural identity, which deals with people's cultural adaptation and acculturation. As mentioned above, the framework will be approached from transnationalism, which used to be developed especially among studies that aimed to figure out the adaptation to a new land and the maintenance of the bonds with the sending country. Transnationalism has yet to examine the cultural identity of people post-adaptation to the new land. This paper is one of the challenges to analyzing the routes of Japanese Latin Americans and the next generation from the perspective of transnationalism and an overview of how the community has been developed. Another attempt is to describe the transition of their cultural identity after the settlement in the USA. In doing so, it will be examined what elements of their cultural identity are passed down from generation to generation.

Methodology

A literature review will be the primary research method used in this study. After organizing the previous studies that have been published to date and clarifying the background of the target group, it will be finally determined how their cultural identity can be interpreted from the theory of transnationalism by providing an overview of their life in American internment camps and their subsequent adaptation to the American society. The study will ultimately explore how their cultural identities can be interpreted from the theory of transnationalism. Therefore, as a methodology, it will follow their trajectory and analyze their testimonies to conduct research based on an interpretive approach that explores how their Nikkei identity influences their cultural identity as transnational people.

Preview Research

Numerous studies have been conducted on the Nikkei. However, there has been no set definition of who is considered a Nikkei, and the scope of the term is broad. According to the Association of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad, which has promoted the study and collection of materials on Nikkei since World War II, Nikkei can be interpreted as follows.

The term “Nikkei” refers broadly to Japanese people who have relocated overseas permanently, as well as their second, third and fourth-generation descendants, irrespective of current nationality and degree of Japanese ethnicity (The Association of Nikkei & Japanese Abroad Website: <https://jadesas.or.jp/en/aboutnikkei/>).

Hirabayashi et al. (2004), who summarized the research on Nikkei in various regions and notes on their cultural identities, say that Nikkei identity is not a "being," but a "becoming" and is diversified by region, gender, and era. Moreover, Nikkei identities do not exist in isolation. All Nikkei have multiple identities. These identities are also fluid and, at times, are in the state of renegotiation in more extensive national and international settings. Whether deployed subjectively or analytically, the concept of “Nikkei” is necessarily characterized by flexibility and soft boundaries (Hirabayashi et al. 2004, 344).

While other studies have defined Nikkei and conducted research on them, the author believes that it is impossible to define Nikkei in this way because their cultural identity has changed over time, transcending the ethnicity of Japan. The community discussed in this paper follows that transition and believes it belongs to all three countries, Japan, Peru, and the United States. It has hybridity that cannot be fully adapted to any of them. This section summarizes previous studies focusing on this community.

The earliest of these studies, Gardiner (1981), describes the situation in the sending country, Peru, and the receiving country, the United States, along with historical facts. Gardiner has used historical facts to unravel facts that had not been told for many years by the people involved and have also gathered testimonies from former internees and their children's generation. Although Gardiner has become a compilation of historical facts from Barnhart (1962) and Meglyn (1976), this is the first publication to include the trajectory of the Japanese Peruvians in one book. While the book makes a strong case for the Japanese Peruvians' mistreatment and lost rights, it does not detail their life after the camps. Although it does not position them as transnational people and does not address their cultural identity, it is a valuable historical study. The study of Japanese Latin Americans has not progressed much so far because there have been few testimonies from the parties involved. The trajectory of their lives has rarely been told to their children and families. Some in the Japanese American community were unaware of the existence of the Crystal City internment camp, where many Japanese Latin Americans were held. The Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA), which later became the Wartime Relocation Authority (WRA), had jurisdiction over the internment of Japanese Americans. Still, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of

the Department of Justice had jurisdiction over the Japanese Latin American camps. Japanese Americans did not receive information about the Department of Justice's area of jurisdiction. (McConahay 2018, 138).

