Japanese Immigration in Brazil

Arlinda Rocha Nogueira

Television, newspapers and magazines often discuss the presence in Japan of *dekasseguis*[1] from Brazil. This migratory movement, which started in 1985, has started to show signs of decline. The recession in Japan has been accompanied by the laying off of around 20,000 Brazilian *dekasseguis* – employed in businesses in the industrial sector (cars, electronics and food production)[2] – which explains the reduction in the number of candidates for departure.

The emigrants have generally been drawn by attractive salaries, while always aware that they were being offered work refused by the local population, considered *kitsui* (heavy), *kitani* (dirty) and *kiken* (dangerous).[3] The hope of amassing sufficient savings in a few years to enjoy a better standard of living on their return to Brazil weighed significantly on their decision to leave.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, the situation was different. A great coffee producer, Brazil offered interesting opportunities for the immigrant who wanted to work and dreamed of one day acquiring a parcel of property that would make him a landlord.

Brazil, in the words of Octavio Ianni,[4] was then experiencing a true 'labour famine'. The need for workers, above all in the coffee plantations, largely explains the entry of Japanese immigrants into the State of São Paulo from 1908 onwards.

A controversial subject, this immigration was the object of considerable discussion in Brazil, and at many levels. All attempts prior to 1907 – the date of the signature of the contract between the government of the State of São Paulo and a Japanese company – had failed.

In any case, emigration from Japan to Brazil was not an isolated act; it fell within a migratory population movement, international in character, which lasted from the start of the nineteenth century to the third decade of the twentieth.

Various factors played a part, directly or indirectly, in this movement of population: a notable shift in the rhythm of population growth; the diffusion of geographical knowledge, above all in relation to the Americas; the development of means of transport; profound modifications in means of production, to say nothing of political, religious and social problems. The changes experienced in rural areas and the employment of machines in industry frequently gave rise to sensitive, indeed disastrous, situations. Unemployment was one of these.

Many of those who left the countryside for urban centres found no job there. Developing industries did not have the conditions to absorb the growing volume of labour. A choice had to be made: to remain in one's native land unemployed, struggling with all the consequences stemming from such a situation, or to leave and seek a wider range of better opportunities outside the country. Some did not even go via the intermediate stage

Diogenes, No. 191, Vol. 48/3, 2000

Published by Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF, UK and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148, USA

but went from the countryside directly abroad. This was the case for both Europeans and Asians.

Initially, the policy adopted by the countries directly involved in the migratory movements was liberal, with a minimum of checks, if indeed there were any at all. Over the course of the years, faced with the volume of the movement and the appearance of various problems, changes began to appear in the attitude of the countries involved.

In the nineteenth century, but above all in the twentieth, the countries from which emigrants came began to put obstacles in the way of, or even prevent, the indiscriminate departure of young people of an age when they were fully productive, not only in order to defend the interests of the country but also to protect the emigrants themselves, given the frequency of complaints received denouncing the critical situations to which they were subjected in the countries which lured them. Conversely, the recipient countries set out to legislate with the aim of preventing the entry of, or at least creating difficulties[5] for, persons physically, mentally or morally unsuited for work.

Such measures resulted in the "reduction of migratory movements which, if they were excessive, impoverished the emigrant countries and denationalized those subject to immigration".[6]

In the Americas, countries like Brazil with vast expanses of land to be worked and settled resorted to subsidized immigration. By the terms of the latter, governments bore the cost of the immigrants' travel in order to attract them. The first waves of Japanese immigrants, who arrived in Brazil between 1908 and 1922, were subsidized by the government of the State of São Paulo.

After years of isolation, it was only in 1853 that Japan had started once again to enter into regular contact with the outside world. Little inclined to emigrate, the Japanese, when they did so, often cherished the firm intention of returning to their native land.[7] Their intention was to remain abroad only as long as it took to accumulate sufficient money for them to enjoy a better standard of living on their return home. This objective had a significant effect on the way the Japanese immigrants behaved. They were not concerned with putting down roots, nor with integrating into their new environment. For this reason, they were considered unassimilable in the majority of countries for which they were bound.

