



## How did Japanese-Peruvians respond to political discrimination throughout the 20th century?

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### INTRO

In 1990, Peru elected a man named Alberto Fujimori as president. His last name catches the eye, a Japanese last name in a Latin American country. His rise to power seems out of place and bizarre, how would a man with roots in a country so far away become President of Peru? The answer is a long and fascinating one, and his rise as a political outsider and a Japanese man was miraculous when looking at the history of Japanese in Peru. His election was the culmination of an unlikely and tumultuous relationship between Peru and its Japanese immigrants. Separated by the world's largest ocean, the two countries seemingly have very little in common. Their histories up until the 20th century are completely independent from one another. Their cultures are distinct and have developed from completely unrelated circumstances. The two countries do not even share a comparable climate. For many parts of history, the two countries have also been separated by economic conditions. Yet, despite all of this, the two countries have become intertwined in the last 126 years. Japanese people migrated to Peru in significant numbers but still comprised a very small percentage of Peru's populace. However, the Japanese have had an impact on Peru that far outweighs what their population size suggests. Both economically and politically, the Japanese have been a force since arriving in Peru's largest cities. One of Peru's most dominant and influential political dynasties is a Japanese family. Economically, Japanese-Peruvians have run successful small businesses and done very well for themselves. However, this success has come at a cost. Their disproportionate success has made them a target and scapegoat for Peru's societal problems. In the first half of the 20th century, Peru's government passed laws to destroy their Japanese community. In this piece, we will demonstrate how Japanese-Peruvians responded to political discrimination with defiance and perseverance throughout the 20th century.

### Part 1: Beginning of immigration and early relationship

Peru and Japan's relationship began in the late 19th and on promising terms when Peru became the first nation in Latin America to establish diplomatic ties with the Japanese in 1873. Japan's period of rule under the Tokugawa Shogunate had recently ended and the Meiji Restoration had begun. With the restoration a radical economic and political shift took place: Japan became a country that looked outward and had aspirations of becoming a global superpower. After years of isolationism, Japan began to build relationships and trade partnerships with the rest of the world, while also modernizing its military and beginning to act on expansionist principles. On the economic front Japan began a period of rapid industrialization, and very quickly modernized its economy.<sup>1</sup>

These rapid changes made Japan an economically prosperous and militarily mighty power, but they also had unintended side effects on the homefront. Following the Meiji

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<sup>1</sup> Honda, Gail. "Differential structure, differential health: industrialization in Japan, 1868-1940." In *Health and welfare during industrialization*, pp. 251-284. University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Restoration in 1868, Japan experienced a massive population boom after years of stagnation, leading to concerns about overcrowding.<sup>2</sup> Japan's agricultural community also began to struggle mightily as the country's shift to an industrial approach left them destitute and without hope. The Meiji government recognized these problems and came up with a solution that would help alleviate these issues while also aiding the expansion of Japanese influence around the world. Japan began encouraging emigration and emigration companies rose, promising riches to those who ventured to the new world. One of the nations advertised was Peru, a country which Japan had made ties with very early into the Meiji period and offered potential to prospective immigrants. Emigration companies began advertising Peru as an agricultural paradise with ample farmland, good soil, and fair weather. These promises caught Japanese farmers' attention, and in 1898 the first boat arrived in Peru.<sup>3</sup>

The Japanese initially came in small groups and primarily consisted of men looking to succeed in Peru and return to Japan when their work contracts expired as rich men. These men often came from the southern region of Japan, especially Okinawa.<sup>4</sup> This area was poorer and looked down upon, making their emigration almost like a banishment. For this reason, plus the higher wages and opportunities for them in Peru, many began to stay and build lives. They began to bring their families over and the demographics of the new Japanese-Peruvian community began to change. As immigration continued, more and more families settled in Peru and began to spread the word in Japan. The promise of Peru began to spread via word-of-mouth in Japan and many people who heard these stories emigrated to Peru for new opportunities. Peru's community of Japanese was growing and it became increasingly evident that they were there to stay. The Peruvian government had an attitude of indifference toward this immigration in the beginning. Even though they promised cheap labor and an economic boost the white-run government preferred immigrants of European descent. Peru was a country always ruled by whites despite their being a minority. This white ruling class looked down on Peru's burgeoning Japanese community and saw them as alien.<sup>5</sup>