Nakada (2004) used a life-story approach to this community, conducting a qualitative study of those who remained in the U.S. and those who "returned" to Japan. She sought to clarify how they were reconstructing their ethnicity. However, she argues that we need to focus on their route and question the assumptions of ethnicity that require a society that interacts with and frames them. She contends that although Nikkei identity was not seen as the core of the Japanese Latin Americans forcibly removed from Peru, it is certainly part of their identity (Nakada 2014). Rather than studying Nikkei as ethnicity, this study examines how Nikkei identity exists within the identity of the target group and how they confront that identity daily. To do so, it will trace their transnational trajectories and how they have constructed their cultural identities by tracing their routes.

Background

There is a rapid increase in international migration on a global scale, and it has been said that we are in the "age of international migration" (Caruthers & Miller 2011). The development of the airline industry and the Internet has accelerated this global migration. Still, the first significant migration of people after modern times was after the Age of Discovery, which lasted from the late 15th century to the mid-20th century. The first Japanese to migrate across the Pacific Ocean dates to 1868 when 153 people, known as "Gannen mono," crossed into Hawaii. Around 1910, the media, politicians, and anti-immigration groups in the U.S. claimed that an alien "yellow peril" was invading the United States. In 1908, a gentlemen's agreement was signed between Japan and the U.S., prohibiting Japanese laborers from entering the U.S. However, the U.S. continued to allow Japanese nationals living in the U.S. to bring their families to the U.S.

In response to the ban on Japanese laborers in the U.S., the migration of Japanese was switched to South American countries. In 1899, the first Japanese laborers in South American countries were accepted in Peru. The ship, *Sakura Maru*, arrived at the port of Callao, Peru, on April 3, 1899, carrying 789 contracted immigrants. Still, due to the harsh local climate and lifestyle, 624 contracted immigrants died four years later, and only 166 immigrants who came with the *Sakura Maru* survived (Yamada 1998). Even under these circumstances, the number of contracted immigrants from Japan reached 18,000, and the total number of pre-war immigrants reached 33,000 due to the call of relatives, etc.

The history of Peruvians of Japanese descent has been studied in various ways, and among those that have been published based on historical facts about their history in "Los Inmigrantes Japanese en el Perú" by America Morimoto (1979). As in other countries, the Japanese arrived as contract immigrants and eventually settled in urban areas, where they made their fortunes as merchants and formed communities. Within the community, emphasis was placed on the education of children, schools were built, and several newspapers were published to disseminate information. The Japanese who settled in the area gradually learned the local language, and their lives became entrenched through their activities with the local people. While living in Peru, the Japanese began to see a transformation of their identity to Nikkei. This identity as a Nikkei was likely born from the sense of togetherness they experienced as a community. It is no exaggeration to say that in Peru before World War II, the people of Japanese descent played a central role in the economy of the capital, Lima, and the surrounding Callao region. The cohesion of their community increased the community's power from the mutual aid relationship represented by the TANOMOSH (small rotating credit unions). It threatened the rest of the locals (Morimoto 1979).

Against this backdrop, the anti-Japanese movement was frequently repeated before World War II, leading to the isolation of the Nikkei as a community. The movement was

strongly supported by the private sector and the Peruvian government, which on April 8, 1932, established that foreign-owned stores should employ 80% Peruvians. Then, a law promulgated on April 20, 1937, ordered the temporary suspension of the registration of births of foreign children born before June 26, 1936, to Peruvian citizenship (Morimoto 1979). Although there were various instances of discrimination against the Japanese, what remains in the memory of the Japanese and Nikkei community in Peru is the massive riot in Lima on May 13, 1940, in which stores and homes of Nikkei were looted. More than 620 people were victims of this riot (Ito et al. 1974). Some of them lost their business and did not have anything else but to return to Japan.