Alongside physical characteristics and a lifestyle and cultural background different from those of the Westerners, their manner of being and acting contributed to the creation of barriers that were sometimes imperceptible, but which existed none the less. They erected an obstacle to their full acceptance among the people who received them. They were the object of all sorts of criticisms and encountered restrictions – indeed, in many regions they were sometimes even forbidden entry to the hinterland. Although Taft is to be numbered among those authors believing that racial factors played an important role in the discrimination to which they were subjected, I am in agreement with him when he highlights as the main reason the fact that local populations felt their social status to be threatened.[8]

This opinion is corroborated by Brown.[9] Examining the most prevalent criticisms of Asians in the United States, he observed that many of them had *social* connotations, as they were considered unassimilable, bearers of strange customs and ideas; *moral* connotations, because they practiced opium-taking, gaming and other vices; *political*, in the fear of seeing them in a short time come to dominate the Pacific coast; and *economic*, because they agreed to accept very low levels of wages, thus providing competition for local manpower.

A veritable anti-Japanese campaign then made its appearance and gradually became stronger, fed by the press. The latter played an important role, as much in the United States as elsewhere, in disseminating criticisms and restrictive measures. In Brazil there were significant repercussions.

In fact, the introduction of Japanese labour into the lands of Brazil had numerous barriers to cross. Measures restricting the entry of Asians to Brazil were imposed by the laws and decrees promulgated immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, in 1889. Decree number 528, of 28 June 1890, for instance, banned the entry of Africans and Asians into the country.[10] Two years later, however, the Chamber of Deputies approved the lifting of restrictions on the entry of Chinese and Japanese, although the admission of Asians of different provenance continued to be forbidden.[11] Opinion was split.

However, the need for a resolution in favour of using Japanese manpower became daily more pressing, for it was increasingly difficult to obtain from Europe the number of workers required to meet the coffee producers' demands. The replacement of slave by immigrant labour had created a problem unknown in Brazil before that date: fluctuations in manpower. At the end of every harvest, the owner of the coffee plantation (the *fazendeiro*) lost the labour of numerous workers, which meant there was a constant need for more. Worker mobility was for a long while a characteristic of rural life in São Paulo.

Just as coffee operated as a pole of attraction for immigrants, it was also indirectly responsible for the reduction of emigrant interest in Brazil. What was the reason for this? For years, the Brazilian economy had centred on coffee, which occupied a prime position among exports. However, any significant adjustment in its quoted price on the international market had immediate repercussions on the economic and financial life of the country. This was what happened at the end of nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, when the Brazilian economy went into crisis because of the abrupt fall in the international coffee price. The price per 10 kilos, which had been $14,770 *reis* in 1893–4, sank to $14,160 *reis* in 1895–6, fell to $6,160 in 1900–1, to reach the value of $4,000 *reis* in 1905–6.[12] The Brazilian exchange rate plummeted at the same time.

Urgent measures proved necessary to reverse this situation. The presidents of the States of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro met in the town of Taubaté in the State of São Paulo on 26 February 1906, to debate the measures to be taken. One of the resolutions of this meeting, known as the 'Taubaté Conference' (*Convênio de Taubaté*), was to set up a propaganda department for the product in order to increase consumption and capture new markets. It was then, in my opinion, that Japanese immigration became more significant. Beyond the perspective of obtaining more labourers and the hope of successfully settling them on plantations, the government calculated that the ties of friendship and trade between the two countries would be strengthened and, in consequence, a new market for coffee would be captured.[13]

Proof that this was indeed the direction of government thinking lies in the fact that one of the clauses of the contract signed on 6 November 1907 – between the government of the State of São Paulo and the Empire Emigration Company, based at Tokyo, for the introduction of Japanese emigrants – allowed that, on the return journey, the ships that had brought the immigrants could invoice for no more than $10 per ton for the freight of the coffee from the port of Santos to Japan.[14]