In the early 20th century when Japanese immigrants arrived in Peru they fulfilled their work contracts and worked mainly in agriculture. Their intentions of going back to Japan would not be realized, however, as very few would ever make their way back across the Pacific. Financial issues and their status as undesirables in their own country kept them in Peru. When the contracts were up Japanese immigrants had to come up with new ways to make a living. Japanese migrants moved from the countryside into the cities of Peru, mainly Lima, to find their place in the Peruvian economy. With little knowledge of the area or education, Japanese migrants had to be resourceful and many started their own small businesses. The Japanese saw the money that could be made off of the bustling and busy streets of Lima and opened street stands and small stores selling basic goods. These makeshift convenience stores would become the staple of the Japanese immigrant community in Peruvian cities. As time went on and more Japanese came to Peru they began to branch out and open up new kinds of businesses: grocery stores, clothing stores, restaurants, and more stores selling other basic

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<sup>2</sup> Conrad, Harald, Annette Schad-Seifert, and Gabriele Vogt. *The demographic challenge: A handbook about Japan*. Edited by Florian Coulmas. Leiden: Brill, 2008 2.

<sup>3</sup> Irie, Toraji, and William Himel. "History of Japanese Migration to Peru, Part I." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 31, no. 3 (1951): 437-452.

<sup>4</sup> Tigner, James L. "The Ryukyuan in Peru 1906-1952." *The Americas* 35, no. 1 (1978): 20-44.

<sup>5</sup> Takenaka, Ayumi. "The Japanese in Peru: History of immigration, settlement, and racialization." *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 3 (2004): 85-92.

necessities were opened by the Japanese in the cities of Peru. These stores brought prosperity to the Japanese who had successfully carved out a role as the middleman in an economy that was dominated and controlled by the white ruling class of Peru.

This new economic development also enabled the Japanese community to remain sovereign and avoid assimilation.<sup>6</sup> With economic success and deep cultural distinctions from the people of Peru, the Japanese community stayed tight-knit, avoiding Peruvian society and remaining an enclave. Schools, newspapers, and cultural organizations were founded to hold on to their Japanese identity. Because of their economic prosperity, the Japanese did not view social integration as necessary and decided to stick to themselves and preserve the culture of their homeland. They were perceived to be outsiders and viewed with suspicion and misunderstanding and with no economic incentive to integrate the Japanese stuck with what they knew. Peru's Japanese continued to grow and remain successful after 1910 but they remained outsiders in Peruvian society. They were becoming an increasingly important part of Peru's economy, especially in the capital Lima. Their small businesses were incredibly successful and their business savvy gave them a disproportionate impact on the economy.<sup>7</sup> The Japanese-Peruvians had found success in a country that was designed to service white people, which would ultimately put a target on their backs.

As time went on the Japanese population in Peru became the most prominent Asian community and one of the most prominent ethnic groups in all of Peru.<sup>8</sup> They lived in the country's economic centers, owned burgeoning small businesses, and had far more financial capital than their population size would suggest. In a fashion very similar to that of the Jewish diaspora, the economic success of the minority Japanese community began to create resentment among the rest of Peru's population. The white community of Peru had been economically dominant for the entirety of the nation's history and saw the Japanese as a threat to them. The indigenous and mestizo peoples of Peru saw the Japanese find success and their longstanding feelings of frustration were exacerbated. They saw this new foreign and unassimilated group as taking their money and jobs. Their anger was misdirected towards the Japanese because they were the perfect scapegoat. This tension and mistrust from Peru's larger communities led to an extreme shift in the government's policy toward the Japanese community, and legislation was passed designed to control the Japanese community.

The Japanese community continued to thrive with their small businesses despite the increasing animosity towards them. They continued to live as they had since they arrived in Peru: culturally unassimilated. As long as their economic success continued the Japanese community saw no reason to change their way of living. The developing anger towards the Japanese-Peruvians coincided with deteriorating relations between Peru and Japan. As Japan continued its expansionist policies and waged war with Russia, the West began to view the country as a military threat.<sup>9</sup> Peru and its neighbors were becoming weary of the colonial

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<sup>6</sup> Takenaka, Ayumi. "The Japanese in Peru: History of Immigration, Settlement, and Racialization." *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 3 (2004): 86 .