At the Third Pan-American Foreign Ministers' Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on January 15-28, 1942, the United States recommended that South American countries break diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in exchange for immediate shipments of economic aid and military supplies. In addition, the U.S. government called for the control of potentially dangerous aliens in South American countries, the internment of enemy aliens, the restriction of the right of naturalization for enemy aliens, and the revocation of the right of naturalization for persons who defend enemy aliens. At this point, there is no record of any request for repatriation to the United States. However, according to Yamakura (1996), 1,754 Nikkei Peruvians civilians and 25 diplomats were sent to the U.S. from Peru, about 83% of the 2,118 people sent to the U.S. from South America. Most of the repatriated Nikkei were first-generation immigrants who had some authority in Nikkei organizations or were on the U.S. government's "blacklist" of those who had achieved some success in business (Gardiner 1981). The Nikkei who remained in Peru was forced to live in hiding.

At the time of the U.S. repatriation, the passports and other identification of Nikkei were taken away, and they entered the United States as illegal immigrants (McConahay 2018). According to one of the victims, Koichi Higashide, only men were taken to temporary quarters in the U.S. military fortified area in Panama before crossing to the U.S., where they were subjected to hard labor for settlement (Higashide 1995). There were 27 camps in the United States, but only one in Crystal City, Texas, allowed families to live together (Higashide 1995). Men who had been separated from their families were sometimes reunited with them in Crystal City. In this way, they were forcibly taken to a foreign land and forced to live in an internment camp. This study will discuss the Nikkei incarcerated in Crystal City. Therefore, the next section will summarize the overview of Crystal City's internment camp.

Crystal City from previous research

The testimonies of those who have experienced life in Crystal City in previous studies will be summarized and noted. This paper describes the situation based on the testimonies of Mr. Seiichi Higashide, who was a father and interned as an adult in Crystal City, Ms. Katsura Blanca, who was interned as a child, and Reverend Yoshiaki Fukuda, a Japanese American and a reverend of Konko's Church who saved many Nikkei Peruvians.

Internment camps in the U.S. were established to create the ideal American community. Therefore, as Higashide testified, they were a utopia, except they were not allowed to go outside or connect to the outside world. They were given autonomy and entrusted with the management of the community in the internment camp. This was not only done for deportation to Japan but also to create a "model community" in the U.S. that would be Americanized while still retaining its Japanese ethnicity.

Higashide describes Crystal City as follows: Apart from a few points - and they are very important - the internment camp in Crystal City was close to a perfect utopia. Everything was almost completely guaranteed there, from the cradle to the grave (Higashide 1995, 219).

The Crystal City camp was a "family camp," according to Higashide. It also housed about 3,000 people at its most crowded. Although there were people of German and Italian

descent, the most significant number of people interned were of Japanese descent. And among the Nikkei, more than half were children (Higashide 1995, 214; Tsuboi 2010,228-229).

In the Crystal City camp, where most of the people were children, an English school and a Japanese school were set up. The English school followed the same curriculum as American schools (Higashide 1995, 221). In addition, many children of Nikkei from Peru and other South American countries attended Japanese language schools, and they converse in Spanish during breaks and other times of the day. Blanca Katsura recalls those days as follows:

We did not understand English ... Because we came from a third-class country, especially in the U.S., when people think of Mexicans, they immediately think of laborers, so they probably thought we were living the same way. In Peru, Japanese people were usually envied for their wealthy lives, so one day, a teacher from Hawaii told us, "Don't use the language of third-class country" (Kagawa 2021, 311).

Blanca Katsura's testimony shows that even within the camp, there were differences between the communities, even if they were the same Nikkei, between those sent from South America and the English-speaking Nikkei.

Discrimination between communities was not limited to Nikkei, but the U.S. government's treatment of German and Japanese Americans at the Crystal City internment camps also varied. According to Rev. Fukuda's autobiography, there were 35 special rooms for pregnant women for the 1,000-odd German inmates, and only seven for the nearly three times as many Japanese Americans (Fukuda 1957,72). In addition, after the German descendants left the Crystal City camp, the dispatch of schoolteachers was suspended. The typewriters used in the schools were confiscated. The Nikkei in the camps raised money to hire their teachers from outside (Fukuda 1957, 72). Although the camps were equipped with wards and other facilities, they were not well-equipped, and some people died because they could not be helped in the camps, even though they could have been allowed in outside hospitals (Fukuda 1957, 68-69).