The increased interest in Brazil for Japanese labour coincided with a growing preoccupation in Japan with the attitude displayed towards emigrants. The Plenipotentiary Minister,

Sugimura, declared: 'Forbidden entry to Australia, objects of discrimination in the United States, persecuted in Canada and now also limited in Hawaii and the islands of the Pacific, our workers will find in the State of São Paulo a rare happiness, a true paradise.'[15]

Although the solution was not regarded as ideal from the perspective of demographic composition and the formation of a 'Brazilian race', after innumerable discussions as to the pros and cons, the government of the State of São Paulo decided, as an experiment, to subsidize the costs of 3,000 immigrants. It was stipulated, among other requirements, that they were to come in families of at least three persons fit for work. To conform to this, the immigrants adopted the dodge of families described as "constituted families". Constructed artificially, these families incorporated external members, related or otherwise. In this way, they were very high performing workers, since children and the elderly, the non-productive elements, were in practice excluded.[16]

Practices of this kind gave rise to a number of problems, however. Once they had arrived at their destination, many of them defaulted before the end of the contract signed by the planter. This contract anticipated that the family would remain on the property for at least the duration of a harvest.[17]

The first wave of Japanese immigrants, consisting of 781 people, embarked aboard the *Kasato Maru*, which sailed from Kōbe on 28 April 1908 and arrived at Santos, in the State of São Paulo, on 18 June the same year, officially inaugurating Japanese immigration to Brazil. They stayed for a few days in the Hospedaria de Imigrante (Reception Centre) of the town of São Paulo. Considered short and ugly by some, disciplined and clean by others, they were already allocated to six large coffee plantations in the State of São Paulo in the month of June. Before leaving for the hinterland they wanted to see the capital, but the interpreters were ashamed to bring their fellow countrymen into the centre of the town because of what they wore (black clothes, a straw hat decorated with red flowers) and the peculiar way they walked, 'awkwardly, with small steps'.[18]

The reception centre supplied food for the train journey from the capital to the interior, bread and sausage. The bread, Italian-style, was thought hard. It was salty, but they ate it all the same. As for the sausage, which they had not encountered before, they could hardly even stand the smell! The solution adopted by many was to throw it out of the window.[19]

In the plantations, the first meal, consisting of haricot beans and rice, confused them just as much. The rice because it had been cooked in oil, and had a consistency different from that to which they were accustomed. The haricots were also a surprise. First, they were served as a savoury dish, while in Japan they are served sweet, as cakes, and then because they found in the sauce nothing other than . . . a pig's trotter!

Food was generally a problem for the immigrants, even where there were cultural affinities. Thus among the Italians, for instance, complaints along these lines were commonplace: "They prepare the same food as we prepare in Italy; they use the same spices, cook it in the same way and prepare the same dishes. But when you eat it, it tastes different."[20]

They found the houses on the plantations dark, with a floor of beaten earth or covered with bricks, and they were not provided with furniture. The latter, according to the contract, was to be found by the immigrants. Since they arrived at nightfall, they had to be content with beds of straw or hay or, in the best-case scenario, futons (folding mattresses).

Coffee was supplied as beans. They had to learn how to select them, roast them in an iron cooking-pot, leave them to cool so that they could afterwards grind them in a mortar,

and riddle the product two or three times to obtain a fine powder. When the process was completed, they prepared the drink, with the addition of rough sugar.[21]

On the plantation the problems did not boil down simply to the work itself, but also extended to the need for timetables, bans and restrictions, as well as – and this seemed still worse to them – the fact of working under supervision, practically unknown in Japan. The situation was still more tense, when the supervisor was of a different nationality...

Cohabitation with the other workers was made difficult by differences of language, aggravated by the initial lack of dictionaries. Interpreters did not always succeed in resolving the problems, which no doubt increased pressure to communicate by gesture, producing inevitable misunderstandings and much irritation among the immigrants.

