ON THE MAKING OF THE MODERN CONCEPT OF "DIASPORA" - AND A LOOK AT THE RETURN MIGRATION OF JAPANESE DIASPORA TO JAPAN

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Abstract

My paper is divided into two complementary parts at the superordinate level. The first part offers a critique of the prevailing terminological tools of the topic under discussion here, and serves as conceptual groundwork for the second part, while the second part offers a critical socio-historical analysis of migration and return migration to and from Japan.

In the first part, I examine the historical and conceptual evolution of the term "diaspora," beginning with its etymological roots in the Old Testament, where it was framed as a form of divine punishment. I trace its subsequent adaptation into the social sciences as a generalized term for displaced communities, critiquing the modern usage of "diaspora" and "migration." I argue that these terms, particularly within the context of late capitalism, have been shaped by social-scientific discourse in ways that often obscure and distort the nuanced complexities of human mobility.

The second part shifts focus to the Japanese diaspora, providing a sociohistorical lens on major migration flows, particularly during the Meiji Restoration, when the Japanese state actively promoted emigration to regions such as the United States and South America for economic and colonial purposes. This section critically examines the state's role in these migration processes and transitions to an analysis of return migration. Special attention is given to the experiences of Nikkei individuals returning to Japan from South America during the late 20th century, highlighting the Japanese government's recruitment of ethnic Japanese as unskilled labourers to address labour shortages in the 1980s and their subsequent marginalization following the 2008 financial crisis. These movements are contextualized within broader, state-driven migration policies.

Ultimately, my paper critiques both historical and contemporary frameworks for understanding migration, arguing that dominant social-scientific terminologies often fail to capture the lived realities of migration and return migration experiences. By integrating conceptual and socio-historical critique, the aim is to stimulate a more nuanced understanding of these phenomena.

Keywords: Diaspora, migration, return migration, science, genesis of scientific concepts

1 ON THE ETYMOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL HISTORY OF "DIASPORA"

The Greek word 'diaspora' is derived from the verb *διασπείρειν*, which means 'to scatter about, to distribute'. The verb itself is a compound verb made up of the prefix *διά* and the verbal root *σπείρειν*. The verb means 'to scatter' and the prefix *διά* reinforces the basic meaning of the verb by adding 'completeness', 'intensity', 'totality' etc. to the action or state expressed in the verb, which is normally accomplished in English with the

help of adverbs such as 'through', 'thoroughly', 'entirely', 'utterly' etc.[1]

The word appears in both verbal and noun form over 30 times in the Septuagint, the oldest and most important Greek translation of the Old Testament, which was created between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC. In addition, the word 'diaspora' is used in exactly the same sense a few times in the New Testament as well, namely in John (7:35) and James (1:1). It is used as the Greek equivalent of several Hebrew or Aramaic words in the Old Testament. The most frequent ones of those words, which were translated into Greek as 'diaspora' in the Septuagint, are פּוּץ (pûts) and זָרָה (zârâh). The former root means "to break, dash, shake into pieces", "to disperse", "cast (abroad)", "drive", "retire", "scatter (abroad)", "spread abroad". And the latter one means "to toss about", "to diffuse", "winnow", "cast away", "compass", "disperse", "fan", "scatter (away)", "spread", "strew" etc.

As far as the original meaning of the word is concerned, it appears initially in the context of the tension and confrontation between the Abrahamic God and his messenger Moses on the one side and the Hebrew people on the other side. The tension stems from the discrepancy between what the God desires from his subjects and what his subjects actually do and do not do in connection with God's commandments. That is, the concept originally appears directly in and out of the antagonism between the will of God and the behaviour of the people towards the will of God; in other words, and in somewhat profane terms, from a situation of mutual resistance of opposing forces of an imposed order and resistance to it. It was and is, simply put, a question of obedience vs. disobedience, godliness vs. ungodliness.

The Abrahamic God of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic religion constructs his kingdom and secures his position of power within it on a system of rewards and sanctions, so to speak, and demands absolute obedience from the congregation of his believers. Since the punitive measures threatened in the Holy Scriptures to disobedient subjects are of great importance for understanding the concept under discussion here, a superficial, keyword-like look at the inventory of divine types of punishment seems appropriate.