<sup>7</sup> Takenaka, Ayumi. "The Japanese in Peru: History of immigration, settlement, and racialization." *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 3 (2004): 87-88.

<sup>8</sup> Blanchard, Peter. "Asian immigrants in Perú, 1899–1923." *North-South Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies* 4, no. 7 (1979): 60-75.

<sup>9</sup> Beals, Carleton. 1938. "Carleton Beals Surveys the Latin American Future." *New York Times*, October 9, 1938.

imperialist attitude which played a large role in the migration of Japanese to their countries. Trade between Japan and Peru slowed as the Peruvian government became determined to protect itself from Japanese influence. During the early 1930s, large amounts of cotton were imported from Japan but this trade began to slow down as the government grew nervous about over-dependence on the Japanese. Special quotas on Japanese products were passed, greatly reducing trade between the countries.<sup>10</sup> Peru also decided to enact quotas on immigration, which were designed to prevent any further immigration from Japan.<sup>11</sup> When the quotas were decided upon, the number of Japanese immigrants was already above the threshold. These measures made it clear by the mid-1930s that Peru was no longer a country that would accept Japanese immigrants, and the Japanese community was not trusted by the government. Despite this, the Japanese-Peruvians stayed resilient and held on to their businesses, even as they became targets of both the government and the everyday Peruvian. But trouble would become unavoidable as tensions towards the Japanese began to rise everywhere

## Part 2: The Saqueo and World War 2

Japanese-Peruvians were stuck in an increasingly dangerous situation. They were constantly vilified in the media and looked at with envy for their wealth and success, and the motherland across the Pacific was not helping matters. As Japan's empire grew and their military grew bolder, suspicion towards Japanese-Peruvians increased. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, this suspicion developed into open discrimination.<sup>12</sup> Many Peruvians had become convinced that the Japanese in their country were still loyal to the emperor and were a part of Japan's plan of Pacific domination. The economic power, isolationist tendencies, and association with an aggressive empire made Japanese-Peruvians the perfect targets of mass hysteria and discrimination. Relations between communities were falling apart and they were approaching a point of no return. The paranoia and hatred that had grabbed hold of Peru's populace was about to boil over, and violence looked increasingly likely.

After 1937, the suspense in Peru was palpable and the anger many Peruvians felt was bound to explode. In May 1940, due to rumors of Japanese-Peruvians assisting the empire and long-held jealousy towards their success and wealth, Lima's Japanese community **was attacked**. An enraged mob of students descended upon Japanese businesses, destroying them, burning them, and looting them. The night of May 13, 1940, has come to be known as the *Saqueo* which translates roughly to pillaging. Over 600 businesses were destroyed and millions of dollars in damages resulted from the riots. The exact timeline of the night of May 13 is not known because details were suppressed. Despite the massive amount of damage caused, it was just a footnote in the papers the next day.<sup>13</sup> Peru had completely turned its back on its Japanese community and both Peruvian society and government decided to condone the rioting by acting as if nothing happened. The Saqueo was the high point of tension between the

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Dietrich, Ethel B. "Closing Doors against Japan." *Far Eastern Survey* 7, no. 16 (1938): 181–86.

<sup>11</sup>

Benavides, Óscar R. 1937. "Ley numero 8526,"

<sup>12</sup> Titiev, Mischa. "The Japanese Colony in Peru." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1951): 227–47.

<sup>13</sup> DuMontier, Benjamin John. "Between Menace and Model Citizen: Lima's Japanese-Peruvians, 1936-1963." (2018). 72-73



Japanese and Peru and it was an event that forever altered the culture of Japanese-Peruvians. Their families were left destroyed. Their businesses were burned, their neighborhoods were turned to ruins, and their livelihoods were gone. The businesses that had made Japanese-Peruvians so successful were taken from them in a single night.