Despite these unfair conditions, the Nikkei was engaged in various cultural activities in the camps. Sumo tournaments, athletic meets, and other activities rooted in Japanese and American cultures, such as Girl Scouts, were also conducted.

The Pacific War ended in September 1945 (August 15 is considered the end of the Pacific War in Japan), but the Crystal City camp remained in operation. After the war ended, many Japanese Americans who had been interned returned to where they had lived before, they were interned. At the same time, those taken from South America, especially Peru, were not allowed to return because Peru refused to accept them back. Nearly 1,000 Japanese Latin Americans "returned" to Japan on post-war repatriation ships in December 1945 and June 1946, shortly after the war. However, some of them had never been to Japan. In addition, post-war Japan was a time of hardship due to the lack of food and other necessities. Those who left their families in Peru and other South American countries or refused to be repatriated to Japan remained in the Crystal City camp. Approximately 300 Peruvians of Japanese descent decided to remain in the U.S., but they could not easily leave the camp. They had no passports or other proof of identity and were considered "illegals" in the U.S.

However, with the help of attorney Wayne M. Collins, they were able to leave the camp if they could find an outside sponsor. However, many Japanese Latin Americans without acquaintances in the U.S. faced difficulties. The Japanese Latin Americans were assisted in their release by Seabrook Farms, a frozen cannery in New Jersey. Another person who helped them get out was Reverend Fukuda, pastor of the KonKo Church in San Francisco. The Crystal City camp was closed on February 27, 1948, more than three years after the war ended (Kagawa 2019).

After the Internment Camp

With the closing of the Crystal City internment camp, some Japanese Latin Americans were "repatriated" to Japan, others remained in the U.S., and those of Japanese descent who retained their Peruvian citizenship returned to Peru. This paper will discuss those who remained in the U.S., so those who were "repatriated" to Japan and those who "returned" to Peru will not be discussed in this paper. Those who remained in the U.S. were very poor and had difficulty making a living on their own. Although they had sponsors, they were limited in the work they could do in the U.S. due to language restrictions. In addition, the Crystal City camp was a "family camp," and many of the remaining people had children.

Nakada (2014) interviewed people who had experienced incarceration using a life-story approach, which featured several testimonies from children who once remained in the U.S., many of them narrating about the hardships their parents faced. The hardships experienced by their parents and the differences in the lives of Japanese Americans reinforced their awareness of where they came from, and their sense of identity as Japanese Latin Americans became firmly etched in their daily lives. Nakada (2014) notes that many Japanese Latin Americans have shared experiences of family hardship. They also care for and explain to their children's older siblings who left the camps at a relatively young age. Children who were older and able to work worked alongside adults to sustain their families. The younger children attended local schools but had to work harder than others, and Nakada's (2014) research revealed glimpses of empathy and pride with those who had gone through these events with them. Children who attended schools where they saw their parents and older siblings struggling to make ends meet were learning English and trying to get good grades in school. There were no ESL classes at the time, and the children were treated very differently depending on their school. In the environment they were placed in, it seems they did not have time to slow down and think about their identity or care about their future life. There are still testimonies of children educated in the U.S. in this way who, despite their good grades, could not afford the cost of a college education and went on to community college or volunteered for the military, taking full advantage of their military service. They have figured out how to stabilize their lives in the U.S. in their ways. It also further nurtured their identity as "Japanese Latin American (mainly Peruvian)," shared by those who have taken this route. Of course, this is quite different from the Nikkei who remained in Peru without being deported, and it is not an ethnicity of any kind.

Meanwhile, the status of their stay in the U.S. was also precarious. Still, in July 1952, the Federal Council granted a postponement of deportation in 1953 to inmates who had resided in the U.S. for more than seven years and had requested a reunification hearing from the Immigration Service to defer their deportation order (Kagawa 2019, 20). They were also finally able to change their status to permanent residents of the U.S. or citizens by naturalization after 1954 (Kagawa 2019).