In the Old Testament one reads stoning (cf. Deuteronomy 17:2-5, Leviticus 20:10, Numbers 15:32-36); capital punishment (cf. Exodus 21:12, 21:16); expulsion from the community (cf. Leviticus 7:20-21); cursing and disease (cf. Deuteronomy 28); expulsion and slavery (cf. Leviticus 26:27-39, Deuteronomy 28:49-68). In the New Testament there are hell, eternal punishment in the fire of hell, (cf. Matthew 5:22, Matthew 25:41-46); exclusion from congregation (cf. Matthew 18:15-17); spiritual death (cf. Romans 6:23); divine judgement (cf. 2 Thessalonians 1:8-9); sickness and suffering (cf. 1 Corinthians 11:30-32). And in the Koran, one finds punishment in hell (cf. Sura 2:39, Sura 4:56); capital punishment (cf. Sura 5:32-33); amputation (cf. Sura 5:38); scourging (cf. Sura 24:2); cursing and damnation (cf. Sura 33:64, Sura 9:68); retribution (cf. Sura 2:178).

And it is precisely in this context that the concept of 'diaspora' was originally used. Diaspora, i.e. the expulsion of the entire congregation from the land in which it lives and the subsequent dispersion of the members of the congregation in foreign lands among foreign people, was the strongest and most unrestricted of the five most frequent divine punishments in the Old Testament.

The most important points that must be extracted from these etymological and conceptual-historical discussions and always kept in mind in discussions and research activities in the young discipline of 'Diaspora Studies', which was born in the second half of 20th century – as is demonstrated in Fig. 1 –, are as follows.

- The term diaspora, in the sense relevant to the present work, arose in the process of translating the oldest writings of the Abrahamic religion into Greek.

- It was used in the Septuagint to render several semantically related Hebrew or Aramaic words into Greek.

- It marked the pinnacle of divine punishments in the reward-and-punishment system of the earliest stage of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic religion.

- It referred to both the threat and the actual execution of God's punishment.

- In terms of the execution of the punishment threatened in the Holy Scriptures, both biblical and historical sources point above all to the dispersion of the Jews from their land after the Babylonian exile in the 6th century BC and after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD.

- The concept was used in this original sense from its first use in the Septuagint until the mid-20th century, i.e. for well over two thousand years.
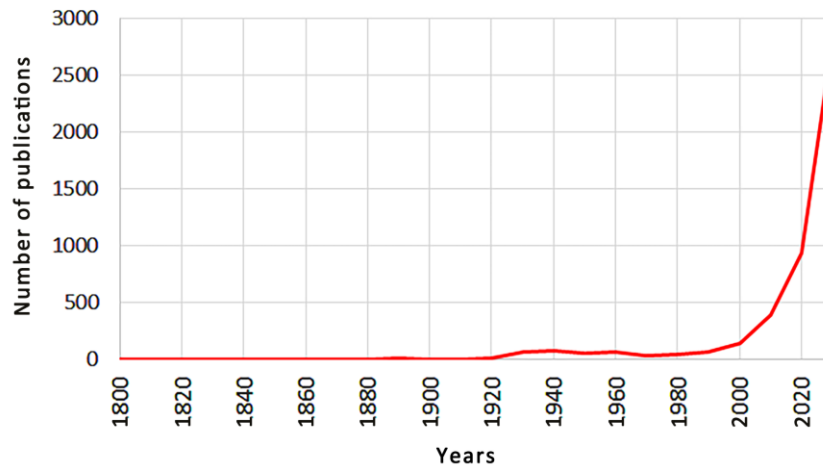
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[1] Cf. Klein 1966: 440, 443.