Very soon, they realized that the reality was different from what they had dreamed of, as a result above all of substantially misleading publicity. Thus,

> every night when we returned tired from the land, we wept just as we were going to sleep, for a whole year, we wept, saddened, thinking we should not have come. We would have done better to stay in Japan... But what was the use of thinking about it, we didn't have the money for going back to our own country.[22]

This above all is eloquent testimony to the feelings and problems which the pioneers faced.

The truth is that from the arrival of the first groups of Japanese immigrants it was clear that, just like the Europeans, they would not stay in the properties to which they had been transported. Thus, ten months later, of the 773 who had been allocated to the plantations of São Paulo, only 313 persons were still in the same positions. Once this degree of mobility had become apparent, the government had no interest in repeating the experiment. It justified this by arguing that a Japanese immigrant was a much greater burden on the public purse than a European. The whole fare for a Spaniard or a Portuguese, for example, was same as virtually half the cost of a Japanese ticket![23]

This excessive mobility,[24] about 40 per cent, in part explains the decision taken by the government at São Paulo in 1913 to stop paying for their passage.[25]

The suspension of subsidies only lasted two years, then the government resumed them. In 1922, however, it stopped them finally. The justification given by the authorities was:

> the fear of an excessive increase in the state in the number of immigrants, which cannot be advantageous to us when seen from the perspective of the formation of the national, social and political race... These circumstances do not seem to justify the need to promote this immigration, which is from a certain point of view, not altogether desireable.[26]

This explanation was not the whole truth, for no restriction was placed on the entry of Japanese when they paid their own travel costs or when they were subsidized by third parties. In 1924 the Japanese government decided to finance the passage of its own nationals to Brazil, one of the rare countries prepared to accept them. Apart from workers on the land, workers from a range of economic levels and from various professions emigrated.[27] The influx grew steadily larger until the Japanese headed the entry lists of immigrants by nationality at São Paulo.

The aim of the Japanese being to put the following formula into practice:

temporary migration + rapid success = return to the home country, they were not slow to realize that it was only by becoming independent producers that they would achieve their abjective as fast as possible. To the formula cited above, another element was added, that of commercial production.

But one could not become a farmer overnight. It had to be achieved in stages. From being a waged worker on the coffee plantations, the immigrant generally went on to become an associate or underling, putting up with all kinds of sacrifices[28] in order to obtain the necessary resources to purchase a plot of land in an area of colonization or along one of the railways which crossed the state. In general, then, they devoted themselves to the cultivation of coffee for their own ends.

With the world crisis of 1929, the price of coffee on the international markets fell once more, by around 30 per cent. A good many coffee growers went over to cotton growing. The Japanese did the same. By the time of the 1935–6 harvest they contributed 60 per cent of production. This success aroused envy and contempt. Consequently, there was an upsurge in the anti-Japanese feelings that were always ready to break out.

Some immigrants preferred to move towards the outskirts of the town of São Paulo, taking up market gardening. Others chose rice or potato growing, but in a predatory manner, in other words, without manure or rotation culture. The land was soon exhausted. Since nothing bound them to the land, the immigrants made itinerant agricultural work the rule. They were heavily criticized for this by many sections of the population. There were also others who made itinerant trade their source of income, as pedlars. The savings amassed thanks to these activities enabled some to settle in the capital. They were followed by others and the results were positive. Groceries, laundries, eating-houses, stores, cake-shops (*pastelarias*), and other businesses respected one of the secrets of their success, the involvement of the family unit. Concentrated at first in the street Conde de Sarzedas, they gave rise to the 'Condegai', the Conde de Sarzedas quarter which today, although it has expanded, retains many of its original characteristics. Although its current official name is 'Freedom Quarter', it is known and referred to as 'the Japanese quarter'.[29]

Those who acquired a share in areas of newly colonized land remained virtually isolated, living in Brazil as if they were still in Japan. This isolation fed the anti-Japanese campaign, which became daily more active and keener to gather together arguments to demonstrate how much the indiscriminate entry of Japanese immigrants could be prejudicial to the country.