Discussion

There is no doubt that the trajectory of the Japanese Peruvians seen so far is unique to them. The fact that they were mistreated during the WWII and forcibly taken to a country whose language and culture they had never heard before, without any reason, can be seen from the various testimonies and studies that have been conducted so far. According to the research by Kagawa (2019), the Prisoner of War (POW) exchange program was implemented, and 128 POWs were repatriated to Japan on June 19, 1942, and 737 POWs were repatriated on September 2, 1943. The rest were not allowed to return to Peru and had to head for Japan (Gardiner 1981). However, Gardiner (1981) says this move was also unjustified, as some of them were Nisei (Second Generation of Japanese descendants) who had never visited Japan. Japanese Peruvians who had

their passports and other proof of identity taken away were not allowed to remain in the U.S. and had to have their identities guaranteed by their sponsors to leave the camps (Nakada 2004, 23).

Many Nikkei Peruvians who did not return to Japan after leaving the camps found employment in the American society, often sponsored by Japanese Americans. The most well-known example of this was employment at Seabrook Farms, a frozen cannery in New Jersey (Nakada 2004, 23). However, as mentioned in this paper, Rev. Fukuda also made efforts to sponsor and seek out many people to become sponsors.

To summarize the past trajectory of Japanese Peruvians, they came to Peru from Japan as contract immigrants. Their reasons for coming are varied, but they came to South America of their own volition. They settled in Peru of their own volition and maintained ties to Japan through language, culture, and customs in the communities they created. They did not repeatedly move back and forth to Japan but spent their days shuttling back and forth between the host and Nikkei communities. From the perspective of transnationalism, this back-and-forth between cultural and linguistic spheres is also considered transnational migration.

Following their trajectory, it was shown that Japanese Latin Americans cannot be described only in terms of ethnicity. As already noted, citing Nakada (2014), this is not to say that "Japanese-Peruvian" is their core identity, but it is certainly a part of their identity. Glick et al. (1992) also refer to transnational people as "Transmigrants" and state that their social status, nationalism, ethnicity, and race must be considered to understand their identity. As described, the target group, in this case, was economically successful as Nikkei in Peru and other South American countries and maintained a social status that threatened the host society. However, to the Allies, Japan was an enemy of the Axis powers, which put Nikkei, who had maintained ties to Japan, in a socially precarious position. This situation is an experience shared by Nikkei throughout the Americas. However, the treatment they experienced in their respective countries of residence varied by country, region, and background. Many of the people in this target group were leaders or socially influential people in Peru who were blacklisted by the FBI in the U.S. and taken away (of course, due to the complex historical circumstances, not all of them were leaders, but that is not discussed here).

The formation of transnational people's identities consists of diverse elements, as Nakada (2014) states, and among those elements are social status, nationalism, ethnicity, and race, which Glick et al. (1992) describe. However, as it has been seen in this paper, the target group is made into one group not only by these elements but also by the shared experience of "mobility." It is also one factor that constitutes their identity. Symbolic of this is the "Peru-kai." Peru-kai is a community centered on this target group. Still, it is made up of the experiences of those who were forcibly removed from their homes, or their descendants, who live not only in the United States but also in Japan and Peru.

The cultural identity of the Nikkei, including this target group, cannot be spoken of as the only one, and the cultural identity of the Nikkei is diversifying. However, it can be said that there are common parts of an identity for those who include elements of Nikkei, and Hirabayashi et al. (2002) state that Nikkei's cultural identity is not static but is constantly changing. Thus, while there are similarities among generations, Nikkei communities, and countries of residence, there are also differences. When viewing Nikkei as a transnational people, their cultural identity cannot be captured by ethnicity alone. Still, it must be analyzed regarding the country of residence, Nikkei community, social status, nationalism, and the routes they take to talk about their experiences. There is also a certain hybridity in their cultural identities within their communities and host societies. Kato (2003, 86) notes that "the proselytizing of cultural hybridity produces new things that are different and unidiomatic, creating new areas in which meaning and commendation are negotiated." This is precisely the case for the target group of Japanese Latin Americans, especially in the U.S., who have constructed a new cultural identity-based in part on their different experiences from Japanese Americans.