Fig. 1 Books and articles with "diaspora" in the title (German National Library)

1.1 The Semantic Shift in the Meaning of the Sign "Diaspora"

The shift in the use of the term 'diaspora' to a more generalised meaning occurred in a relatively abrupt manner in the late 20th century, during and after the 1960s and 1970s. There was no gradual change in the meaning of the sign over a longer period of time, which could be considered the norm. The period between the early 1960s and the late 1970s saw an increase in global migration and displacement due to colonisation, decolonisation, economic factors and political upheaval. As scholars from various disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and postcolonial studies – all of which are products of the 20th century – began to study these widespread migration patterns, they adopted and adapted the term diaspora to describe a broader spectrum of migrant and displaced communities around the world.

As has already been implied, the main agent behind this semantic change was, as so often, scientific production. The new sign with its qualitatively new reference was created as a social science artefact. Within the social scientific knowledge production sector, in particular three disciplines played the leading role in this respect: cultural studies, post-colonial studies and migration studies. All three emerged in the late 20th century after the 1960s. All three are closely related in terms of all social science-relevant aspects. The research objects and thematic complexes are de facto identical, the conceptual instruments are identical, etc.

In the context of post-colonial studies, the term was probably used for the first time outside the specifically Jewish context. The nominal phrases 'African diaspora', 'Indian diaspora', 'South Asian diaspora' etc. appeared in social-scientific publications with increasing frequency. The key terms that accompanied the use of the term 'diaspora' included 'colonisation', 'decolonisation', 'slavery' and '(forced) migration'. Almost simultaneously, texts from the field of cultural studies played a similarly important role in the change of meaning and thus also in the generalisation of the sign 'diaspora'. The concepts that accompanied the sign 'diaspora' in the works of cultural studies were, among others, 'identity', 'cultural identity', 'hybrid identities', 'migration'.[2]

Towards the end of the 20th century, 'migration studies' joined the two disciplines already mentioned. From then on, terms such as 'transnationalism', 'global migration patterns', migration crisis etc. increasingly appeared in the same contexts side by side with the concept of 'diaspora'. By the end of the 20th century, the word diaspora had become a broad term used both in academia and in everyday language to describe any community of people who have been displaced from their homeland, regardless of their ethnic or national origin.

To round off the brief history of the semantic shift in meaning and generalisation process of the term diaspora, I consider it imperative to mention three people by name. The first person is Frantz Fanon. It seems that he was one of the first to use the concept of 'diaspora' outside the Jewish context in its new, generalised sense. He uses the word in his masterpiece 'The Wretched of the Earth' – written in French in 1961 – in the following context:

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[2] Cf. Hall 2019b: 135 ff.

> Let us take as an example the African Society for Culture. This Society was created by African intellectuals for a mutual exchange of ideas, experiences, and research. The aim of the Society was therefore to establish the existence of an African culture, to detail it nation by nation and reveal the inner dynamism of each of the national cultures. […] The African Society for Culture was to become the Cultural Society for the Black World and was forced to include the black diaspora, i.e., the dozens of millions of blacks throughout the Americas.[3]

The second person is Stuart Hall, one of the founding members of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. He was not only a key figure in research into identity, ethnicity and racism, but also the de facto originator of concepts such as the encoding and decoding[4] of media messages and the term 'cultural identity'[5]. In his essay 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', originally published in 1989, he makes repeated use of the Fanonian expression 'black diaspora'. In the following passage, he uses the term in connection with his own social development.

> We all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific. What we say is always 'in context', positioned. I was born into and spent my childhood and adolescence in a lower middle-class family in Jamaica. I have lived all my adult life in England, in the shadow of the black diaspora – 'in the belly of the beast'. [6]

The third and, in the context of this paper, the last person to be mentioned, not only in relation to the change in meaning and generalisation process of the diaspora sign, but also in general in connection with topics such as identity, colonialism, postcolonialism and cultural theory, is Paul Gilroy. In his 1993 book 'The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness', Paul Gilroy examines the identity of the African diaspora against the background of the history of transatlantic relations. He emphasises that the experiences of Black people in the Atlantic region – particularly through the slave trade – have created a unique, hybrid 'culture' that transcends national and ethnic boundaries. He constructs a sphere that he calls the 'Black Atlantic' and argues that new forms of identity are emerging in this sphere that are not based solely on nation or ethnicity but arise from the experience of migration and racism.[7] In his work, Gilroy prefers the term 'African diaspora' to 'black diaspora':