While the Saqueo was the high point of violence towards the Japanese in Peru, their situation would not change for the better in the years following. The motivations behind the attack and the suspicion towards Japanese migrants came largely from the actions of the empire they hailed from. Following the Saqueo in May 1940, Japan's actions would only get more aggressive. The attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, brought the United States into the war. America, much like Peru, had become increasingly hostile towards Japan and by extension, Japanese immigrants.<sup>14</sup> Now, involved in the Pacific theater, America began to act on their suspicions. America constructed internment camps under the guise of national security Japanese-Americans were forced into the camps and held there. America was also well aware of the Japanese communities throughout Latin America.<sup>15</sup> The boldness of the attack on Pearl Harbor created fear that attacks could occur in America's backyard. The US government was terrified of the prospect of Japanese military presence in Latin America and began to use its influence in the region. Japanese communities outside of America became the targets of the same surveillance that the Japanese in America were subjected to. America was determined to control all Japanese communities in America and began to work with Latin American countries to achieve this. No country was more eager to work with the Americans than Peru. Peru's already existing, deep-rooted resentment towards the Japanese made them happy to cooperate with all of America's requests. The Saqueo showed that Peru's population was open to ridding themselves of their Japanese community and America was now presenting them with this opportunity.<sup>16</sup>

Japanese businesses were seized, their assets were frozen by the government, and deportations to American internment camps began.<sup>17</sup> Over 1,800 Japanese-Peruvians were expelled and sent to internment camps in America, more than any other country in Latin America.<sup>18</sup> Peru was the most cooperative nation in all of Latin America, giving U.S. forces an increased presence in their country simply to get rid of their Japanese community. Although most of the community would end up not being deported, the community had effectively been destroyed by these policies. The Saqueo destroyed their neighborhoods and businesses and before they could rebuild them they had whatever was left taken. The nearly 2,000 Japanese who had been deported decimated the stability of the population, which was left with nothing. The Japanese-Peruvians had been brought back to square one and left in the same position they were in when they arrived. They were faced with a pivotal decision: rebuild or leave.

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<sup>14</sup> Swanson, Harlan J. "The Panay Incident: Prelude to Pearl Harbor." In *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 93, pp. 26-37. 1967.

<sup>15</sup> Beals, Carleton. 1938. "Carleton Beals Surveys the Latin American Future." *New York Times*, October 9, 1938.

<sup>16</sup> Connell III, Thomas. *The Internment of Latin-American Japanese in the United States during World War II: The Peruvian Japanese Experience*. The Florida State University, 1995 110-113.

<sup>17</sup> Thompson, Stephen I. "Survival of Ethnicity in the Japanese Community of Lima, Peru." *Urban Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1974): 243-61.

<sup>18</sup> Connell III, Thomas. *The Internment of Latin-American Japanese in the United States during World War II: The Peruvian Japanese Experience*. The Florida State University, 1995 110-121.



### PART 3: Post WW2 Recovery and Fujimori

With the end of the war in 1945, America was no longer hunting Japanese people and Japan was no longer an imperialist empire. The atomic bombs and subsequent occupation ensured that Japan would no longer be a colonial force. Both sides had grown exhausted from the war and a time of rebuilding would commence. Global attitudes had shifted and the extreme prejudice towards the Japanese had passed its peak. In Peru, Japanese people were left with no choice but to move forward and start fresh at the war's end. Attitudes in Peru towards the Japanese were starting to warm up and another Saqueo seemed unlikely. Simultaneously, the Japanese began to change their attitudes toward Peru. While they remained largely unassimilated and distinctly Japanese, they took small steps to alleviate their woes. The Japanese were determined not to have a repeat of the Saqueo, but also to hang on to their identity. They knew that some changes had to be made, and this along with the warming of opinions toward the Japanese allowed them to bounce back.<sup>19</sup>

The Japanese remained almost completely distinct from white and mestizo Peruvians except for one aspect. With each generation, especially following the Saqueo, Japanese-Peruvians became increasingly Catholic. By 1969, 98% of second and third-generation Japanese-Peruvians were Catholic.<sup>20</sup> Peru's history as a Spanish colony had a huge impact on their religious culture. Peru is a deeply Catholic country, and the Peruvian-born Japanese willingness to convert greatly advanced their social standing. Despite their religious affiliation being mostly surface level and not very devout, it showed a desire to improve and adapt to life in Peru. The new generations of Japanese had found a way to preserve their Japanese pride while also adapting aspects of the culture of their new home. Time played a large role in the warming of attitudes towards the Japanese. With each new generation, little by little, the Japanese became more Peruvian.