As noted above, this experience of theirs was rarely told to the next generation. This was due to the lack of communication between parents and children due to language differences and the first generation's perception of the experience of "forced removal" as "shame." Many children developed friendships with local Japanese Americans and later assimilated into American society as Japanese Americans. They grew up within the three bases of school, community, and home, and came to absorb the diverse ways of thinking of each. In this way, they lived their lives in American society with Japanese roots, but their Peruvian experiences remained sealed in the past for many years. However, their route gradually came to light. It led to a movement to seek postwar compensation for the many Japanese Latin Americans forced into the U.S. by the U.S. government, although not included in the 1988 Civil Liberties Act, which resulted in the settlement in *Mochizuki v United States*, 43 Fed. Cl. 97.

Matsuda (2022) stated that the cultural identity possessed by the research collaborators was greatly affected by the "mobility." Still, it appeared possible that this influence would gradually fade away in subsequent generations. He stated that there was some evidence of family experiences and memories of "migration" being passed on to future generations, but very little, and that this was only in terms of the culture and language of the parent's generation, which differs from attitudes toward one's language and culture (Matsuda 2022, 32).

Thus, the parents' generation was less likely to actively pass on to their children about their experiences in Peru and the camp. Blanca Katsura's experience also shows that she does not recall hearing much about the camps from her father after the camps. She also said that few people in her community talked about it (Kagawa 2021, 314). She also testified that among Nikkei Issei (first generation), the memory of the camps remains as a "shame." They said their parents, who did not understand English, worked simple jobs in the Japanese American community and did their best to earn money for their children's upbringing. In addition, she also said that her father felt frustrated in his daily life that he had lost all of his success in Peru and that he did not seem to have the energy to start a new business in the U.S. (Kagawa 2021).

Blanca Katsura's testimony shows that this situation meant that cultural identity was not always passed on to its children's generation positively. However, many Japanese Latin Americans who work hard and are active in American society despite the hardships are proud of their experiences, and there are many testimonies, especially from their parent's generation, of their hard work, which will not be touched on here, but rather leave for the next issue.

Conclusion

Although there is not yet a research area called Nikkei Studies, a comparable body of research has been accumulated, and the target group in this study is a minority among Nikkei. It has elements necessary to understand the cultural identity of "Nikkei" better. Although it could not be touched on in this paper, it is necessary to conduct research next on how they adapted to American society after leaving the camps, describe the lives they obtained through more difficult experiences than in the camps, and how they passed on their cultural values to their children.

The following is a summary of how their trajectories can be applied to theories of transnationalism, which was the purpose of this paper. It was once again confirmed that when considering transnationals, it is necessary to consider the elements that constitute their cultural identity. In addition to the elements mentioned by Glick et al. (1992), the experience of Japanese Latin Americans in the U.S. suggests that it is essential to touch on the routes they share as their experiences. This study reaffirms the importance of focusing on the roots they have accumulated and the routes they have taken in the migration process when studying transnationals. It must be recognized that this is not an essential way of capturing fixed cultural identities but something more constructed and constantly changing. However, it may

be able to explain their cultural identity to some extent, as it was possible to glimpse some of the shared identity of this target group by looking at their roots and routes, which, although changing, have been accumulating.

More life-story approach-based research should be pursued as it moves forward in this study. It is necessary to analyze how the parties involved perceive the route they have taken and how they intend to pass it on to the next generation. It is also necessary to explore the importance of their experiences being shared again through narratives and the importance of the generations below them inheriting some of their legacy and cultural identity. This will help to think not only about this target group but also about the cultural identity cultivated by people in constant transnational mobility, which has excellent potential for developing into a universal study.

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