> No less than in the case of the English New Left, the idea of the black Atlantic can be used to show that there are other claims to it which can be based on the structure of the African diaspora into the western hemisphere. A concern with the Atlantic as a cultural and political system has been forced on black. Historiography and intellectual history by the economic and historical matrix in which plantation slavery – "capitalism with its clothes off"– was one special moment.[8]

2 ON THE RETURN MIGRATION OF JAPANESE DIASPORA TO JAPAN

In order to be able to write the title of this section, I had to fight against a stubborn reluctance and a strong inner resistance and overcome it – at least for a brief pragmatic moment. One of the reasons for this difficult predicament is what has been at least implicitly explored and debated in some depth above. The young, modern modified concept of 'diaspora' differs significantly from its very old predecessor – the Old Testament concept of diaspora. The semantic configuration and thus the references of the original sign are precise and unambiguous, which cannot be said of the new sign – not even rudimentarily. It is therefore questionable whether the new version of the sign fulfils the generally applicable criteria of scientific terms. Not only the unambiguousness, but also the operationalisability does not seem to be given.

Another comparison based on a completely different criterion would be the question of the violence factor in both versions of the concept. In the Old Testament concept of 'diaspora', the question can be answered unequivocally: The term stands for the result, for the consequence of an act of violence exercised by the almighty Abrahamic God against the Jewish religious community. In clear contrast to this, in the new term the source of the violence, the agent that carries out the violent act, is the social scientist. What's more, the victim of the violence, the suffering social group, is not specified. It seems that in the new concept, the victim, the intended target of the act of violence, is not given any definitory relevance.

In the original sign, the act of violence is expressed in the fact that a social group is forcibly displaced, deported and dispersed in its entirety. Diaspora is therefore above all that to which a community, a social

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[3] Fanon 2004: 153.
[4] Cf. Hall 2005: 117 ff.
[5] Cf. Hall 1996: 2 ff
[6] Hall 1990: 222 ff.
[7] Gilroy 1993: passim.
[8] Gilroy 1993: 15.

group, is subjected by force, from which the community must suffer. In the modern version of the sign, the act of violence is expressed in the fact that a social group is declared a 'diaspora' by the social scientist, i.e., by the prevailing mode of knowledge production[9] without the consent of those affected. In this version of the sign, the social group itself is diaspora.

The second reason for the above-mentioned reluctance is the fact that the second key term in the title of the current section also has significant affinities with the term 'diaspora' in most of the relevant respects. The history of the emergence of the now universally operating social-scientific term is comparable to that of the concept of 'diaspora'. It also belongs to that subset of social-scientific terms that are all artefacts of late capitalism and are related to each other genetically – if I may repurpose this natural-scientific sign for once and use it here. The modern term migration, as it is currently used worldwide, was only created by the specific social science knowledge production sector towards the end of the 20th century (cf. Fig. 2). The aim, the mission and the core function of this movement was de facto nothing other than to declare the spatial movement of people and groups of people to be an aberration, an anomaly.
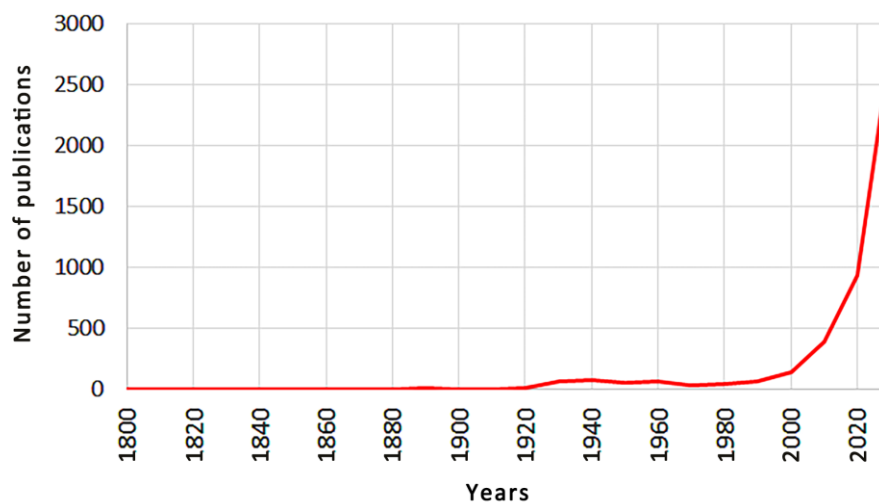