While attitudes warmed up the Japanese started to rebuild the strong community that they had lost. Japanese organizations began popping up again. Their economic power returned as they opened up more businesses to replace the ones they had lost. Just like before the war, they opened up small businesses like grocery stores which performed very well.<sup>21</sup> They once again began to dominate this field despite their small numbers; however, this time they did not face immense pushback. Peruvian public opinion was changing and Peruvians were beginning to view the Japanese based on their potential to contribute to the country. The country was recognizing how beneficial the Japanese were with their business savvy. A notable moment that

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<sup>19</sup> Thompson, Stephen I. "Survival of Ethnicity in the Japanese Community of Lima, Peru." *Urban Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1974): 249-253

<sup>20</sup>

Zen Peru Nikkeijin Shakai Jitai Kensa Kaienkai  
1969 Peru Kuni ni Okeru Nikkeijin Shakai. Lima: Peru Shinpo.

<sup>21</sup> DuMontier, Benjamin. 2018. "Between Menace and Model Citizen: Lima's Japanese-Peruvians, 1936-1963." *University of Arizona*, (April) 168-189.

demonstrated the changing narrative surrounding the Japanese was the story of Teófilo Toda. Toda was a Japanese-Peruvian cyclist who, in 1954, was set to join Peru's national team for the South American tournament in Uruguay. He was one of the fastest cyclists in Peru and a nationally celebrated figure.<sup>22</sup> However, the Peruvian government refused to give him a visa, effectively kicking him off the team. 10 years earlier such a decision would have probably garnered support, but Peru was a new country. The decision was met with widespread outrage in the country, and the media firmly took the side of Toda.<sup>23</sup> Peru had flipped and the Japanese were now considered an important part of Peru.

The Japanese used this newfound acceptance to not only rebuild what they once had but also expand and move into different fields. Japanese-Peruvians began to open up more community organizations. Private schools, chambers of commerce, and research organizations were all built to preserve Japanese culture and educate the next generation of Japanese-Peruvians.<sup>24</sup> They also made efforts to give back to Peru to make up for the continued lack of assimilation. In Lima, Japanese people constructed a Japanese garden for the city as a gift.<sup>25</sup> The gift was significant in that it showed allegiance with Peru while also exemplifying pride in their Japanese identity. Japanese people also began to expand beyond just economic power. The Japanese slowly began to get involved in politics. They began to win local positions in Peru's urban centers and their political influence was steadily growing. This steady, under-the-radar growth would eventually explode, however. In a shocking election result, the Japanese community would become a dominant political force and be thrust into Peru's national spotlight once again.

The election of Alberto Fujimori in 1990 was a massive turning point for the Japanese community. After years of fading away from the spotlight and laying low after the Saqueo a Japanese man was now going to be the leader of Peru. Fujimori won in a stunning victory. No one was expecting the political outsider from a tiny and unassimilated community to win the presidency. However, it was his identity as a Japanese man that helped him win. He still faced adversity due to his identity, though. In 1997 during his presidency, a tabloid claimed that he was born in Japan.<sup>26</sup> This claim was blatantly false and the article was viewed with disgust by many in Peru, again demonstrating the great improvement in attitudes towards the Japanese.

Peru was a country that had always been dominated by a small political elite class. This group was comprised of almost entirely white Europeans who, despite being a minority themselves, ruled over the rest of the country while primarily serving their own interests. This was a remnant of Spanish colonial days, still surviving and hurting the majority of Peruvians more than 150 years after independence. By 1990 Peruvians were desperate for a breath of fresh air. The regime of Alan Garcia had left hyperinflation and severe economic failure.<sup>27</sup> Peru had been plagued by coups and corruption and with the start of a new decade Peruvians were

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<sup>22</sup> "Ciclismo," *Perú Shimpó*, 17 April, 1952, 4;"

<sup>23</sup> "El Lunes Deben Partir Nuestros Ciclistas a la Capital Uruguaya," *El Comercio* 5 February, 1954, 5.

<sup>24</sup> Takenaka, Ayumi. "The Japanese in Peru: History of Immigration, Settlement, and Racialization." *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 3 (2004): 93-95.