Planning to put an end to a series of problems, several measures were taken during the 1930s. The Constitution of 1934, for example, established a quota regime, by which the annual entry into the country was limited to 2 per cent of the total entry for each ethnic group in the fifty preceding years.[30]

With a history of less than thirty years, the Japanese were most affected by this resolution. Moreover, there were restrictions on their freedom and their life became more difficult, bearing in mind that their physical characteristics did not shield them from criticism and assault.

The situation became more confused with the entry of Brazil into the war on the side of the Allies on 29 January 1942, while Japan was one of the Axis countries. Forbidden to speak their native language in public, to meet their fellow countrymen, to own radios or printing presses, needing safe-conducts in order to travel, the situation imposed upon them

illustrated the isolation to which they were subjected, aggravated by the fact that they either could not speak Portuguese or had only the most elementary knowledge of the language. What gave them the strength to struggle on was their conviction that Japan would emerge from the war victorious, their loyalty to the Emperor and the hope of being able to return to their country when the war was over.

It is not difficult to imagine the shock subsequently experienced when Japan was defeated. Moreover, as if that was not enough, the Emperor declared publicly that he was not of divine origin, as they had believed. The immigrants experienced at a blow the loss of their god – whom they had worshipped since their arrival in Brazil – and that of their main objective, the dream of returning to their native land, living or dead, for they could no longer count on the support of the Japanese government.

According to Hiroshi Saito, the Japanese immigrants then experienced a true "crisis of mentality".[31] The frequent tensions to which they had been exposed over the years explain a series of conflicts in their lives and the appearance of a number of secret societies, with the emergence of a real climate of terror between opposing factions.

The Japanese immigrants saw that Brazil, the land of their children and grandchildren, was going to become their permanent home and no longer the temporary one they had always viewed it. Once they had taken account of this, they made profound adjustments to the way they thought and behaved.

The young people were encouraged to pursue their education to university level, for only by this means would they achieve the social ascent that was so desired. With this objective in mind, families showed themselves ready once more to make all kinds of sacrifice so that at least one of their members should succeed in graduating from a university.

Following the trend of the population of São Paulo, the immigrants swarmed to the State capital in large numbers, responding to the demand for labour in both industry and business, both clearly expanding. This movement is also documented at the other points in the region where they settled.

The process of urbanization was also responsible for a significant shift in employment. Although the percentage of Japanese associated with the primary sector, that is, agriculture, had been 93.6 per cent in 1932, in 1950 it was no more than 50.6 per cent. The secondary sector, namely, industry, civil engineering and building, made a significant leap, going from 2.2 per cent to 12.7 per cent. The tertiary sector, in other words business, finance, services and communications, went from 4 per cent to 36.7 per cent![32]

Simultaneous factors, like the fact that the immigrants could no longer count on constantly available aid from the Japanese government; the invasion of their homes by communications media, which informed them about events; young people's access to university education; participation in different activities; all this facilitated the maintenance of closer and more frequent contact with the population of the country by the immigrants and their descendants. Mixed marriages became more common. It is difficult to find a family today without at least one case of this kind among its members. Acting together, these factors contributed to tighten the bonds of friendship and accelerate the rhythm of cultural exchange.

Nowadays, above all in the more populated centres, it is practically impossible to find anybody who does not know or has not heard of: *ikebana* (floral decoration), *judo* (a type of sport), *tofu* (soya cheese), *origami* (the art of paper folding), *karaté* (martial art), *shoyu*

(soya sauce), *seicho-no-yé* (sect), *sumo* (Japanese wrestling), *saké* (alcoholic drink), *misô* (soya paté), *bouddhisme* (religion), *hai-kai* (poetic genre), besides other words.

On the other hand, rice, haricot beans, patés, grilled meat and pizza can all be seen in families with Japanese ancestry, football has made converts and there are even sections of carnival featuring Japanese immigrants and their descendants.