Fig. 2 Migration-related publications (German National Library)

Migration movements, that is, processes of spatial movement of people are not anomalies, but plain normality. What is anomalous is that the dominant social scientific discourse of the late modern world system has declared the phenomenon of the spatial movement of people to be an anomaly. The fact that almost every citizen of the modern sovereign countries confidently and self-assuredly believes that the migration of large population groups is a phenomenon of modernity is rooted precisely in this social scientific act.

I assume that I have been able to make my discomfort with the dominant terminology and my dilemma of nevertheless having to use it as an instrument of my analysis somewhat comprehensible. More precisely, the dilemma consists in the fact that I have to communicate my critique and that I have to use the dominant language, the sanctioned, prescribed arsenal of signs, which is at the same time the object of my critique, for this purpose. A comparable dilemma was brought up by Adorno in his book *Minima Moralia*, published in 1951; "There is no right life in the wrong one."[10] The question arises as to whether there can be right speech in the wrong language at all.

Now we come to the remigration of the Japanese diaspora to Japan. A brief treatment of this topic could be carried out on the superordinate level in two – to use the terminology of musical composition – complementarily opposing movements.

2.1 First Movement

The first and indispensable movement, which is necessary as a matrix for the opposite movement, is a resettlement, a change of location, a movement of people away from the archipelago that has become the territory of the young nation-state "Japan" in modern times. (a side note here: it goes without saying that not

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[9] and implicitly by the respective political power aggregate that sanctions and finances the respective dominant mode of knowledge production.
[10] The German original reads "Es gibt kein richtiges Leben im falschen." (Adorno 1951: 59)

only the Japanese, but all nation states are still very young compared to other types of equivalent socio-political power aggregates in known history).

In order to construct the first movement, however, the resettlement in question must be purified. In other words, it must be freed from all suspicion of being totally human, completely normal, everyday and ordinary. It must not be or – better – remain a run-of-the-mill resettlement, resp., relocation, but – quite the opposite – must be convincingly declared something extraordinary by virtue of a sign-action, a linguistic act. This is the highest precept of the modern socio-scientific mode of production. Because

> What the social institution scientist in all its forms and manifestations ultimately does is nothing more or less than a semiotic act: naming or/and renaming. This having been stated, the nature and the contents of the scientific activity can safely be narrowed down to a single subspace of the semiosphere: language. Be it natural sciences, be it social sciences or humanities or be it engineering sciences the scientific production consists – at least to a decisive extent – in linguistic production or simply in language. As I have already stated in my previous work, science is the linguistic reprocessing of the social production in its widest sense, that is linguistic reprocessing of the phenomena of the entire social life. Consequently, the scientific act is, as I put it in my own model of semiotic theory, either a "resemiosis" or a "transsemiosis" depending on a single parameter: whether semiosis occurs in a different sign-system (transsemiosis), or within the same sign-system (resemiosis).[11]

In accordance with this precept, the necessary resemiosis in the context of my mission can be accomplished here by renaming the sign 'change of location etc.' in the context of the first movement according to the consuetudinary praxis to 'emigration'.

Now, after this conceptual groundwork, let us look at the history of significant migratory movements from the Japanese archipelago to the outside world. As far as our current knowledge allows us to reasonably do so, we can speculate that people have been living on Japanese islands since around the Lower Palaeolithic. Indeed, there is no need to point out right away that the beginning of the human presence on the archipelago was nothing more or less than a tiny episode in the continuous migrations of the human species on planet Earth.

The scarce archaeological evidence combined with linguistic studies and genetic research suggest that the earliest documentable migration flows from the archipelago to other parts of mainland Asia took place as early as the Jomon era (during the last millennium BCE). The emphasis is only on the attribute "documentable", because it must be assumed that human migrations have taken place and continue to take place in different formats and for different reasons at every stage of human development.