<sup>25</sup> Thompson, Stephen I. "Assimilation and Nonassimilation of Asian-Americans and Asian Peruvians." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21, no. 4 (1979): 579

<sup>26</sup> Valenzuela, Cecilia (1997). "Buscando La Cuna De Fujimori". *Caretas* (1475): 27

<sup>27</sup> Riding, Alan. "Peru Fights to overcome its Past." *New York Times* 14 (1989).

open to anything new. Fujimori saw his opportunity. With Peruvians wanting change and socialism collapsing around the world Fujimori ran on a right-wing platform centered around fixing the economy. He used his status as a Japanese man to help him and the novelty of a Japanese politician seemingly made him more appealing. He was given the nickname “El Chino” or the Chinese guy which, despite its inaccuracy, was a term of endearment.<sup>28</sup> He was widely popular among non-white Peruvians, who previously were opposed to the Japanese community.<sup>29</sup> 50 years earlier the Japanese had come close to extinction in Peru because they were seen as outsiders. In 1990 a Japanese man became president because he was an outsider.

Under Fujimori’s presidency, Peru’s relationship with its Japanese community remained strong. Ultimately though, Fujimori’s presidency would not be the breath of fresh air Peruvians were promised. Fujimori would establish an authoritarian regime, plagued by human rights abuses.<sup>30</sup> His presidency would end with him fleeing to Japan to escape from corruption and human rights abuse charges. He would later be found guilty of extreme embezzlement as well as several human rights abuses.<sup>31</sup> Fujimori earned long prison sentences and he would not end up being released until December 2023.<sup>32</sup> Fujimori passed away very recently on September 11th, 2024, leaving behind a complicated legacy.<sup>33</sup> Despite the shortcomings of his regime, the Japanese community remained stable and peaceful with the Peruvian public. Fujimori lives on through his children who are dominant right-wing politicians, who still have a large amount of support from many Peruvians. Fujimori’s presidency put all eyes on the Japanese once again and although he was a tyrant, the Japanese community was resilient and maintained its positive image.

## CONCLUSION

The story of the Japanese in Peru is one of resilience and unprecedented success. They left a country that didn’t want them, that viewed them as undesirables. They moved across the Pacific to a country with no cultural connections on short working contracts. They were brought in to simply be cheap, quick labor. Despite all of this the Japanese found success and became an economically dominant force in a country where they were a tiny minority. As their success grew they became a scapegoat for Peru’s socio-economic issues and laws restricting their

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<sup>28</sup> *France 24*. 2024. “Peru’s polarising ex-president Alberto Fujimori dies at 86.” September 12, 2024.

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MADRID, RAÚL L. “Ethnic Proximity and Ethnic Voting in Peru.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43, no. 2 (2011): 277-278.

<sup>30</sup> Crabtree, John. “The Collapse of Fujimorismo: Authoritarianism and Its Limits.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 20, no. 3 (2001): 287–303

<sup>31</sup> Manrique, Luis Esteban G. “Perú, El Eterno Retorno Del Fujimorismo.” *Política Exterior* 30, no. 171 (2016): 106–14.

<sup>32</sup> “Peru court orders imprisoned ex-President Fujimori’s ‘immediate’ release”. *Reuters*. 6 December 2023.

<sup>33</sup> Collyns, Dan. 2024. “Peru declares three days of mourning after death of ex-president Alberto Fujimori.” *The Guardian*, September 11, 2024.



immigration and civil rights were passed. Despite this, they stayed and continued to preserve their Japanese culture and live the way they wanted. When this political discrimination spiraled into violence and their businesses and neighborhoods were burned they persevered. When the Peruvian government sold them out and began deporting them to internment camps in the US they survived. They came back and rebuilt everything they had lost better and stronger. They ventured into politics and a Japanese man was elected president, a feat which for most of their history seemed impossible. Today, the Japanese community is still an economic cornerstone of Peru's metropolitan centers. Despite Alberto's recent death, the Fujimori family remains a dominant political force and the ideals of Fujimorism are still hugely influential in Peruvian politics. The Japanese continue to hold on to their mother culture while also practicing catholicism, showing some assimilation has been achieved. The Japanese have responded to political discrimination unapologetically. They have always hung onto their culture and will continue to be a community whose influence far outweighs their size.

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