The misunderstandings that have been mentioned, which characterized the life of the Japanese community immediately after the war, rekindled anti-Japanese feeling in the State of São Paulo. In tandem with this sentiment went resistance to reopening the State to Japanese immigration. The official line was that there was a balance between supply and demand in employment. In reality, the difficulties of assimilation, allied to "mysterious internal conflicts, incomprehensible to those who worked outside the Japanese community",[33] were the true motives which led the government of the State of São Paulo to act in this manner. A large part of the Japanese immigrants who arrived after 1952 were led to areas of colonization outside the State of São Paulo.

However, one path remained open to the entry of Japanese immigrants in the State of São Paulo: that of "the call of relatives", and many resorted to this. On the other hand, the immigrants themselves mobilized in order to obtain authorized entry for their fellow countrymen. Two groups introduced in this way have continued to be known, by virtue of the results they produced, as "immigrant silk workers" and "immigrants of Cotia", the first because of their raising of silkworms and the latter because of the cultivation of, and trade in, potatoes.

The Japanese immigrants who arrived after 1952 brought new blood to the established community, contributing in a positive way to various sectors of the Brazilian economy, thanks to the technology which they brought.

Their number continued to grow until 1961, when it started to show signs of decline. The first energy crisis and the international recession practically marked the end of the migratory movement between Japan and Brazil. Also contributing to this situation was the fact that 'the land of the rising sun' was then passing through a different phase of development in which it could absorb the available labour. The result was a considerable fall in the number of people with any inclination to leave the country. In March 1973 the *Nippon Maru* was the last ship to disembark in the port of Santos with Japanese emigrants on board.[34]

From that year onwards, the number of Japanese immigrants seeking to come to Brazil was minimal. Highly qualified technicians, accompanied by their families, came for a limited stay, which, to a certain extent, explains why they have generally constituted a separate group.

Between 1963 and 1984, in addition to immigrants, businesses and Japanese capital also relocated, making it possible to realize significant joint projects. One such example is the aluminium-producing Albrás Company in the State of Pará; another, the Conibra, for the development of the maquis (*cerrado*) region in the State of Minas Gerais.

Urbanization maintained its increased pace. One study carried out in 1980 demonstrated that this was proportionately higher among the Japanese than in the Brazilian population as a whole. Of 1,168,000 Japanese immigrants and their descendants living in Brazil, 89.9 per cent lived in urban centres, while 10.11 per cent remained in rural areas. The situation was the opposite of that which pertained at the beginning of the migratory movement.

In 55.9 per cent of their homes, Portuguese was the only language spoken. In 19.7 per cent, both Portuguese and Japanese were used. Japanese was the sole language spoken in only 6.3 per cent of the families involved in this research.[35]

Initially admitted as an experiment, accepted after many setbacks and the focus of much debate, the Japanese immigrants and above all their descendants are now thinly spread throughout the population as a whole and are to be found in the most varied places in the country, active and distinguished in a whole range of activities.

All in all, the Japanese have not demonstrated any distinctive character either in their presence or in the diffusion of their cultural values. Their behaviour, on many points, has been identical to that of other ethnic groups, whether Asian or not. Which demonstrates that – despite specific physical and cultural features – the human being is, in the last resort, one.

It is possible that the majority of them could not define what it is to be Brazilian, but they feel themselves to be Brazilians. The *dekasseguis* are the proof of this. They feel "lost" in Japan. On arrival, they are treated like any other kind of worker, like the Iranians, the Koreans, the Chinese and other Asians with an unemployed background.[36] The problem for them does not reside in the fact of knowing themselves to be Brazilian but of being considered as strangers, just like the rest, in the land of their ancestors.

Returning to the land of the rising sun, they had dreamed of being treated differently. They found there a hierarchical society that was disciplined, rigid and to some extent discriminatory. However, since the exception proves the rule, only a small minority did not want to leave. The majority of them waited impatiently for the time to return to their own country, Brazil.