Another relatively well-documented migration wave in Japanese history is the resettlement of numerous inhabitants of the Japanese islands to the Philippines. Since the Philippine Islands marked the main station of one of the oldest trade routes between Japan and the Malay Archipelago, there has been a permanent movement of people between the Philippines and Japan since at least the 8th century. However, the migration movement from Japan to the Philippines reached a quantitative peak in the 16th and 17th centuries, when Japanese Christians were systematically persecuted and massacred during the Tokugawa era.

Now we come to the 19th century, the century in which the European-born modern capitalist civilisation ascended the throne of the seven seas and proclaimed its absolute rule over the entire globe. This also brings us to the episode of migration flows from Japan to the outside world that is made the – almost – exclusive subject of so-called Japanese diaspora studies. It is precisely the period that has its origins in the circumstance that Japan found the as always extremely tactful and – in the denotative sense of the word – compelling request of the West to open the gates irresistible – once again in the denotative sense of the word.

Japan had to sign the Japan-US friendship and trade treaty and submit to the rule of the West as a result of this highly effective gunboat policy, which, incidentally, is still the West's standard diplomatic mode of operation (offering now in addition to the tried and tested gunboat policy in conformity with the zeitgeist a much more diversified and eventful range: combat drone policy, hypersonic missile policy, autonomous combat robot policy, etc.).

What happened next is written in school textbooks. Japan, forced to modernise and westernise at gunpoint, set itself the goal of becoming economically and militarily just as strong, just as violent, just as expansionist and invasive, in short: just as modern as the West. The country achieved this goal head over heels at an astronomical pace before the turn of the century within about a quarter of a century. What Japan did with this

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[11] Gülbeyaz 2021: 17-18)

achievement in the 50 years that followed is something we will, as is often the case, put to one side.

Instead, we want to focus on the episode of migration movements originating in Japan that has been most strongly spotlighted in modern social-scientific production. This episode of emigration began in 1868[12], precisely the year in which the old isolationist Tokugawa regime was replaced by the Meiji Restoration government.

This precise temporal overlap was no coincidence. On the contrary, this episode was conceived and initiated as one of the key subroutines of the new regime's modernisation programme. In the following 74 years, around 800,000 people migrated to Hawaii, the United States and South America. Just under 50% of them went to the United States and slightly over 30% to South America[13]. The whole process was organised, financed and carried out by the Japanese government. Either directly by the state authorities and institutions set up specifically for this purpose, or by private companies that carried out the work on behalf of the state under state supervision.

Although there are plenty of experts who claim that this state-sponsored and subsidised emigration primarily served to control the steep population growth, the actual motives seem to lie elsewhere. On the one hand, the Meiji government saw emigration as one of the decisive tools for implementing the modernisation and westernisation programme. The path to this goal required rapid and large-scale industrialisation, which in turn required enormous capital growth. Despite the fact that the number of emigrants remained low, this calculation worked out. The money transferred to Japan by the migrants had a powerful impact on the Japanese economy. We read that for example in 1933 the remittances sent to Japan (98.6 million yen) accounted for 10 per cent of Japan's total trade.[14]

Secondly, numerous publications from the time clearly indicate that emigration was at the same time conceived and implemented as a partial realisation of the Great Japanese expansion programme. They were sent, so to speak, as pioneers of Japanese colonialism, as battering rams of the Japanese colonial army. At least that was one of the intentions of the planners and decision-makers of the government.

Thirdly, state-sponsored emigration also served to relieve the socio-economic burden of around one million peasant households who were suddenly left destitute and without work due to rapid industrialisation. The reform government believed that emigration would provide work opportunities for the surplus farmers and give the "low class citizens" the opportunity to learn Western labour discipline and ethics. The removal of this "low-class labourers"[15] would benefit the country as "their poverty would pose a national threat"[16].