*****

Rather than list the many Japanese-Brazilians who have distinguished themselves in the sciences, arts and humanities – some are internationally renowned, such as the painters Tomie Ohtake, whose sculptures and tapestries decorate public places in Brazil and who was the recipient of a gold medal at the Brasilia Salon of Modern Art; Manabu Mabe who received the Fiat prize at the Venice Biennale in 1960; as well as Flavio Shiró and many others – I have opted to consider here at greater length the film-maker Tizuka Yamasaki, born at Rio Grande do Sul and the grand-daughter of Japanese immigrants.

After living in São Paulo, she left for Brasilia with the aim of studying cinema and then architecture. There, she met immigrants from the hinterland who were originally from Nordeste and had come to work on the building of the new capital. She asked subsequently to be transferred to the Niteroi faculty to study with the film-maker Nelson Pereira dos Santos, whose assistant she was soon to become during the making of two of his films (*A idade da terra*, *O amuleto de oggún*). It was then that she had the idea of making a documentary on the theme of immigration. But the project quickly became that of a full-length film. And this was, in 1980, *Gaijin* (Japanese term for "stranger"; the ideogramme could also be interpreted as meaning "man from the outside viewed by somebody on the inside"), undoubtedly one of the best Brazilian films which received numerous national and international prizes; it was dedicated to all immigrants without exception who had had to struggle to overcome all sorts of difficulties and barriers before they could be integrated. Tizuka Yamasaki was inspired by the long tales heard as a child and the long conversations she had later with her grandmother. It recounts in an exceptionally sensitive

way the life of the first contingents of Japanese immigrants settling in the agricultural regions of southern Brazil, where the custom of servile – indeed, slave – labour was still very much present. It also sheds light on relations with other immigrant communities, as well as the reactions of each to the power of the overseers working for the great landowners. To make her film, she had actors that she had gone to Japan to find and Brazilian actors of various origins. The employment of Japanese actors was all the more necessary because the children of immigrants, although they had the physical features, were already too 'Brazilianized' to be 'realistically' Japanese.

The path travelled by the immigrants was hard, littered with obstacles, as Tamoo Handa (who arrived in Brazil in 1917) has shown in his book, *O imigrante japonês: história de sua vida no Brasil*, but, at the end of the day, in the great majority of cases it led to successful integration.

Arlinda Rocha Nogueira
Institute of Brazilian Studies, U.S.P.
(translated from the French by Juliet Vale)

Notes

1. The word *dekassegui* denotes Japanese working abroad and their descendants who are recruited by Japanese businesses to work in Japan.
2. *Folha de S. Paulo*, 18 June 1995, **5: 1** (São Paulo).
3. Yoshioka Reimei (1995) *Por que migramos do para o Japão: os exemplos dos bairros das Alianças e dos atuais* dekasseguis (São Paulo: Massao Ohno), p. 106.
4. Octavio Ianni (1972), *Raça e classes sociais no Brasil*, second edition (Rio de Janeiro), p. 16.
5. Louis Dollot (1949), *Les grandes migrations humaines*, 'Que sais-je? Le point des connaissances actuelles', (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France;), p. 8; H. A. Citroen (1947), *Les migrations internationales: un problème économique et social* (Paris: Libr. de Médicis), p. 103.
6. Carlos Martins (1929), *Uma política de immigração* (Rio de Janeiro: Jornal de Comércio e Rodrigues), pp. 8, 9.
7. Louis Dollot, op cit., p. 46.
8. D. R. Taft (1936), *Human Migration: A Study of International Movements*, Sociology Series (New York: The Ronald Press;), p. 571.
9. Laurence Guy Brown (1933), *Immigration: Cultural Conflicts and Social Adjustments* (New York: Longmans and Green), p. 270.
10. *Decretos do Governo Porvisório da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil*, fascicule 6 (Rio de Janeiro), p. 1429.
11. Brasil, Congresso Nacional (1892), *Annaes da Câmara dos Deputados*, **5** (Rio de Janeiro), p. 534.
12. Roberto Simonsen (1940), 'Aspectos da história econômica do café', *Revista do Arquivo Municipal, São Paulo*, **6: 65**, p. 201.
13. Arlinda Rocha Nogueira (19973), *A imigração japonesa para a lavoura cafeeira paulista (1908–1922)* (São Paulo: In stituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP), pp. 47, 48.
14. 'Relatório apresentado ao Dr Jorge Tibitiça, Presidente do Estado, pelo Dr Carlos Botelho, Secretário da Agricultura, relativo ao ano de 1907', (São Paulo: Secretaria da Agricultura), pp. 138–142.
15. Hiroshi Saito (1961), *O japonês no Brasil: estudo de mobilidade e fixação* (São Paulo: Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Politíca), p. 29.
16. Ando Zenpati and Wakisaka Katsunori (1971), 'Sinopse histórica da imigração japonesa no Brasil', in *O imigrante japonês: história de sua vida no Brasil* (São Paulo: T. A. Queiroz and Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros), p. 24.
17. Hiroshi Saito, op. cit., p. 63.
18. Suzuki Teijiro (1968), *Pioneiros dos imigrantes japoneses no Brasil*, trans. Nippon Inim mo Kusawaki (São Paulo: 42 Showa).