Today, about four and a half million Nikkei people live outside the Japanese archipelago in about 20 countries. Over 85% of them live in 6 countries: Brazil, United States, Canada, Philippines, Peru and China. It should be emphasised that around 77% of all Nikkei people are concentrated in just two countries: Brazil with about 2 million and the United States with about one and a half million residents[17].

This brings me to the end of my first movement. I have, I hope, properly constructed the Japanese diaspora.

2.2 Second Movement

The execution of the second movement of the composition is somewhat simpler and less laborious than that of the first movement. Because, firstly, the history of modern return migration is extremely short and straightforward, and secondly, the essential mode of operation has not changed in the case of return migration either. Just as with the flows of emigration following the regime change in the second half of the 19th century, the main actor in the complementary flows in the opposite direction was the Japanese state. In the case of remigration, the main movements are also directly conducted and controlled by the state.

Apart from the return of a limited number of people, there was no significant return migration from the Japanese diaspora to Japan until well into the 1970s and 1980s. The feasibility of a possible return after the Second World War was even no longer conceivable. Japan had been defeated and the country lay in ruins. In the 1970s, there was a return migration of a larger number of corporate, professional and educational

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[12] Cf. Takenaka 2004: 78.
[13] Cf. Ross & Lau-Ozawa 2021: 4.
[14] Cf. Takenaka 2004: 78 ff.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Cf. Takenaka 2020: 1130. Also cf. the official information sheet *"海外日系人数推計"* (Overseas Japanese Population Estimates), issued by the Policy Division of the Consular Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, on 1 October 2023.

migrants after their temporary stays in Japanese communities abroad. [18]

The return migration of Nikkei individuals to Japan didn't start until the late 1980s[19]. At that time, Japan's economy was thriving but facing a significant shortage of unskilled labour. In response, the Japanese government openly encouraged the return of ethnically Japanese people born in South America, inviting them to work in factories as unskilled labourers. Over 100,000 Japanese Brazilians, along with smaller groups of Japanese Peruvians, Argentinians, and Bolivians, took up this opportunity, largely because the severe economic crisis in South America had devastated their livelihoods. In contrast, the return of Japanese Americans to Japan has been much more limited, mostly consisting of temporary professionals, students, and tourists.[20]

The state, which in the 1980s recruited unskilled workers from the ranks of the so-called ethnic Japanese in South America, took once again the decision to get rid of these "low-class labourers" after about 20 years at the time of the global financial crisis in 2007-2008. The people who had been lured from the other side of the world in the 1980s and 1990s with promises of good earning opportunities and a better life in the warm bosom of their "true" homeland were now forced to leave Japan and go back to where they had come from.[21]

3 CLOSING STATEMENT

In reflecting on the return migration of the Japanese diaspora, it becomes evident that the journey of these individuals transcends simple narratives of displacement and return. It reveals a complex interplay of historical, economic, and socio-political factors that shape migratory flows. The Japanese government's initiatives, from encouraging emigration during the Meiji era to facilitating the return of Nikkei individuals from South America in the 1980s, highlight the instrumentalization of migration policies to address national needs. However, the abrupt cessation of these policies during economic downturns, coupled with the exclusionary measures against those who accepted state incentives to leave, underscores the precariousness of these migrants' positions in their ancestral homeland.

This duality—a welcoming embrace and a conditional acceptance—mirrors broader global patterns where diasporic communities often find themselves caught between idealized notions of belonging and the stark realities of socio-economic expediency. Understanding these dynamics calls for a critical re-evaluation of the terminologies and frameworks used in migration studies. By questioning dominant narratives and exploring the lived experiences of diasporic individuals, scholars can illuminate the multi-faceted nature of migration and its enduring implications for identity, belonging, and human mobility.

Ultimately, the story of the Japanese diaspora's return challenges us to reconsider the meanings of home and nation in an increasingly interconnected yet deeply divided world. It serves as a poignant reminder of the human cost of migration policies and the need for more inclusive and empathetic approaches to address the complexities of diasporic experiences.

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[18] Cf. Tsuda & Song 201920-21
[19] Cf. ibid: 21
[20] Cf. ibid: 20-21.
[21] Cf. ibid: 186-187.

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