19. Tomoo Handa (1987), *O imigrante japonês: história de sua vida no Brasil* (São Paulo: T. A. Qureioz and Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros), pp. 22, 23.
20. João Baptista Borges Pereira (1974), *Italianos no mundo rural paulista* (São Paulo: Pioneira and Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP), pp. 50, 51.
21. Tomoo Handa, op. cit., p. 81.
22. *Arigatô* **2: 14** (São Paulo, 1978).
23. Arlinda Rocha Nogueira, op. cit., pp. 128, 129.
24. *Relatório apresentado ao Dr. Jorge Tibiriça, . . . relativo ao ano de 190*, op. cit., pp. 138, 142.
25. *Relatório apresentado ao dr Carlos Augusto Pereira Guimarães: Vice-Presidente do Estado em exercíci, referente aos anos de 1912–13* (São Paulo: Secretaria da Agricultura, 1914), pp. 178, 179, 185.
26. Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, Secretaria da Agricultura. Requerimentos Diversos. Ano 1924. Maço 355, Caixa 365, Ordem 7582, Pasta 334. 'Assunto: Autorização para promover a vinda de familias de imigrantes japoneses' ['subject: authorization for the promotion of the arrival of families of Japanese immigrants]', pp. 30, 31.
27. Ando Zenpati and Wakisaka Katsunori, op. cit., p. 33.
28. These sacrifices included reducing or significantly modifying their diet. With maize, they prepared *canjica* which they mixed with rice: little wheat cakes were eaten in a salt broth and, whenever possible, they replaced the wheat with manioc flour, the price of which was lower. Many of them suffered from vitamin defficiency. Tomoo Handa, 'Vida nas Fazendas de café', in Hiroshi Saito and Maeyama Takashi, *Assimilação e integração dos japoneses no Brasil* (São Paulo: Vozes/EDUSP), p. 88.
29. Tomoo Handa (1970), *Historia da vida da imigrante* (translation of *Imin no seikatsu no rekichi*) (São Paulo: Centro de Estudos Nipo-brasilieiros), pp. 168, 175, 176, 187.
30. Brazil (1934), *Constituição da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional), Tit. IV.121, §6º.
31. Hiroshi Saito (1982), 'A corrente imigratória japonesa para o Brasil', *Jornal do Imigrante*, special issue 'Japan', May (São Paulo).
32. Idem, *O japonês no Brasil*, op cit., p. 177.
33. Tetsuo Nakasumi and José Yamasshiro (1992), 'Periodo de pos-guerra', in *Uma epopéia: 80 anos de imigração japonesa no Brasil* (São Paulo: Hucite/Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa), p. 381.
34. Idem, 'O fin da era de imigração e consolidação da nova colônia nikkei', in *Uma epopéia moderna . . .*, op. cit., p. 434.
35. Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros, *Pesquisa de população de descendentes de japoneses no Brasil (1987–1988)*,
36. Reimei Yoshioka, op. cit., p. 155.